

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE



Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise

Iconographic and Textual Studies
on Late Antiquity



By
ANNEWIES VAN DEN HOEK
& JOHN J. HERRMANN, JR.

BRILL

Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise

Supplements
to
Vigiliae Christianae

Texts and Studies of
Early Christian Life and Language

Editors

J. den Boeft – B.D. Ehrman – J. van Oort
D.T. Runia – C. Scholten – J.C.M. van Winden

VOLUME 122

Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise

Iconographic and Textual Studies on Late Antiquity

By

Annewies van den Hoek
John J. Herrmann, Jr



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hoek, Anniewies van den, author.

Pottery, pavements, and paradise : iconographic and textual studies on late antiquity / by Anniewies van den Hoek, John J. Herrmann, Jr.

pages cm – (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae ; volume 122)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-25538-8 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-25693-4 (e-book)

1. Christian art and symbolism. 2. Christian literature, Early–History and criticism. I. Herrmann, John J., Jr, author. II. Title. III. Series: Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae ; v. 122.

N7832.H62 2013

704.9'48209021–dc23

2013025808

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0920-623X

ISBN 978-90-04-25538-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-25693-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

Preface	VII
<i>Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.</i>	
Abbreviations	IX
Photo Credits	XV
Introduction	1
I. Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards, and Canthari: A Second Look	9
<i>Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.</i>	
II. Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art	65
<i>Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.</i>	
III. "Two Men in White:" Observations on an Early Christian Lamp from North Africa with the Ascension of Christ	107
<i>John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
IV. Anicius Auchenius Bassus, African Red Slip Ware, and the Church	133
<i>Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
V. The Sphinx: An Egyptian Theological Symbol in Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria	149
<i>John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
VI. Clement of Alexandria, Acrobats, and the Elite	175
<i>Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.</i>	
VII. Celsus' Competing Heroes: Jonah, Daniel, and Their Rivals	203
<i>Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.</i>	
VIII. Divine Twins or Saintly Twins: The Dioscuri in an Early Christian Context	255
<i>Annewies van den Hoek</i>	

IX.	The Saga of Peter and Paul: Emblems of Catholic Identity in Christian Literature and Art	301
	<i>Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
X.	Apocalyptic Themes in the Monumental and Minor Art of Early Christianity	327
	<i>John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
XI.	Odysseus Wanders into Late Antiquity	383
	<i>Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
XII.	Execution as Entertainment: The Roman Context of Martyrdom	405
	<i>Annewies van den Hoek</i>	
	Bibliography and Short Titles	435
	Index of Subjects and Names	461
	Index of Museums	477
	Index of Ancient and Medieval Authors and Writings	479
	Index of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Words	482
	Plates	485

PREFACE

These essays on late antiquity are the products of collaboration between a specialist in ancient languages and a historian of ancient art, who also happen to be wife and husband. This coupling of diverse fields has led to the scattering of the essays over a diverse range of periodicals and festschriften. Since most of these venues were connected with the field of early church history and theology, their scattered existence was not always easy for art historians to detect. This has led to the idea of bringing the studies together into a single volume.

The essays in this book occupy themselves particularly with the ambiguous territory in which Christian, pagan, and secular imagery and practices compete, coexist, and intermingle. Exploration of the iconography of African Red Slip Ware, the most significant late antique ceramic, is also a recurring theme. This ceramic interest has become a bridge between the authors' different professional fields and has turned into a kind of second career for both.

The essays, nine of which published previously over a span of a dozen years, have been corrected, updated, and modified for this setting. The other articles have been given as lectures on various occasions but have not so far seen a final printed form. Bringing them into a consistent format was an onerous task, which was largely the work of Linda Grant. She kept the project going for us, and her acute eye has clarified many a thought and improved many a word or phrase. We are ever grateful for her work. Other colleagues and friends have commented on the essays, and we have greatly benefitted from their generous help. We express our gratitude and recognition in footnotes of the individual essays.

We have had great satisfaction working together in an interdisciplinary way and learning from our partner's different expertise. We like to thank the second reader for the useful comments and the editors of the series *Vigiliae Christianae Supplements* for their work on the manuscript. It is a particular pleasure for us to have our book included in this series, at the inception of which one of us had the privilege to publish another work. We are grateful to the editors of Brill for their friendly contacts over the years and their solid

(Dutch) professionalism. As twenty five years ago, we would like to send off our volume with the sobering words of Horace; “et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.”

Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.
Dedham, February, 2013

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>Act. Paul. et Thecl</i>	<i>Acta Pauli et Theclae</i> . Edited Oscar von Gebhardt, <i>Passio S. Theclae Virginis: die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae: nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen</i> . TUGAL 22/2. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers. 1946–
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
APTh	<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i> [Greek text]. See R.A. Lipsius, <i>Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden</i> . 2 vols.; Braunschweig, 1883–1890
ASS	<i>Acta sanctae sedis</i>
<i>Adv. haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i>
<i>Apos. Const.</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
Arch	<i>Archaeology</i>
Aug	<i>Augustinianum</i>
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BArC	<i>Bullettino di archeologia Cristiana</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BVBl	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</i>
Blaise-Chirat	Albert Blaise and Henri Chirat, <i>Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens</i> . Steenbrugge: Brepols, 1954
<i>C. Celsum</i>	Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>C. Faustum</i>	Augustine, <i>Against Faustus the Manichean</i>
CAF	<i>Comicorum atticorum fragmenta</i> . Edited by Theodorus Kock. 3 vols. Lipsiae: V.B. Teubner, 1880–1888
CBCR	R. Krautheimer, <i>Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae</i> . 4 vols. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937–1976
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum: Series latina</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> . Edited by A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> . Edited by E. Dekkers. Steenbrugge, 1995
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> ; now also available on line: http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/revue/crai (consulted 7 August 2013)

CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CSJH	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> . Edited Theodor Mommsen. Berolini: Weidmannos, 1905
<i>Cant. hom.</i> (<i>Hom. Cant.</i>)	Origen, <i>Homiliae in Canticum</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	Paulinus of Nola, <i>Carmina Natalicia</i>
Chr	1 and 2 Chronicles
<i>Civit./Civ.</i>	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Cod./cod.</i>	<i>Codex/codex</i>
<i>Com. in Gal.</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Galatas</i>
<i>Comm. Eccl.</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i>
<i>Const. Apost.</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> . Edited by Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq. 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DPhA	<i>Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques</i> . Paris: CNRS, 1989–
DSp	<i>Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité</i>
<i>De gest. Pel.</i>	Augustine, <i>De gestis Pelagii</i>
<i>De Laud. Const.</i>	Eusebius, <i>De laudibus Constantini</i>
<i>Doctr. Apost.</i>	<i>Doctrina Apostolorum</i>
ED	<i>Epigrammata Damasiana</i> . Roma: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1942
<i>Ecl.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Eclogae prophetae</i> (<i>Extracts from the Prophets</i>)
<i>Enarrat. Ps.</i>	Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistula/e</i>
<i>Ep. Lugd</i>	<i>Epistula ecclesiarum apud Lugdunum et Viennam</i> (= Eusebius, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> V 1).
Ex	Exodus
<i>Exp. Luc.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</i>
<i>Exp. Ps.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Expositiones in Psalmos</i>
<i>Faust.</i>	Augustine, <i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i>
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> von Felix Jacoby. Leiden: Brill, 1923–1958
<i>Fragm.</i>	fragment
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GVI	Werner Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955–
Gal	Letter to the Galatians
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Herm.	<i>Hermathena</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Hist. nat.</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Historia naturalis</i> (<i>Natural History</i>)
IC	Margherita Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae, opera et consilio FridERICI Halbherr collectae</i> . 4 vols. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–1950

<i>ICE</i>	Gustave Lefebvre, <i>Inscriptiones christianae Aegypti, recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte</i> . Paris: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907
<i>ICUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae</i> . Edited by J.B. De Rossi; Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, Rome, 1857–1888
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Editio minor. Berlin, 1924–
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
<i>ILCV</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres</i> . Edited by Ernest Diehl. 4 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1961–1967
<i>In Dan.</i> (<i>Comm. Dan.</i>)	Hippolytus, <i>Commentarium in Danielelem</i>
<i>Isa</i>	The book of Isaiah
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JJA</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Art</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies Monographs
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>Judg</i>	Judges
<i>Kgs</i>	1 and 2 Kings
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> . 10 vols. Zurich: Artemis, 1981–2009
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>MAAR</i>	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i>
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>Marc.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Marcionem</i> (<i>Against Marcion</i>)
<i>Mart. Pio.</i>	<i>Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium</i>
<i>Matt</i>	The Gospel of Matthew
<i>MededRom</i>	<i>Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome</i>
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>OLC</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Communications</i>
<i>OMRL</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Or.</i>	Origen, <i>De oratione</i> (<i>Peri proseuchēs</i>)

<i>Orat.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De oratione</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864
PW	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung</i> . Edited by Georg Wissowa. Stuttgart: A. Druckenmüller, 1903–1978
PWSup	Supplement to PW
<i>Paed.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Paedagogus</i> (<i>Christ the Educator</i>)
<i>Pass. Perp.</i>	<i>Passion</i> [<i>Martyrdom</i>] of <i>Perpetua and Felicitas</i>
<i>Passio</i>	Oscar von Gebhardt, <i>Passio S. Theclae Virginis. Die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae</i> . TU NF 7, 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902
<i>Phoen.</i>	Euripides, <i>Phoenissae</i>
<i>Praescr.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i> (<i>Prescription against Heretics</i>)
<i>Protr.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i> (<i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i>)
Prov	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms
<i>Quis div.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Quis dives salvetur</i>
<i>RAC / RACHr</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Edited by Theodor Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hierseemann, 1950–
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>Res.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De resurrectione carnis</i>
SBLWGR Sup	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplements
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1943–
SEAug	<i>Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Amsterdam, 1923–
SMSR	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	Augustine, <i>Sermones</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromata</i> (<i>Miscellanies</i>)
<i>Suda, Lexicon</i>	<i>Suidae Lexicon</i> . Edited by A. Adler. 4 vols. [Lexicographi Graeci 1.1–1.4] Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1935
<i>Symp.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Symposium</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Edited by G. Krause and G. Müller. Berlin, 1977–
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>

TU NF	Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge
<i>Test.</i>	Cyprian, <i>Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos</i>
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Trac. Ev. Jo.</i>	Augustine, <i>In Evangelium Johannis tractatus</i>
<i>Tract. in Ioh.</i>	Augustine, <i>In Evangelium Johannis tractatus</i>
<i>Trinit.</i>	Augustine, <i>De Trinitate</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VL	Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Edited by E. Beuron, 1949–
Vg	Vulgate
<i>Virginit.</i>	Augustine, <i>De sancta virginitate</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i>

PHOTO CREDITS

Unless indicated otherwise, the photographs and drawings are by the authors.

PHOTOGRAPHS: BLACK AND WHITE

Chapter One

Fig. 1. Plan by T. Lehmann, <i>Boreas</i> 13 (1990): fig. 19	12
Fig. 2. Photo: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University	30
Fig. 3. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	31
Fig. 5. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	34
Fig. 6. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	37
Fig. 7. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	38
Fig. 8. Photo: Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin	39
Fig. 9. Photo: W. Jashemski, <i>The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius</i> (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Bros., 1979), fig. 104	40
Fig. 10. Photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston	42
Fig. 11. Photo: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University	43
Fig. 12. Photo: C. Huelsen, <i>Römische Mitteilungen</i> 19 (1904): 99, fig. 1	44
Fig. 13. Photo: C. Huelsen, <i>Römische Mitteilungen</i> 19 (1904): Pl. 5a.....	45
Fig. 14. Photo: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University	49
Fig. 15. Drawing: from Z. Fiema, C. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski, and R. Schick, <i>The Petra Church</i> (ed. P. Bikai; Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 2001), 340, fig. 1	51
Fig. 18. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	53
Fig. 19. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	53
Fig. 20. Photo: courtesy of Thomas Lehmann	54
Fig. 22. Photo: courtesy of Seetheholyland.net	57
Fig. 23. Drawing: W. Dinsmoor, Jr., "The Baptistry: Its Roofing and Related Problems," in J. Wiseman ed., <i>Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi</i> , vol. 2 (Beograd: Boston University and the National Museum of Titov Veles, 1975), fig. 8	58

- Fig. 24. Drawing: W. Dinsmoor, Jr., "The Baptistry: Its Roofing and Related Problems," in J. Wiseman ed., *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, vol. 2 (Beograd: Boston University and the National Museum of Titov Veles, 1975), fig. 6 59
- Fig. 25. Drawing: from Amanda Claridge, "Vases and Basins Marble Vase with Bacchic Decoration," *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3: The finds from the 1980–1986 excavations* (ed. John Mitchell, Inge Lyse Hansen, Catherine Coutts; Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), 209, fig. 5:188 61

Chapter Two

- Fig. 1. Drawing: by J.W. Salomonson (slightly modified)..... 68
- Fig. 5. Photo: Jamison Miller 86
- Fig. 7. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 88
- Fig. 8. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 89
- Fig. 9. Drawings: F. Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata* ("Samian Ware") (Liverpool/London: University Press, 1936), 1140 (Hadrianic), 1141 (Hadrianic), 1146 (Domitianic to Antonine), 1147 (Antonine), 1149 (Antonine), 1139 (Hadrianic?), 1155 (Hadrianic)... 95
- Fig. 10. Drawings: Carandini, et al., "Ceramica africana," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1. *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 172, Pl. 86, 1 97
- Fig. 11. Drawings: Carandini, et al., "Ceramica africana," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1. *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 172, Pl. 86, 2 97
- Fig. 17. Photo: Konrad Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder des Heidentums und Christentums* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1990), Pl. 15 104

Chapter Three

- Fig. 2. Photo: Andrew Spira, "Pottery," in R. Temple, ed., *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Temple Gallery/Shafesbury: Element Books, 1990), cat. 34 110
- Fig. 3. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 61.2579 113
- Fig. 4. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 61.2573 118
- Fig. 5b. Drawing: by A. De Ruffi, in Paola Borraccino, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani di Marsiglia* (Bologna: Patron, 1973), fig. 30 120

Fig. 6. Photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston	120
Fig. 7. Photo: from Denise Fourmont in André Grabar, <i>Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza – Bobbio)</i> (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958), Pl. 3	121

Chapter Four

Fig. 1. Photo: courtesy of J.W. Salomonson	135
Fig. 3. Line drawing: courtesy of J.W. Salomonson	137
Fig. 4a, b. Photo: courtesy of J.W. Salomonson	139
Fig. 5. Photo: courtesy of J.W. Salomonson	140
Fig. 6a, b. Photo: courtesy of Christian Niederhuber and Oliver Habel. .	141

Chapter Five

Fig. 1. Drawing: D. Laroche, courtesy of the École française d'Athènes: from J.-F. Bommelaer and D. Laroche, <i>Guide de Delphes. Le site</i> (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1991), fig. 57	157
Fig. 2. Reconstruction: by Bonna Wescoat	159
Fig. 3. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	161
Fig. 4. Photo: Reunion des Musées Nationaux	163
Fig. 5a, b. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	164
Fig. 7a, b. Photo: Gemini, LLC, <i>Auction VI</i> (10 January 2010), lot 875.....	168
Fig. 8a, b. Photo: Gorny and Mosch, Giessener Münzhandlung, <i>Auctionaux 130</i> (8 March 2004), lot 1929	169
Fig. 9a, b. Photo: Auktionshaus H.D. Rauch, <i>Mail Bid Sale 10</i> (2 March 2006), lot 245	170
Fig. 10a, b. Photo: Travis Markel, Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Auction 90</i> , (23 May 2012) lot 1246,	171

Chapter Six

Fig. 1a. Photo: D-DAI-Rome: 71.340	180
Fig. 1b. Photo: D-DAI-Rome: 71.338	181
Fig. 1c. Photo: D-DAI-Rome: 71.337	182
Fig. 2. Photo: Athens, National Archaeological Museum	184
Fig. 3. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin	185
Fig. 4. Photo: courtesy of Hirmer Verlag.....	186
Figs. 5–6. Photos: courtesy of Francesco Pignatale.....	188
Fig. 9. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	193

Chapter Seven

Fig. 1. Photo: from website “Ancient Doclea.” http://www.heritage.cg.yu/spomenici/duklja_e.htm (consulted 21 March 2006)	216
Fig. 3. Photo: Art Resource, Inc., New York	220
Fig. 4. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	225
Fig. 8. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum	233
Fig. 9. Photo: courtesy of Robert Guy and David Cahn	236
Fig. 10. Photo: Christie’s New York	237

Chapter Eight

Fig. 1. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	258
Fig. 2. Photo: J. Garbsch, “Spätantike Sigillata-Tabletts,” <i>BVBI</i> 45 (1980): 184, fig. 22	259
Fig. 3. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum	259
Fig. 6. Photo: The University of Virginia Art Museum, Digital Numismatic Collection	262
Fig. 8. Photo: F. Bejaoui, “Les Dioscures, les apôtres et Lazare sur des plats en céramique africaine,” <i>Antiquités africaines</i> 21 (1985): 17, fig. 3	263
Fig. 23. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	275
Fig. 27c. Drawing: E. Le Blant, <i>Études sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d’Arles</i> (Paris, 1878), fig. 24	280
Fig. 28. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Triton VI</i> , Lot number: 637, 14 January 2003	282
Fig. 29. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, <i>Auction 46</i> , Lot number: 333, 2 April 2008	283
Fig. 30. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, <i>Auction 70</i> , Lot number: 67, 16 May 2013	283
Fig. 31. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Electronic Auction 234</i> , Lot number: 519, 9 June 2010	285
Fig. 32. Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung, <i>Auction 71</i> , Lot number 1466, 12 March 2002	285
Fig. 33. Photo: Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung, <i>Auction 67</i> , Lot number 1217, 9 October 2001	285
Fig. 34. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Electronic Auction 234</i> , Lot number: 517, 9 June 2010	286
Fig. 35. Engraving: in Sarah Gubert Bassett, “The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople,” <i>DOP</i> 45 (1991): 88–89	287

Fig. 37. Photo: Lessing Photo Archive	290
Fig. 39. Engraving: in Etienne du Pérac, <i>I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma</i> (Rome, 1575)	291

Chapter Nine

Fig. 2. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum	304
--	-----

Chapter Ten

Fig. 1. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	329
Fig. 2. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V (Lancaster, PA: 5 January 2002) lot 2180	331
Fig. 4a–b. Photo: Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, <i>Auction 378</i> (Frankfurt, 28 April 2004) lot 643	336
Fig. 5a–b. Photo: Numismatik Lanz, <i>Auction 128</i> (Munich, 22 May 2006) lot 208	336
Fig. 6a–b. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Mail Bid Sale 72</i> (Lancaster, PA and London: 14 June 2006) lot 1891	336
Fig. 11. Drawing: S. Pelekanidis, “‘To theatron to kaloumenon stadion’ tes Thessalonikes,” in <i>KERNOS. Timetike prosphora ston kathegete</i> <i>Georgio Mpakalake</i> (ed. D. Pandermalis and K. Rhomiopoulos; Thessaloniki: Tsibanake, 1972), 130, fig. 3.....	345
Fig. 19a–b. Photo: Pecunem & Gitbud & Naumann, <i>Auction 3</i> (5 May 2013) lot 206.....	356
Fig. 20a–b. Photo: Astarte S.A., <i>Auction 19</i> (Lugano 6 May 2006) lot 975.	356
Fig. 21a–b. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, <i>Electronic Auction 270</i> (14 December 2011) lot 287	356
Fig. 23. Photo: <i>Ambrogio e Agostino: Le sorgenti dell'Europa</i> (Milan: Olivares, 2004), cat. no. 14	358
Fig. 27. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 61.2579.....	377

Chapter Eleven

Fig. 1. Photo: R. Meneghini, “An Ancient <i>Navis Oneraria</i> with the Myth of Odysseus and the Sirens Represented on a Late Roman Sherd,” <i>IJNA</i> 12/4 (1983): fig. 1	386
Fig. 2. Photo: J.W. Salomonson, “Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwick- lungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara ‘C,’” <i>BABesch</i> 44 (1969): fig. 53	386

- Fig. 4. Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen 388
- Fig. 7. Drawing: P. Duval, "La forme des navires romains d'après la mosaïque d'Althiburus," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 61.1 (1949): pl. I 390
- Fig. 8. Photo: Gilles Mermet /Art Resource, NY 394
- Fig. 9. Photo: ©Hearst Castle®/CA State Parks 396
- Fig. 10. Photo: ©Hearst Castle®/CA State Parks 396
- Fig. 14. Photo: Vatican Museums 398
- Fig. 15. Photo: P.C. Bol, ed., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (Berlin: Mann, 1998), Tafel 342 398
- Fig. 16. Drawing: C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, 2 (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), 141 398
- Fig. 17. Drawing: C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, 2 (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), no. 140' 400
- Fig. 18. Drawing: C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, 2 (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), no. 140 400

Chapter Twelve

- Fig. 1a, b. Photo and drawing: Salvatore Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Rome: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1926), 182–183 414
- Fig. 2. Drawing: Salvatore Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Rome: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1926), 196–197 415
- Figs. 29, 30, 32, 33. Drawings: Carandini, et al., "Ceramica africana," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1: *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 172, Pl. 86, 1–2 .. 421
- Fig. 42. Drawing: courtesy of Pierre Delnoy of the Thermenmuseum, Heerlen, The Netherlands 426
- Fig. 46. Drawing: G.B. De Rossi, *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana* 3/4 (1879): 75, fig. 1 431

PHOTOGRAPHS: COLOR PLATES

- Pl. 1b. Photo: Anderson/Art Resource 487
- Pl. 2c. Photo: courtesy of Zbigniew Fiema 488
- Pl. 5b. Photo: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne 491
- Pl. 9a. Photo: Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton 495
- Pl. 11b. Photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich 497
- Pl. 13. Photo: courtesy of R.E. Hecht 499

Pl. 14. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY	500
Pl. 17a. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	503
Pl. 17b. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	503
Pl. 19. Photo: Antiquarium Ancient Art, New York	505
Pl. 22. Photo: courtesy of the owner	508
Pl. 23a. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	509
Pl. 24a. Photo: courtesy of Michael Padgett	510
Pl. 24b. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum	510
Pl. 29a. Photo: Estelle S. Brettman, International Catacomb Society	515
Pl. 30. Photo: Christie's, New York	516
Pl. 31. Photo: Tom Powel. Courtesy of Michael and Judy Steinhardt	517
Pl. 34a. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	520
Pl. 35b. Photo: Goldberg	521
Pl. 39a. Photo: courtesy of the Fototeca dei Civici musei di storia ed arte, Trieste	525
Pl. 41. Photo: Lessing Photo Archive	527
Pl. 42. Photos: (a) Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, <i>Auction</i> 72, Lot number: 4158, 5 February 2013. (b) Numismatica Ars Classica, <i>Auction</i> 33, Lot number: 513, 6 April 2006. (c) Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Electronic Auction</i> 56, Lot number: 164, 8 January 2003. (d) Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, <i>Auction</i> 380, Lot number: 922, 3 November 2004. (e) Classical Numismatic Group, <i>Mail Bid Sale</i> 57, Lot number: 1413, 4 April 2001. (f) Ex Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung, <i>Auction</i> 104, Lot 674, October 2005. http://www.beastcoins.com/RomanImperial/VI/Rome/ Maxentius-RICVI-208-RBQ.jpg (consulted 7 August 2013)	528
Pl. 43. Photo: PCSA Archives	529
Pl. 51. Photo: courtesy of Peter Agricola	537
Pl. 52. Photo: courtesy of the Augustianum and Angelo di Berardino ...	538
Pl. 55b. Photo: Yvette Duval, <i>Loca Sanctorum</i> , fig. 313	541
Pl. 57. Photo: Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca, <i>Aurea Roma</i> , 414, fig.1	543
Pl. 58b. Photo: Vatican Museums	544
Pl. 70b. Photo: E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou and A. Tourta, <i>Wanderings</i> <i>in Byzantine Thessaloniki</i> (Athens: Kapon, 1997), 92–93]	556
Pl. 71a. Photo: ©Bruce M. White 2010. Courtesy of James E. Ferrell	557
Pl. 71b. Photo: ©Bruce M. White 2010. Courtesy of James E. Ferrell	557
Pl. 71c. Photo: ©Bruce M. White 2010. Courtesy of James E. Ferrell	557
Pl. 76a. Photo: Brooklyn Museum, New York	562
Pl. 76b. Photo: Archaeological Museum, Frankfurt	562

Pl. 80. Photo: Ron Jennings, ©Virginia Museum of Fine Arts	566
Pl. 81b. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux /Art Resource, NY	567
Pl. 83b. Drawing: N. Zori, "The House of Kyrios Leontis at Beth Shean," <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> 16 (1966), 128	569
Pl. 83c–d. Photos: ©Lucille Roussin. Courtesy of Lucille Roussin	569
Pl. 86. Photo: courtesy of Sebastiá Giralt	572
Pl. 87b. Photo: courtesy of Sebastiá Giralt	573
Pl. 94a. Photo: Art Resource/Alinari	580
Pl. 96a. Photo: courtesy of Kevin Cahalane	582
Pl. 96b. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum	582
Pl. 96c. Photo: Jefferson Henson. Courtesy of Jared J. Clark	582

INTRODUCTION

The primary visual images for Christians of the Roman Empire after Constantine were simple symbols of religious identity: the monogram of Christ or the cross. Sophisticated narrative art illustrating stories of the Bible also presents unambiguous declarations of Christian identity. The essays collected here often touch on such iconographic themes, but they also deal with less exclusionary imagery. Not all Christian artists and their public wanted to be cut off from the preceding and surrounding cultures; many adapted mythology and its visual imagery for their own purposes, and some believed that selected stories and images could lead a pagan public to Christian belief. Institutions and practices of a non-Christian society continued throughout late antiquity, and they too were reflected in artistic production. In dealing with such issues in these essays, our starting points are often literary texts of early Christian writers, particularly Clement of Alexandria, Paulinus of Nola, and Augustine of Hippo. These texts can serve to illuminate the imagery of ancient art, but on some occasions late antique art can conversely illuminate a theologian's text. Ancient pottery, particularly African Red Slip Ware (ARS), is an important artistic thread weaving through these studies, but mosaics, frescoes, and bronze statuettes also make recurrent appearances in this scholarly tapestry, our *stromata*, as Clement might have put it.

Mosaics and frescoes are heavily used in art-historical studies, but African Red Slip Ware and a related product, African lamps, have been a much less exploited source for late antique imagery. These ceramics produced in the area of modern Tunisia are, of course, small-scale manifestations of popular art and cannot compete in artistic terms with large-scale elite media. Nonetheless their iconography is lively and wide-ranging, and it has the added advantage of a clear and generally agreed-upon chronology. Meticulous archaeological studies by John Hayes and a phalanx of Italian scholars have established an elaborate formal development with clear chronological definition. This chronology, of course, is of immense value for the excavation of late antique contexts all around the Mediterranean, but its significance for the visual arts and the customs of late antiquity has tended to be undervalued. The main phase of figural relief decoration on ARS, about 350–430 CE, provides insight into Christian art of the time of the Roman catacombs and pagan art in some of its latest manifestations. The main phase

of African lamps, which dates from about 430 on through the sixth century and probably into the seventh, provides insight into the capacities of Vandal and Byzantine Africa. The presence of pagan imagery on these lamps provides interesting metrics on the survival of such themes in a Christianized world. These considerations have been the drivers of many of the iconographic studies presented in this volume.

Our first study touches on vessels whose shape is their foremost characteristic (at least from our point of view): what form or forms are evoked by the word *cantharus*? The term poses philological problems since it originally meant the wine cup of Bacchus, but in Roman times it took on the additional meaning of a water fountain. Reminiscences of its first meaning, however, continued into Early Christian times. The term appears in the poetic descriptions of ancient churches written by Paulinus of Nola, who also sponsored some of these projects. Parts of Paulinus' constructions at Cimitile near Naples still survive, and much research on them has taken place since this essay was first published in 2000. This new work makes it desirable for us to revisit the theme here.

It is clear that when Paulinus referred to a *cantharus*, he meant a vase or basin of almost any shape equipped with a jet of water. Nonetheless the *cantharus* form with two high handles continued to be popular, although its form merged with that of the crater, a large mixing bowl. *Cantharoid* craters with Bacchic allusions had been prestigious artifacts and frequent images in the earlier Roman Imperial period, and they could be reused, copied, or depicted in both Christian and Jewish structures. They might incorporate vines of ivy or grape or be flanked by birds or panthers, all of which carried Bacchic allusions. Marble *cantharoid* craters, at times with these embellishments, were used for ablutions in the atrium or inside the place of worship. Eventually they came to serve as supplementary baptismal fonts. Early Christian patrons and builders could have ignored signs of an original connection with Dionysos, but Bacchic imagery, with its implications of dominance over animals, rebirth, and eternal life, could easily be given a Judeo-Christian spin by the erudite.

Our second essay takes up the imagery on African Red Slip Ware directly. Biblical, non-biblical, Judeo-Christian, mythic, and secular themes may appear on ARS, and on occasion peculiarly North African texts lie behind the imagery. At times it is uncertain to which realm a particular figural scene belongs. Ambiguity has been particularly endemic in the realm of encounters between man (or woman) and beast on African Red Slip Ware. Human figures flanked or attacked by ferocious animals have been interpreted variously as executions of undesirables in the arena, biblical heroes,

or martyrdoms. An examination of one such scene, a praying lady flanked by lions, makes it clear that she is not a martyr but St. Thecla, who did not die but escaped her afflictions. She is regularly accompanied by the ambiguous acclamation "DOMINA VICTORIA." A review of related texts and scenes makes it clear that martyrdoms in general were as rare as crucifixions in the popular art of late antiquity, while biblical stories of deliverance (or quasi-biblical stories, such as that of Thecla) proliferated. Depictions of public spectacles of executions and combat with animals formed the alternative; they remained as popular as they had been in the ceramics and mosaics of earlier times. The acclamation accompanying Thecla, in fact, stems from slogans of the "sporting clubs" that grew up around these spectacles.

The third essay deals with one of the most ambitious biblical compositions to appear in African ceramics. On "Classic" African lamps the Ascension of Christ is depicted with a richly elaborated imagery, which differs greatly from earlier treatments of the theme in other media. Christ is shown in majesty, enclosed in an oval of radiance and surrounded by symbols of the evangelists. This majestic composition draws on the visions of Ezekiel and Revelation as well as the book of Acts. This composite treatment of the Ascension has long been considered a distinctly Eastern type, but these lamps produced in the Latin-speaking western Mediterranean are to all appearances earlier than any of the surviving eastern examples of the imagery. There is, moreover, ample reason to believe that this synthesis of iconographic and textual elements could have been made in the West, and the most supportive cultural matrix appears to be the area around modern Tunisia. Theological writings of the first half of the fifth century—those of St. Augustine and his circle—were very attentive to the newly defined feast of the Ascension and bring together the concepts of the Ascension and the majesty or glory of Christ. These writings do not offer an exact description of the iconography of the fifth-century North African Ascension lamps, but they virtually offer a prescription for it.

African Red Slip Ware has produced more than one apparent unicum. The fourth study investigates the cover of a box or small chest that presents a remarkable mixture of images from the secular and the Christian realms: Sts. Peter and Paul flank the consul of the year 408. Although the function of the cover is unknown, its imagery has an evident historical and political context. It clearly reflects the intervention by high officials from the city of Rome into the affairs of the African churches during the Donatist/Catholic crisis. Peter, Paul, and the consul, Anicius Auchenius Bassus, appear as magistrates upholding contemporary Roman order. The image of the consul must have been derived from a cast of an ivory ceremonial plaque to commemorate his

office, and this personal contact with such an elite object demonstrates the lofty political connections of some producers of ARS.

Around the year 200 Clement of Alexandria produced a brief exegesis of the meaning of the sphinx, an ancient mythological creature. In addition to her traditional role as a magical protector, she had a series of symbolic roles, representing prophetic utterance, theological ambiguity, divine mystery, divine retribution, and protection with intelligence. Our fifth essay details how Clement's text illuminates depictions of the monster throughout Greek and Roman times. Strangely enough, in spite of the attractive theological dimension this Christian writer gives to her, the sphinx seems to have been totally ignored in the art of the Early Christian period.

In our sixth essay, Clement's writings serve less to illuminate ancient art than art serves to clarify his writings. Clement dealt with the subject of the true Christian gnostic; he compares the gnostic's search for perfection to the efforts of an athlete. Courage as well as strength is required, but for Clement, the virtue of courage is based on spiritual knowledge, which gives brave gnostics the ability to face the dangerous seductions of evil. He contrasts real courage with mundane acts of bravery, and, like many Greek philosophers before him, he turns metaphorically to the example of the acrobat. Unlike most of his predecessors, he perceives the acrobat as the wrong sort of athlete displaying the wrong kind of bravery, and he scorns these gymnasts who "turn somersaults into swords, using their base art with some skill for a miserable pay." A review of acrobats in Classical and Hellenistic Greek art makes it clear not only that the sword trick Clement mentions was popular but also that such tricks were strongly connected with the realm of lavish drinking parties. Clement's snobbery may stem more from the acrobats' association with the sensuous and extravagant symposium than with the mere fact of their poverty.

Our seventh study explores the familiarity displayed by the pagan Celsus with a number of biblical heroes who were to have durable popularity later on in Jewish and Christian art. Celsus, whose thoughts are transmitted through Origen's *Contra Celsum*, was writing around 170 CE, a decade or two before the birth of Judeo-Christian art, and he had apparently come in contact with literary and worship traditions that called these heroes to his attention. Celsus attacks the worship of Jesus and proposes alternative heroes from biblical and non-biblical traditions. In this he anticipated many aspects of a religious competition that was to go on for centuries. Christianity, paganism, philosophy, and Judaism all engaged in this rivalry, which took place in the realm of popular images as well as reasoned debate. African Red Slip Ware is a major area for tracking the competition on the

popular level. Most of the alternative heroes that Celsus recommends, Herakles, Asklepios, Orpheus, Daniel, and Jonah, would, in fact, prove to be protagonists of imagery on ARS well into the fifth century.

The divine twins Castor and Pollux were not cited by Celsus, but they might well have been. Our eighth study follows these heroes who survived in heaven as stars and on North African ceramics as human figures into the sixth century. They attracted interest not only from pagans and humanists but even were Christianized. A type of ARS platter combines their image with an unmistakably Christian inscription: "By the prayers of the saints the Lord will lead." Biblical subjects, such as the resurrection of Lazarus, appear on the borders of these platters. The Castores had a long history in Latin culture as saviors in war and on troubled seas, and the example set by the divine brother Pollux, who shared his immortality with his less fortunate sibling, must have given the two an almost unique moral stature among pagan heroes. Nonetheless their image had to be remodeled for Christian consumption; their traditional heroic nudity was covered with Oriental costume (in spite of their Spartan birth). Their astral immortality made it possible for them to survive as symbolic stars on official documents, such as coinage, long after representations of other pagan gods had been banished. Their imagery of devoted brothers and stars continued to be evoked in panegyrics to the Imperial family, and it was even taken over in text and art by Christians and applied to saints, such as Peter and Paul.

By the late second century Peter and Paul were considered the founders of the Roman church and the basis of the church's claim to primacy in the Christian world. The ninth study pursues late antique works of art of all kinds, including ARS, that stress the two saints' mutual love, harmony, and symmetry. At times attributes of Castor and Pollux were borrowed to reinforce the message. The intellectual path toward this harmonious result, however, was a rather tormented one, since biblical texts presented a more complex relationship based on different strategies of evangelism. This study also traces the evolution of efforts to reconcile recorded conflicts with the desired end product of infallible concord.

In our tenth study we review a broad swath of major Early Christian works of art to point out how many have apocalyptic messages that have been underplayed or overlooked. The book of Revelation, of course, provides the textual basis for many such interpretations, but Ezekiel, and the so-called "synoptic apocalypse" (Matt. 24:4–36; Mark 13:5–37; Luke 21:8–36) make significant contributions. Rarely do late antique artists specifically illustrate these texts; they take them up only in fragmentary or adapted form for the purpose of enhancing the majesty and dignity of Christ. Lifted out of

context, adapted, or mixed into traditional iconographies, images derived from these texts presented their allusions to the end of the world and paradise in impressive compositions in the most sacred and visually dramatic parts of churches: the apse, the wall above the apse, vaults, and the façade. Apocalyptic subject matter also made its appearance in sculpture, the minor arts, including African ceramics, and graffiti, and these too are explored. In this flexible use of biblical apocalypses, persons or objects may be replaced to suit contemporary or local interests, in some cases reflecting contemporary practices of the late Roman and early Byzantine court. Images are also drawn from non-Christian sources to enrich the emblematic meanings of apocalyptic compositions. The end result of this process of selection and borrowing is to convert the terrifying imagery of most Judeo-Christian apocalyptic texts into majestic and deeply reassuring heavenly visions for the faithful.

An ARS bowl with Odysseus tied to the mast of his ship inspires the eleventh study. The ship itself is an interesting representation of a *navis oneraria*. The story of Odysseus and the Sirens is at home in a North African context, but it rarely appears there or anywhere else in late antique art. This example is even more unusual in omitting the Sirens, who were an integral part of the story in Homer. The attitudes of late antique philosophers and Christian theologians toward Odysseus and the Sirens may have something to do with this. Odysseus was promoted as an example of prudent courage, and the Sirens were denigrated as sensuous and immoral. On the bowl, the place of these seducers is taken by Cupid driving a team of dolphins. The little god of love might be regarded as guiding Odysseus safely to his destination, which on the literal level would be his beloved wife Penelope. In a metaphoric sense, the scene can be read as a noble and loving soul reaching the Isles of the Blessed.

The last study returns to the spectacles of the arena, particularly beast fights and executions, and provides a wide-ranging documentation of this characteristic Roman cultural phenomenon, which had such grim significance for the Christian population of the Empire. The mosaic pavements of North Africa are a well-known source of information on these spectacles, but less familiar is the way that images on ARS and African lamps echo and parallel these pavements. They also make it clear how the popular events of earlier Imperial times, documented in middle Imperial mosaics, continued far into late antiquity. Early and middle Imperial ceramics also provide rarely cited anticipations of these images on ARS. Christian and philosophic attitudes to these spectacles of crime, punishment, and slaughter show a natural moral revulsion tempered by hierarchical considerations of social

status. In some respects they also reveal a curiously dogmatic and partisan reasoning. Imagery from the spectacles also flavors the apocalyptic pronouncements and exhortations of Christian authors.

As indicated above, one of the most important themes weaving through these studies is the meaningfulness of imagery on African Red Slip Ware and African lamps. In these intimately related ceramic traditions, images may at first appear out-of-context, scrambled, and incoherent. This impression of meaninglessness is in part due to the methods of production of this popular art. Potters used and reused figural stamps innumerable times with economy of production and decorative effect as pressing concerns. Comparison with literary texts and with art in other media, particularly mosaics, however, can overcome this impression of fragmentation. With these interpretive supplements from other realms, it is possible to reconstruct more fully the significance of North African ceramic imagery and to achieve greater insight into the life, attitudes, and thought of Late Antiquity.

CHAPTER ONE

PAULINUS OF NOLA, COURTYARDS, AND CANTHARI: A SECOND LOOK*

Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.

Some of the fullest descriptions of ancient churches and their decoration by a contemporary were written by Paulinus of Nola. These descriptions gain in significance because Paulinus was also the patron sponsoring some of these projects. Furthermore, parts of these constructions still survive. Interpreting the writings of Paulinus remains nonetheless difficult. A version of this essay was first published in 2000. Several important studies appeared around that time and thereafter, and much archaeological and museological research has taken place since. All of this makes it desirable for us to revisit the theme here.

LITERARY SOURCES

Paulinus's Descriptions of Church Courtyards in Rome and Cimitile

Some of the most elaborate and detailed descriptions of Early Christian churches by a Latin writer are given by the nobleman Pontius Meropius Paulinus, commonly known as Paulinus of Nola, after the city where he became bishop in the latter part of his life.¹ He was born in Bordeaux around

* The first version of this paper was published as "Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards and Canthari," *HTR* 93 (2000): 173–219. Another marble vase, viewed on a return trip to Cimitile, and recently published studies on the site have led to an extensive revision of the final sections of this paper. We would again like to dedicate the article to the memory of Richard Krautheimer. Thanks go to Dennis Trout for checking our translation of Paulinus's passages, and to Carlo Ebanista, Dieter Korol, and Tomas Lehmann for communicating and sending their latest publications on Cimitile. At the Historical Archaeological Workshop at Harvard organized by Kathleen Coleman and Christopher Jones, many important observations were made, now reflected in our text and footnotes. Jasper Gaunt has provided advice on Greek vase shapes.

¹ For an important study of Paulinus of Nola, see Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Transformation of the Classical Heritage 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

353, into a wealthy family that had extensive properties in Aquitania, Gallia Narbonensis, Latium, and Campania. He received an education appropriate to his noble stature and became the prize student of Ausonius, also a native of Bordeaux, who was the tutor of the (future) emperor Gratian and a celebrated poet at court.

Before 379, at a young age, Paulinus began a public career and became a consul, then some years later governor of Campania.² There he was introduced to the cult of Saint Felix, a confessor who probably lived at the time of the Diocletianic persecutions. The miracles of Saint Felix had become legendary in the region, and his burial place in Cimitile, the cemetery area of ancient Nola, had become a pilgrimage site long before Paulinus arrived. During his governorship Paulinus improved some of the infrastructure of the area, rebuilding a road to the church of Felix and erecting a hospice beside it.

After returning to his native Aquitania and the tumultuous times that followed the violent death of Gratian in 383, Paulinus found his way to Spain, where he married. He was baptized in 389 and then returned to Campania in 395. Together with his pious wife Therasia, he started an ascetic community at Saint Felix's tomb in Cimitile, during a time when many patrician men and women were renouncing the world and worldly goods. He became bishop of Nola around 409 and died in 431.

Paulinus was well-connected throughout the Early Christian world; he was respected by theologians of such stature as Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Rufinus; and he corresponded regularly with like-minded noblemen from Gaul, such as Sulpicius Severus. Distinguished guests, including Melania the Elder and Nicetas of Remesiana, visited him at the tomb of the holy Felix. Paulinus himself paid regular visits to Rome, particularly on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul. His description of Old Saint Peter's in Rome, begun by Constantine, is probably the earliest surviving written account of that building. Although the focus of his letter was not primarily the architecture but consolation for an old friend after the death of his wife, his incidental description of the church is of great importance.³ The letter to

² Paulinus was presumably a *consul suffectus*, that is, a consul who did not start his office at the beginning but during the course of the term. Such consuls, who were appointed in the case of the death, illness, or resignation of a consul, were not recorded in the *fasti*.

³ The major edition of Paulinus's works is Wilhelm von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Opera* (2 vols.; CSEL 29–30; Vienna: Tempsky, 1894). An accurate analysis of Paulinus's church descriptions was provided by Rudolf C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940).

Pammachius, which dates from early 396, also includes a description of the entrance courtyard:

It is a pleasure even now to linger on the sight and the praise of such a great work. For we do not laud the works of a human being but the divine works accomplished through a human being. What a joyous spectacle did you [Pammachius], sacred producer, display for God and his holy angels from this—as the saying goes—rich provision of yours. With what great pleasure did you exalt the apostle himself when you packed his whole basilica with dense crowds of needy people, where—under the height of its roof with ceiling panels in between—the spacious church lies wide open; and where, glittering from afar with the apostolic tomb, it binds the eyes and gladdens the hearts of those who enter. Where, under the same massive roof, the church expands on both sides with double porticoes and where, with the church extended through a vestibule (*vestibulum*) in front,⁴ there is a bright atrium;⁵ where a cupola (*tholus*) topped with solid brass adorns and shades a *cantharus*, which belches forth streams of water serving our hands and faces. Not without secret meaning does it surround the water spouts with four columns; such a decoration is proper for the entrance of the church in order that what is done inside by the mystery of salvation may be marked by the noteworthy work outside. For one single faith of the gospel also sustains the temple of our body with a fourfold support; and, since the grace by which we are reborn flows from it, and Christ, in whom we live, is revealed in it, surely a fountain of water springing to eternal life⁶ is born in that place for us on four columns of life; and it waters us within and boils in us, if only we should be able to say or deserve to feel that we have a burning heart on the road,⁷ which is kindled when Christ is walking with us.⁸

⁴ Since all the verbs in this sentence describing the architecture are in the present tense, we took *fusa* (basilica) as part of an ablative absolute separated from *est*. Goldschmidt (*Paulinus's Churches*, 165) thought that the passage did not make sense, judging it corrupt.

⁵ As Goldschmidt (*Paulinus's Churches*, 107) pointed out, the word *atrium* has two meanings; in this passage it is the inner court surrounded by porticoes, but later on in *Ep.* 32.15 (see below) it has the more general meaning of “church.”

⁶ John 4:14.

⁷ Compare Luke 24:32.

⁸ Paulinus, *Ep.* 13.13 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 29. 94–95): *Iuuat etiam nunc in spectaculo et praedicatione tanti operis inmorari. non enim hominis, sed diuina per hominem opera laudamus. quam laetum deo et sanctis angelis eius de hac tua, ut dici solet, plena spectaculum sacer editor exhibebas! quanto ipsum apostolum adtollebas gaudio, cum totam eius basilicam densis inopum coetibus stipauisses, uel qua sub alto sui culminis mediis ampla laquearibus longum patet et apostolico eminens solio coruscans ingredientium lumina stringit et corda laetificat, uel qua sub eadem mole tectorum geminis utrimque porticibus latera diffundit, quae praetento nitens atrium fusa uestibulo est, ubi cantharum ministra manibus et oribus nostris fluentia ructantem fastigatus solido aere tholus ornat et inumbrat, non sine mystica specie quattuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens. decet enim ingressum ecclesiae talis ornatus, ut quod intus mysterio salutari geritur spectabili*

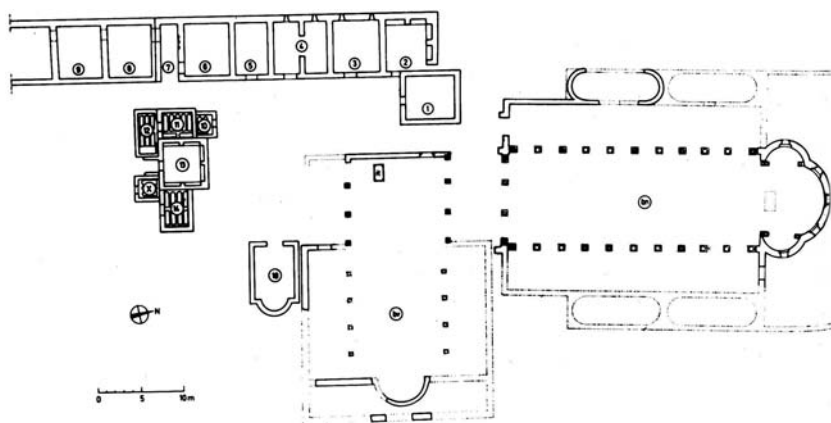


Fig. 1. Cimitile, Early Christian complex, 403 CE, plan by Tomas Lehmann.

Back in Nola, Paulinus aspired to put Cimitile on the map of prominent pilgrimage sites and even to make it one of the holy cities of the Christian West. In the first years of the fifth century, he embellished the old church around the shrine of the holy Felix. He had his pious verses set in mosaic to embellish the walls and to edify the growing number of Christian devotees. Paulinus added a new church to the complex, connecting the two by an open courtyard with water installations. He recorded his building activities in a letter and two poems, datable to 403 and 404; the poems belong to the series of his so-called *Carmina Natalicia*, which he wrote to celebrate the anniversary of the saint's death and which, supposedly, were recited during the celebrations.

Recurrent in these writings is the theme of courtyards. One is a courtyard that can be identified as located between the churches and is still extant (fig. 1); we designate this inner courtyard as Courtyard 1. Another is an outer courtyard, or possibly a system of courtyards, whose location has not yet been identified by excavations. We designate this as Courtyard 2. Since these descriptions are important both for the interpretation of some

pro foribus opere signetur. nam et nostri corporis templum quadriiugo stabilimento una euangelii fides sustinet et, cum ex eo gratia, qua renascimur, fluat et in eo Christus, quo uiuimus, reueletur, profecto nobis in quattuor uitae columnas illic aquae salientis in uitam aeternam fons nascitur nosque ab interno rigat et feruet in nobis, si tamen possimus dicere uel sentire mereamur habere nos cor ardens in uia, quod Christo nobiscum inambulante flammatur.

little-considered remains at the site and for the terminology of courtyards and their furnishings in general, it is worthwhile reviewing the relevant passages.

Epistula 32 (403/404)

Courtyard 1(?)

"Where a private entrance—as it were—opens from a little garden or orchard to the other basilica, these verses disclose this more secluded door."⁹

Courtyard 1

"In fact within this screen (*transenna*), by which is bridged that narrow gap (*intervallum*), which previously separated the basilicas that are near to each other, opposite the new basilica, above the middle arch the following verses occur:

As Jesus, our peace, abolished the middle of the wall and made two into one, taking away the dividing part through the cross, thus we see the new gables being united by an agreement of gates, after the division from the old shelter has been demolished. A bright *cantharus* with attending waters flows between the sacred church halls (*atria*) and washes the hands of those who enter with a serving stream."¹⁰

Carmen 27 (January 403)

Courtyard 1

"But where a vestibule (*vestibulum*), enclosed all around by a squared roof, opens up in its center to the sky, there was a little garden in the past with badly tended sod, a shabby plot that provided scant greens for no use."¹¹

⁹ Paulinus, *Ep.* 23.12 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 29. 288): Alterae autem basilicae qua de hortulo uel pomario quasi priuatus aperitur ingressus, hi uersiculi hanc secretiorem forem pandunt.

¹⁰ Paulinus, *Ep.* 32.15 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 29. 289–290): Intra ipsam uero transennam, qua breue illud, quod propinquas sibi basilicas prius discludebat, interuallum continuatur, e regione basilicae nouae super medianum arcum hi uersus sunt: Vt medium ualli, pax nostra, resoluit Iesus / Et cruce discidium perimens duo fecit in unum, / Sic noua destructo ueteris discrimine tecti / Culmina conspicimus portarum foedere iungi. / Sancta nitens famulis interluit atria lymphis / Cantharus intrantumque manus lauat amne ministro.

¹¹ Paulinus, *Carm.* 27.365–369 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 278): ast ubi consaeptum quadrato tegmine circa / uestibulum medio reseratur in aethera campo, / hortulus ante fuit male culto caespite, rarum / area uilis holus nullos praebat ad usus.

Courtyard 2

"But let us return to the courtyards (*atria*).¹² Notice the cells high up, placed on long porticoes so that the roof is doubled, dwelling places worthily fit to be occupied by good people, whom a zeal for praying has led here to the just glory of Saint Felix, not a concern for drinking. For the upper rooms, almost joined to the holy buildings, look from the upper windows upon the protected altars, under which the bodies of the saints have their resting place inside."¹³

Courtyard 1

"You may perhaps be eager to ask in the midst of these spectacles, from where this court (*area*), rich in so many fountains (*fontes*), should be replenished, since the town is a distance away and an almost nonexistent conduit of water from the town to this place releases only a little trickle through a narrow track. I will answer that we have no trust in our own skill, no confidence in the earthly resource, that we have entrusted everything to the mighty God and anticipate springs (*fontes*) from heaven. In fact, we have built reservoirs (*cisternae*) everywhere around the buildings to capture the streams from the clouds when God pours them out, from which source the marble basins (*cava marmora*) may equally flow with brims full. But even if sometimes a shortage of water should occur, the court (*area*) will probably be worth seeing even with dry vessels (*vasa*), since it is decorated with differing shapes in a well-arranged order and adorned with all kinds of basins shaped like shells (*conchae*) and with colored fountain columns (*metae*).¹⁴ For you remember how even in the great temple of Solomon a dry sea became a decoration, which the wise king presented in solid bronze and had placed on brass bulls. Examine now the other side, how there is only one portico, and a wall formed by columns mediating between the open space

¹² It is difficult to know whether the plural here is a real or a poetic plural. See also below: *Carm.* 28.9: *atria* (plur.), but *Carm.* 28.54: *area* (sing.).

¹³ Paulinus, *Carm.* 27.395–402 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 279–280): *sed rursum redeamus in atria. conspice sursum / inpositas longis duplicato tegmine cellas / porticibus, metanda bonis habitacula digne, / quos huc ad sancti iustum Felicis honorem / duxerit orandi studium, non cura bibendi. / nam quasi contignata sacris cenacula tectis / spectant de superis altaria tuta fenestris, / sub quibus intus habent sanctorum corpora sedem.*

¹⁴ The fact that Paulinus does not mention the cantharus in this description is no reason not to identify the courtyard as the one located between the two churches. Goldschmidt (*Paulinus's Churches*, 115) pointed out that Paulinus might not have installed the cantharus yet; Paulinus may not have mentioned it for other reasons.

(*spatium*)—open in two directions—unites the church halls (*aulae*) with itself by a passage while separated on top. It is time for our roaming eyes to pass to the sanctuary here, which, open on the long side, receives with the light of the sky expanse of room, which extends itself to the adjacent courtyard (*atrium*), joining through the inserted arches what was disjoined; it offers to the people the spectacle of an irrigated field, which nevertheless surrounding walls enclose with a well-constructed fence, so that the holy house is not exposed to profane eyes, and the vestibule (*vestibulum*) though open to the air protects the secret places.”¹⁵

Carmen 28 (January 404)

Courtyard 2

“In a performance long familiar to us something new accrues, and the customary ceremonies grow by an uncustomary votive gift. These works that recently sprang up in his churches both double the material for my song and magnify the birthday of the gracious Felix; you see that they have sprung forth with towering structures on all sides shining with equal beauty. On this side vestibules (*vestibula*) are disclosed, broadly surrounded by long porticoes, with an open part (*opertum*) enclosed by roofed buildings, and as the stars are exposed to the eyes the courtyards (*atria*) are open to walk in. On the other side the church halls (*aulae*) are united by adjoining walls, and, in a position that spreads out and yet comes together, they are accessible and join the rivaling gables with connecting beams. They stand out handsomely with varied colors in matching refinement with marble,

¹⁵ Paulinus, *Carm* 27.463–490 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 282–284): forsitan haec inter cupidus spectacula quaeras, / unde replenda sit haec tot fontibus area diues, / cum procul urbs et ductus aquae prope nullus ab urbe / exiguum huc tenui dimittat limite guttam. / respondebo, nihil propria nos fidere dextra, / nil ope terrena confidere, cuncta potenti / deposuisse deo et fontes praesumere caelo. / denique cisternas adstruximus undique tectis, / capturi fundente deo de nubibus amnes, / unde fluant pariter plenae caua marmora labris. / quod si etiam interdum obuenerit defectus aquarum, / ordine disposito uarias distincta figuras / concharumque modis et pictis florida metis / forte erit et siccis spectabilis area uasis. / namque tenes etiam magna Salomonis in aede / quam fuerit decori siccum mare, quod sapiens rex / aere dedit solido et tauris suspendit aenis. / aspice nunc aliud latus: ut sit porticus una, / et paries mediis spatium bipatente columnis / culmine discretas aditu sibi copulat aulas. / tempus in hanc transire oculis peragantibus aedem, / quae longum reserata latus, cum lumine caeli / acquirit spatium tecti, quod in atria iuncta / panditur, insertos socians disiuncta per arcus / et populis rigui praebebat spectacula campi, / quem tamen includunt structo circumdata saepto / moenia, ne pateant oculis sacra tecta profanis / uestibulumque patens aurae defendat operta.

painting, paneled ceilings and columns, among which small recesses give a charming variation."¹⁶

*Courtyard*¹

"The inner court (*area*) smiles with its variegated decorations,¹⁷ joyful on top with its roof-coverings, and with its clear facades in broad daylight, and down below wreathed with snow-white columns. In its open part a bright *cantharus* stands out, covered by a towering bronze structure with a crown of lattice-work. Other vases (*vasa*) stand under the open sky fitted out as little fountains (*fonticuli*); they are installed differently in a pleasing sequence, and their workmanship varies, but the vein of their marble is the same; one and the same stream of water flows from different outlets (*os*) into containers (*capaces*). This joint court (*area*) offers access to all three basilicas, and the access from one point unfolds in all different directions; in like manner it receives in one inner center the various outlets from three sides, while it [*area*] is spacious with a paved central part. Yet with the well-arranged order of five rows of bright basins (*conchae*), the dense series with its accumulation of marble is a marvel for the eyes but a strain for those wandering about; there is plenty of space to walk around, however, in the surrounding porticoes and for those who are tired to lean upon the latticework (*cancelli*) between the columns, to watch from there the flowing basins (*lacus*) and to see the wet ground with dry feet without treading the floor and admire the fountains (*fontes*), which spout in gentle competition and with quiet murmur. Not only in the winter time is the place pleasantly convenient; for just as the shadow of the roof is beneficial during the heat, even so pleasing are the rays of sunlight in the cold and the dry spots in the rain."¹⁸

¹⁶ Paulinus, *Carm.* 28.1–15 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 291): In ueteri nobis noua res adnascitur actu, / et solita insolito crescunt sollemnia uoto, / materiamque simul mihi carminis et simul almi / natalem geminant Felicis in aedibus eius / nata recens opera haec, quae molibus undique celsis / cernitis emicuisse pari splendentia cultu. / istic porticibus late circumdata longis / uestibula incluso tectis reserantur operto / et simul astra oculis, ingressibus atria pandunt. illic adiunctis sociantur moenibus aulae / diffusoque situ simul et coeunte patentes / aemula consertis iungunt fastigia tignis / et paribus uarie speciosae cultibus extant / marmore pictura laquearibus atque columnis, / inter quae et modicis uariatur gratia cellis.

¹⁷ For *area* as inner court, see Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches*, 132–133.

¹⁸ Paulinus, *Carm.* 28.28–52 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 292–293): interior uariis ornatibus area ridet, / laeta super tectis et aperta luce serenis / frontibus atque infra niueis redimita columnis. / cuius in exposito praelucens cantharus extat, / quem cancellato tegit aerea culmine turris. / cetera dispositis stant uasa sub aere nudo / fonticulis,

Courtyard 2

"On the other side opens up an exterior court (*area*), which is equally surrounded by porticoes, less ornate but more spacious. In front of the holy shrines a vestibule (*vestibulum*) opens up visible from afar; with its cells built up forming a second roof through the connecting beams of the joint houses, it gives the impression of a fortress—resembling a wall—and it opens up a widely spacious forecourt (*forum*) for gatherings."¹⁹

Courtyard 1

"How well has it changed its appearance. After the use of manure, its adornment is now marble; after cheap cabbages, it bears Parian basins shaped like shells (*Parias conchas*)²⁰ and sparkles with water, where it used to shine with filth."²¹

Cantharus in the Latin West

Most of the terms Paulinus used for the water containers in these descriptions of church courtyards (*concha*, *vas*, *fons*, *cavum*, *lacus*) are familiar, frequently-used terms, as Rudolf Goldschmidt has pointed out in his

grato uarie quibus ordine fixis / dissidet artis opus, concordat uena metalli, / unaque diuerso fluit ore capacibus unda. / basilicis haec iuncta tribus patet area cunctis, / diuersosque aditus ex uno pandit ad omnes, / atque itidem gremio diuersos excipit uno / a tribus egressus, medio spatiosa pauito; / quod tamen ordinibus structis per quinque nitentum / agmina concharum series denseta coacto / marmore mirum oculis aperit, spatiantibus artat; / sed circumiectis in porticibus spatium / copia larga subest interpositisque columnas / cancellis fessos incumbere et inde fluentes / aspectare lacus pedibusque madentia siccis / cernere nec calcare sola et certamine blando / mirari placido salientes murmure fontes. / non solum hiberno placitura in tempore praesto est / commoditas, quia sic tecti iuuat umbra per aestum, / sicut aprica placent in frigore siccaque in imbris.

¹⁹ Paulinus, *Carm.* 28.53–59 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 293): parte alia patet exterior quae cingitur aequae / area porticibus, cultu minor, aequore maior. / ante sacras aedes longe spectabile pandit / uestibulum, duplici quae extructis tegmine cellis / per contextarum coeuntia tigna domorum / castelli speciem meditatur imagine muri / conciliisque forum late spatiabile pandit.

²⁰ The term "Parian" stands for "very white"; this qualification of marble was also used in the Septuagint in the description of the Temple of Solomon and became a literary topos; see Moshe Fischer, "'... on Parian pillars' (The Book of Esther 1:6): Bible, Midrash and Real Marble in the Ancient Near East," *JJS* 50 (1999): 235–245; Anniewies van den Hoek and John Herrmann, "Parian Marble in Nola: Historical Reality or Literary Fiction?," *ASMOSIA* 5, Fifth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Boston, 1998 (London: Archetype, 2002), 340–346.

²¹ Paulinus, *Carm.* 28.276–278 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 30. 303): quam bene mutavit speciem, post stercoris usum / marmoris ornatum, Parias post vilia conchas / brassica fert et splendet aquis quae sorde nitebat.

commentary.²² Goldschmidt also observes that the cantharus has special prominence, since it is protected by a bronze canopy. The cantharus is further singled out in being the only vessel of its kind among what may be a multitude of the other types. Paulinus's usage of the word cantharus is unusual linguistically and deserves further investigation. The word is originally Greek (κάνθαρος) and has a variety of meanings, one of which is a kind of drinking cup with large vertical handles.²³ In Greek comedy texts, the term appears frequently in connection with Dionysos and jolly drinking parties.²⁴ This usage has its counterpart in the Western world, where Latin playwrights similarly connect the cantharus with rowdy carousing.²⁵

In Latin, however, the cantharus was also employed in a new sense, namely as a *cantharus aquarius*. This was apparently a water vessel that was used as a fountain or basin, rather than a drinking cup. Although there are many words in the Greek language for water vessels and fountains, as will be seen below, the word cantharus is not among them. It may be added that the more common word *concha*, also used by Paulinus to describe the vessels in his courtyard, likewise has a Greek pedigree and, like the word cantharus, was not applied to a water vessel in its original Greek setting.²⁶

Only rarely before Paulinus is the term cantharus mentioned in the sense of a water vessel. One instance is provided by Pliny the Elder, who describes a floor mosaic made by Sosus in Pergamon, showing doves perched on the rim and reflected in the water of a cantharus.²⁷ The other instance is in a legal text concerned with inheritance.²⁸ The document speaks about bequests of building materials; some can be inherited, others not, and specifications are given in great detail. Materials that are firmly attached to a building, such as

²² Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches*, 172–174.

²³ “κάνθαρος,” LSJ, 874b: 1. dung-beetle (scarab); 2. drinking cup with large handles; 3. a kind of Naxian boat; 4. black sea-beam; 5. (in Egypt) mark or knot of the Apis-bull; 6. woman's ornament (possibly in the form of a scarab).

²⁴ See CAF, Phrynicius frg. 15; Amipsius frg. 2; Axionicus frg. 7.

²⁵ See Plautus, *Asinaria* 906; *Menaechmi* 177; *Mostellaria* 347.

²⁶ In Greek κόγχη is a “mussel” or perhaps a “cockle”; it also stands for shell-like cavities in the body, such as the “hollow of the ear” or the “knee pan”; in addition “niches” for statues or “apses” of buildings can be called κόγχαι.

²⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Hist. nat.* 36.184: mirabilis ibi columba bibens et aquam umbra capitis infuscans; apricantur aliae scabentes sese in canthari labro (“remarkable there is a dove drinking and darkening the water with the shadow of its head; others bask in the sun preening themselves on the rim of a cantharus”).

²⁸ Ulpian, *Dig.* 30. 41. 11: canthari per quos aquae saliunt, poterunt legari, maxime si impositicii sunt (“canthari with water spouts can be bequested, in particular if they are not fastened”).

marbles and columns, cannot be passed on, but railings and awnings can. Water pipes and tanks have to stay; but automatic mechanisms and canthari, through which water jumps up, can be bequeathed—particularly if they are detachable. Thus these two texts from the first and early third centuries CE show that the word cantharus was used for a water vessel; the cantharus of the second text could even be equipped with tubes for water jets.

In the Christian realm there is more to be learned about canthari and water. Paulinus's contemporary Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, mentions the former term in his *Instructiones ad Salonium*, which was intended to make Hebrew and Greek words understandable to the Latin speakers. He explains that *luter*, a word that occurs in the book of Kings, means *conchae* or *canthari aquarii*. He adds that the term cantharus was a Greek noun,²⁹ but the word *luter* was evidently even more of a novelty in Latin and required an explanation. *Luter* had been introduced into Latin shortly before by Jerome as a Graecism, and it gained rapid popularity through his Latin translation of the bible, the Vulgate.³⁰ Some one-hundred and fifty years after Jerome's death, by the time of Gregory the Great, the word seems to be firmly established in the Christian vocabulary and was no longer considered a neologism.³¹

The Vulgate translation of the book of Kings makes use of the word *luter*, but earlier translations had apparently used other terms, perhaps *concha* or cantharus—judging by Eucherius.³² Since scarcely any of the book of Kings is preserved in the Old Latin translation(s), we almost have to take Eucherius's word for it. One piece of evidence, however, confirms his explanation: in a manuscript of the Vulgate, in a description of the Temple of Solomon (1Kgs 7:38), the word cantharus appears unexpectedly where the Vulgate uses *luter*.³³ The Itala or Vetus Latina reads as follows: et

²⁹ Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructiones ad Salonium* 2 (CSEL 31; ed. Carolus Wotke; Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), 147: *Luter*es in Regnorum conchae vel canthari aquarii. Sed et cantharus Graecum nomen est ("*Luter*es in the book of Kings are *conches* or *water canthari*; but also cantharus is a Greek word").

³⁰ Particularly through passages in 1Kgs 7, which describe the water arrangements in the Temple of Solomon.

³¹ See Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis, Epistulae, Expositio Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*.

³² See also the legend of the martyr Pelagia, which is extant in a Greek and Latin version: λουτήρ appears as *concha* in the Latin text; *Vita Pelagiae* 5 (Hermann Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia* [Bonn: C. Georgi, 1879], 6) and (PL 73. 665–666). On rare occasions Jerome did translate λουτήρ in the Vulgate as *concha*; see 2 Chr 4:6, 14. *Conca* also occurs in Judg 6:38, but the word in the LXX is λεκάνη.

³³ See "cantharus": Itala III reg. 7. 38 (Legion.), *Thesaurus Lingua Latina*; this reference is hard to find since only Itala (Legion.) is indicated and no edition is provided. The Cambridge

mensuravit unum cantharus in unum mechonoth in totas X mechonoth (“and he measured one cantharus on one mechonoth, ten mechonoth in total”). This information is preserved as a marginal note in a manuscript of the Vulgate located in Leon, Spain.³⁴

Taking a step backwards, the Septuagint itself did not have λουτήρ in this instance, but χυτρόκαυλος, another word for vessel or earthen pot. The original Hebrew בִּיּוֹר, however, is the same word that the Septuagint elsewhere translated as λουτήρ; Jerome may have preferred to be consistent with his Hebrew model, which translators of the Septuagint, for reasons unknown, had varied in this passage with χυτρόκαυλος.³⁵

The word χυτρόκαυλος³⁶ itself conceals some interesting information on the form of the vase involved. The word is a compound consisting of two parts: χύτρα, an earthenware pot, and γαυλός, which denotes any round vessel. The word χύτρα, however, has a surprising second meaning: it stands for a kiss, in which one holds the other by the ears as by handles!³⁷ So if χυτρόκαυλος is translated in the Vetus Latina as cantharus, and if the word in Greek has this extra meaning, it is not too much of a stretch to presume that the vessel had handles resembling ears, especially since in some modern languages ears can still signify the vertical handles of a pot.³⁸ It is likely then that the authors of both the Septuagint and the Vetus Latina envisaged the water vessel in the temple of Solomon as a cantharus with vertical handles that looked like big ears. This observation may have consequences for the historical reconstruction of the vessels that were described by Paulinus in the courtyards of both the Cimitile complex and Old Saint Peter's in Rome.

edition of the LXX solved the problem; see the following note. With special thanks to Gloria Korsman and Cliff Wunderlich of the Andover-Harvard Library for their help in finding sources like these.

³⁴ Carlo Vercellone, ed., *Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis* (2 vols.; Rome: Spithover, 1860–1864), 2: 482. Alan E. Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek. According to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940), 2.2: 231.

³⁵ See 1 Kgs 7:24, 29 LXX (= 1 Kgs 7:38, 43 MT and Vg). Jerome, however, is not always consistent in his translation from the Greek. In the instances, in which χυτρόκαυλος occurs, he translates them as *luter* (1 Kgs 7:38 Vg = 1 Kgs 7.24 LXX). In other passages, however, in which the LXX has λουτήρ, Jerome may choose not only *luter* but also other words, such as *labium*, *labrum*, *lebes*, or *conca*.

³⁶ Also known as χυδρόκαυλος, χυδρόγαυλος, or κυτρόγαυλος.

³⁷ See “χύτρα,” LSJ, 2014a; referring to the comical author of the 5th century BCE, Eunicus, fig. 1: Ααβοῦσα τῶν ὧτων φάλησον τὴν χύτραν. See also Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10. 100.

³⁸ See, for example, in Dutch: de oren van een pot.

Another contemporary of Paulinus describes a similar arrangement in another major church in Rome. A follower of Damasus, possibly Leo the Great, was the author of an epigram inscribed on the architrave of a structure in the atrium of Saint Paul's Outside the Walls, an epigram that spoke of a cantharus that "vomits out fluids with a full mouth."³⁹ Paulinus had used similar visceral imagery in his description of the cantharus in the courtyard of Saint Peter's, when he spoke about a cantharus that belched forth streams of water.⁴⁰

At the same time, the cantharus preserved its other traditional meanings as well. The word appears in the *Passion of the Quattro Coronati*; little figures (*sigillae*) and small drinking cups (*canthari*) are carved on water vessels, which in this case are termed *conchae* and *lacus*. Figural compositions with canthari had also been popular on sarcophagi depicting Dionysiac scenes. In his *Psychomachia*, Prudentius mentions an enormous cantharus in connection with a drinking party.⁴¹

The cantharus as a water vessel surfaces again in an official document around the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. The *Liber Pontificalis*, the official chronicle of the papacy in antiquity records that Pope Symmachus (498–514) decorated the basilica of Saint Peter's with marble and then adds: *Ad cantharum beati Petri cum quadriporticum*⁴² *ex opere marmoribus ornavit et ex musivo agnos et cruces et palmas ornavit* ("he embellished the area around the cantharus of Saint Peter with a quadruple porch made out of marble and he adorned it with lambs and crosses and palms made of mosaic").⁴³ The document further records a vast reconstruction of the courtyard with additional steps in front of it. The document reports that Pope Symmachus put in other water vessels as well. Interestingly, it says that a second cantharus was set up for human needs: *Item sub gradus in atrio alium cantharum foris in campo posuit et usum necessitatis humanae fecit*

³⁹ Ernest Diehl, *ILCV*, 1: 1514: *Perdiderat laticum longaeva incuria cursus quos tibi nunc pleno cantharus ore vomit* ("longtime negligence had lost the waterflows, which at present a cantharus vomits out with a full mouth for you").

⁴⁰ Paulinus, *Ep.* 13.13: *cantharum ... fluenta ructantem* (see above).

⁴¹ *Passio Quattuor Coronatorum* 1.5, *Acta Sanctorum, Novembris, III* (Brussels, 1910) 768: *cavare concas et lacus cum sigillis et cantharis* ("to carve 'conches' and basins with small figures and drinking cups"); see also Goldschmidt, *Paulinus's Churches*, 114. Prudentius (*Psychomachia*, 367) speaks about a party and a huge cantharus (*cantharus ingens*), in which wine is kept.

⁴² For *cum* + acc., see Blaise-Chirat, s. v. "*cum*."

⁴³ *Liber Pontificalis* 1. 262; edition of Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (1886; reprinted Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1981).

("similarly, at the foot of the steps in the atrium he placed another cantharus outside in the open space and arranged it for human necessity"). The human need probably refers to drinking water.⁴⁴

Courtyards, Vessels, and Washing Rituals in the Greek-Speaking East

Greek literary sources also provide information about the issues that interest us here: arrangements of courtyards, washing rituals, water vessels, and their nomenclature. One of the first descriptions of an Early Christian church exists in Eusebius's panegyric on the erection of churches, addressed to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre.⁴⁵ To date, no archaeological evidence of the church in Tyre has been found. The exact year of its construction and dedication is uncertain, but there are convincing arguments to date the events between 316 and 319.⁴⁶ Rufinus did not include the panegyric in his translation of Eusebius's work, so only the Greek text is extant.

The passages describing the architecture have often been studied and commented upon, particularly by archaeologists and scholars of early Christian architecture, as have other descriptions, such as those of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, preserved in Eusebius's *Vita Constantini*.⁴⁷ Commentators always caution readers that Eusebius did not give a technical report but rather described these buildings in a rhetorical fashion and, one might add, in the framework of his religious program. We are very aware of these problems, which are equally endemic in the work of Paulinus of Nola.

Having said this, there are still observations to be made that could be relevant for the descriptions that Paulinus gave in the West. In the passage on the church of Tyre, Eusebius speaks about an entrance court, also called an atrium (αἶθριον), which is open to the sky and exposed to the sunlight but screened off from the outside by four surrounding porticoes.⁴⁸ The place is meant for purification, since, as Eusebius points out, it is not permitted

⁴⁴ The phrase seems euphemistic, and Duchesne has interpreted this as a reference to a public toilet or forica; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1: 267, n. 28. The location out in the open in front of the church, however, seems to preclude such a function.

⁴⁵ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 10.4.37–45.

⁴⁶ See Gustave Bardy, ed., *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique VIII–X* (SC 55; Paris: Cerf, 1993⁴), 81, n. 1.

⁴⁷ For more information, see the extended footnote in *ibid.*, 93, n. 60. See also Averil Cameron and Stuart Hall, *Eusebius, Life of Constantin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 273–301, 387–339.

⁴⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.4.39–41.

to enter the sanctuary with dirty and unwashed feet. He indicates that as symbols of purification there are fountains (κρήναι), placed opposite the entrance of the church. This first resting place is also meant to accommodate those who are still in need of first instruction: that is, the catechumens.

There are striking similarities between Eusebius's and Paulinus's descriptions not only of the atrium, but also of the entrances and the interior of the churches. Moreover, it seems possible that Paulinus could have known Eusebius's account of the church of Tyre.⁴⁹ There are, on the other hand, important differences. Eusebius does not speak about one particular vessel, comparable to the cantharus of Paulinus, singled out in the middle of the atrium. Furthermore, the function of the water in the entrance courtyard in Palestine was apparently for washing feet rather than hands. Although Eusebius does not mention it, the washing of hands would have been a virtually inevitable by-product of the cleaning process; but the primary function of the fountains, at least, seems to have been for footwashing,⁵⁰ just as it is nowadays in a mosque. In addition, Eusebius says that the atrium was a station for catechumens, a function that is absent in Paulinus's descriptions.

In the fourth century, Chrysostom, a contemporary of Paulinus in the East, alludes to washing rituals in his homilies.⁵¹ In an elaborate simile, in which he compares the architectural arrangements with the right religious attitude, he writes:

Just as it is customary that there are fountains [κρήναι] in the courtyards of houses of prayer, so that those who are going to pray to God and first wash their hands, lift them up to pray in this way. Thus the fathers put instead of springs and fountains [πηγαί and κρήναι] the poor in front of the doors, so that, as we wash our hands with water, thus wiping our soul clean first with love for human beings, we pray in this way.⁵²

⁴⁹ It is hard to support this observation other than with the internal evidence of the descriptions themselves. Rufinus did not translate the panegyric into Latin; therefore, the question arises as to whether Paulinus could have read Eusebius's works in Greek. Some of his works were known to Paulinus, since he himself reported in *Ep.* 3.3 to have sent a copy of Eusebius's *Chronicon* to Augustine's friend Alypius.

⁵⁰ The literary background for this may lie in texts such as Ex 30:21; 40:31; and Ps 58:11. See also Pier Franco Beatrice, *La lavanda dei piedi, contributo alla storia delle antiche liturgie cristiane* (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni liturgiche, 1982).

⁵¹ The accounts of the Cappadocians of church building do not speak about water fountains or basins; see Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistula* 25, and Gregory of Nazianzen, *Or.* 18.39. The latter does mention an open space in the church financed by his father, but the rich springs there are used metaphorically as springs or sources of light (πήγαι φωτός πλουσίαι).

⁵² John Chrysostom, *Habentes eundem spiritum* (hom. 1–3), PG 51. 300. 34–43: Καθάπερ γὰρ κρήνας εἶναι ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἶκων νενόμισται, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες εὖχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ,

On another occasion he uses the same image with a play on the words λύτρον and λουτήρ:

The ransom [λύτρον]⁵³ of the soul is almsgiving. Therefore just as there are basins [λουτήρες] filled with water in front of the church's doors to wash your hands, thus the poor sit outside the church so that you may clean the hands of your soul. Did you wash the hands of your senses with water? Wash the hands of your soul with mercy!⁵⁴

Like others, such as Tertullian before him,⁵⁵ Chrysostom tends to play down the importance of handwashing, urging people not only to have clean hands but, more importantly, clean souls.

Nothing makes the soul as stained as greediness and plunder. There are some, however, who do an infinite number of bad things during the day, but in the evening they wash themselves and come into the church totally unabashed raising up their hands as if they lay everything aside through the font (κολυμβήθρα) of the waters.⁵⁶

The same message occurs on a (rather famous) palindrome inscription, which is preserved on some basins, reading: Νίψον ἀνομήματα, μὴ μόναν ὄψιν ("wash your lawless actions, not only your face").⁵⁷ Latin inscriptions give similar exhortations, although not so ingenious as the Νίψον inscription. On an Early Christian marble column in Viterbo, Italy, thought to have functioned as the base for a water vessel, was written: Xr(ist)iane laba manus

πρότερον ἀπονιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, οὕτως αὐτὰς εἰς εὐχὴν ἀνατείνωσιν· οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἀντὶ πηγῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἔστησαν οἱ πατέρες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, ἵνα ὥσπερ ὕδατι τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονίπτομεν, οὕτω φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποσμήχοντες πρότερον, οὕτως εὐχόμεθα; see also *ibid.*, 302. 11–14.

⁵³ See also Ex 30:12 LXX.

⁵⁴ Chrysostom, *De paenitentia* (hom. 1–9), PG 49. 294. ll. 36–42: Λύτρον ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἐλεημοσύνη. Διὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ οἱ λουτήρες ὕδατος πεπληρωμένοι εἰσὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα νίψῃ τὰς χεῖρας· οὕτω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξω οἱ πένητες καθέζονται, ἵνα πλύνῃς τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐπλύνας τὰς χεῖρας τὰς αἰσθητάς τῷ ὕδατι; πλύνον τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλεημοσύνη. Comparing washing parts of the body and the purification of the soul has a long tradition and is also attested in Jewish writers such as Philo and Josephus.

⁵⁵ Tertullian, *Orat.* 13.1: Ceterum quae ratio est manibus quidem ablutis spiritu vero sordente orationem obire ("Yet what sense does it make to perform a prayer with clean hands but with a dirty mind").

⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, *In epistulam II ad Timotheum* (hom. 1–10), PG 62. 635. 10–16: Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω ποιεῖ ψυχὴν μιανὰν, ὥς πλεονεξία καὶ ἀρπαγὴ. Ἀλλ' εἰσὶ τινες οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν, μυρία διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι κακὰ, λουόμενοι εἰσίσαιιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρόρησίας τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντες, ὥς τὸ πᾶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων κολυμβήθρας ἀποθέμενοι.

⁵⁷ For inscribed objects, see *CIG* 4. 8940.1, from Constantinople, now in Paris; Peek, *GVI* 1720 from Apamea in Pisidia; *SEG* 26. 1016, from the Katapoliani on Paros. For literary sources, see *Anthologia Palatina* 16. 387c (ed. H. Beckby). Compare also John Chrysostom, *Exp. Ps.*, PG 55. 65. 11–13.

et ora ut remittant(ur tibi peccata) (“Christian, wash your hands and pray, in order that your sins may be forgiven”).⁵⁸

Returning to the Greek realm, it appears that the terms κρήνη, πηγή, and λουτήρ are frequently used for vessels that are connected with religious washing. As words, they all have different nuances that seem to allude to their function rather than their shape. The term κρήνη denotes a fountain from a spring or a well, and πηγή stands for running water or a stream. The latter is often used metaphorically, as in “streams of tears,” “founts of light,” or “sources of evil.” The term λουτήρ, on the other hand, denotes an object that receives its water from the outside and is a kind of washing or bathing tub. It is usually thought to be something big; some ancient authors even provide dimensions and cubic contents of these vessels.⁵⁹ There are also smaller examples, but they may have the diminutive ending: λουτήριον. The word λουτήρ also occurs very frequently in Septuagint descriptions of the tabernacle or the equipment of Solomon’s temple;⁶⁰ these biblical descriptions obviously influenced early Christian language and usage. We saw this already with the word cantharus, and the word *luter* itself only made its entry into the Latin world on the occasion of Jerome’s vulgate translation.

It should be noted that another word for vase in early Christian texts was κρατήρ or *crater*, a mixing vessel for water and wine. Interestingly, in a non-Christian environment the word and the object it represents show a similar development to that of cantharus; *craters* were not only used as mixing bowls but also functioned as water fountains, as a description of Pliny the Younger and a passage from the *Digests* shows.⁶¹ In early Christian usage, however, the word crater appears to be highly charged with metaphoric meaning, which already had a long literary tradition from Plato onward.⁶²

⁵⁸ Diehl, *ICLV* I. 1557, Viterbo 6th century.

⁵⁹ See Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 5.2g (ed. G. Kaibel).

⁶⁰ See, for example, Ex 30:18–21; 1 Kgs 2:35; 7:17.

⁶¹ Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 5.6.23: Fonticulus in hoc, in fonte crater; circa sipunculi plures miscent iucundissimum murmur (“In there is a little fountain and a crater on the fountain-head; around it a multitude of pipes stir up a most delightful murmur”). Justinian, *Digesta* 33.7: Fistula autem et canales et crateres et si qua sunt alia ad aquas salientes necessaria, item seae et claves magis domus portio quam domus instrumentum sunt (“But waterpipes, channels and craters—and if there are any other things necessary for water spouts as well as the nuts and bolts—are part of the house rather than its furnishing”). Although in Greek the word “crater” can have multiple meanings, the crater as water fountain is a particularly Latin phenomenon.

⁶² Plato, *Timaeus* 41d speaks of a κρατήρ τῶν ψυχῶν, a “crater of the souls.” This concept comes up in the discussion of the creation of the world and of living creatures. It refers to the mixing of souls, their ranking and destiny, an idea that was introduced to the Latin-speaking

Numerous Christian commentaries show the symbolism of mixing water and wine and the close links to imagery of the Eucharist.⁶³ Even the body of Christ could be called a *crater*.⁶⁴ This may explain why the word crater was not used innocently by Christians to describe the water arrangements of church compounds as Pliny had done in describing the water installation in his lush garden.

In Greek, a variety of other terms occur for the water installations in church courtyards.⁶⁵ The historian Socrates reports a bloody fight between factions in the Arian controversy. At one point, the main villain in the story removes the bones of the emperor Constantine, inciting a violent reaction. The courtyard of the church where the bones were kept was said to be covered with blood, and the well in the courtyard gushed over with blood, so that it even flowed into the adjacent portico as far as the main street.⁶⁶ The term used here for the well is *φρεάρ*,⁶⁷ which stands for an artificial well,

world as well; see, for example, derogatively used by Arnobius, *Nat.* 2.25 [anima] affluens ex crateribus vivis, ("[the soul] flowing abundantly from living craters"); also Arnobius, *Nat.* 2.52 (with reference to Plato as the "mixmaster" of souls), and Chalcidius, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 140.

⁶³ One of the frequently used biblical texts in this respect is Prov 9:1–5 in the version of the VL (Cyprian, *Test.* 2.2): Sapiaientia ... miscuit in cratere (in cratere om.Vg.) vinum suum ... et misit servos suos convocans cum excelsa praedicatione ad craterem ("Wisdom mixed its wine in a crater ... and sent out its servants while calling [the unwise] together with a lofty proclamation to the crater"). This text was very familiar to Origen; see, for example, *Cant. hom.* 4 (GCS Origen 8. 184) and *Jer. hom.* 12.1 (GCS Origen 3. 86–87). Origen may well have influenced other writers with his interpretation not only in the Greek, but also in the Latin-speaking world. See Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani Consolatio* (CSEL 73; ed. Faller; 362): Sapiaientia enim in cratere miscuit vinum suum, dicens: venite, edite panes meos, et bibite vinum, quod miscui vobis ("For Wisdom mixed its wine in a crater, saying: come, eat my loaves of bread, and drink the wine that I mixed for you"). Jerome renders this text in his translation of Origen's homilies on Jeremiah, *Jeremiah* (*hom.* 9), PL 25. 648c: Et sapientia convocat ad craterem suum, dicens: venite, manducate panes meos, et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis ("And Wisdom calls together to its mixing bowl, saying: come, eat my loaves of bread and drink the wine that I mixed for you").

⁶⁴ Jerome, *Comm. Eccl.* 2.8 (CC 72; ed. Adriaen; 267): et sapientia cratere mixto in Proverbiis praetereuntes ad se convocat, corpus Domini nunc craterem magnum debemus accipere ("and through the mixing bowl in Proverbs, Wisdom calls to itself those who do not pay attention; we now should receive the body of the Lord, the big crater").

⁶⁵ For an excellent survey, see the article of Alfonz Maria Schneider, "Cantharus," *RAC*, 2: 845–847.

⁶⁶ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 38. 127 (ed. Hussey): ὥστε τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκέινης αἵματος πλήρη γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ φρεάρ ὑπερβλύσαι τοῦ αἵματος, ἐκρεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην στοὰν ἄχρι τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς.

⁶⁷ Compare also the elaborate allegorical discussion of the differences between *φρεάρ* and *πηγή* in Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 13.

as distinguished from κρήνη, and is used later on as the name for a cistern or tank.

We cannot go over all the terminology here,⁶⁸ but one passage should be mentioned, since it is an important document for students of art history. In his description of Hagia Sophia, Paul the Silentiary gave a very vivid description of a vessel and its function, when he wrote:

A very wide *phiale* stands in the precious center of the long courtyard (αὐλή),⁶⁹ a block cut out of the best Iassis,⁷⁰ where a stream of splashing water jumps up in the air to send a squirt, which springs up with force from a bronze pipe, a squirt that drives away all sufferings when people in the gold-robed month⁷¹ at the time of the feast of God's initiation⁷² draw for themselves undefiled water in nightly vessels.⁷³

The central vessel here is the φιάλη, a flat bowl traditionally used for rituals of drinking and pouring libations. In the Christian tradition of early times, it served mainly as a liturgical vessel on the altar.⁷⁴ Although originally perceived as a small, portable saucer-like bowl, in Byzantine times the vessel became increasingly associated with large water basins, as is clear from Paul's description.

⁶⁸ For more examples, see Schneider, "Cantharus," 845–847. François Bovon has brought to our attention the rare term ἀγνευτήριον; see François Bovon, "Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840, Fragment of a Lost Gospel, Witness of an Early Christian Controversy over Purity," *JBL* 119/4 (2000): 705–728. An extensive study of the shape of vessels and their Latin nomenclature is published by Werner Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen. Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischer Gefäße nach den antiken Schriftquellen* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland, 1969).

⁶⁹ αὐλή in Greek or atrium in Latin; see Goldschmidt, *Paulinus's Churches*, 115–116.

⁷⁰ This is marble from lasos in Caria; see G. Borghini, ed., *Marmi antichi* (Rome: De Luca, 1997), 207, 289.

⁷¹ January, the month in which the new consuls take office; see Paul Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius: Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern; Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), 284.

⁷² This is Epiphany; see Friedländer (*Johannes von Gaza*, 284), who refers to Chrysostom; see John Chrysostom, *De baptismo* 2 (PG 49. 369D). Chrysostom speaks about the belief in the power of the water drawn at Epiphany.

⁷³ Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio sanctae Sophiae*, 594–600: μηκεδανῆς δ' ἐρίτιμον ἐς ὀμφαλὸν ἴσταται αὐλῆς / εὐρυτάτη φιάλη τις, Ἰασίδος ἔκτομος ἄκρης, / ἔνθα ῥόος κελαδῶν ἀναπάλλεται / ἥ ἐρι πέμπειν / δολκὸν ἀναθρώσκοντα βίηι χαλκήρεος αὐλοῦ, / δολκὸν ὄλων παθέων ἐλατήριον, ὅππότε λαὸς / μηνὶ χρυσοχίτωνι, θεοῦ κατὰ μύστιν ἐορτήν, / ἐννουχίοις ἄχραντον ἀφύσεται ἄγγελσιν ὕδωρ.

⁷⁴ See also the interesting use in Perpetua's vision of her deceased brother Dinocrates, who drinks water from a golden phiale (*Pass. Perp.* 8.1) The Greek word in this Latin text probably means that it had liturgical significance.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Paulinus's descriptions of church courtyards at Saint Peter's in Rome and Saint Felix in Cimitile, as we have seen, make use of an unfamiliar and intriguing term for water installations in courtyards, namely, cantharus. It can now be understood on historical and linguistic grounds how this term, which has connotations derived both from its original role as a Greek drinking cup and its later role as a Latin water container, could gain prominence in Christian circles; the term's use in the Old Latin translation of the Septuagint must have given it authority. Whether the word cantharus, however, tells us anything about the appearance of these installations remains to be determined. Evidence from other sources and sites must be assessed to establish whether the term has a functional or a visual significance and the limitations of this significance.

The Greek drinking cup forms a firm starting point in a discussion of the appearance of Paulinus's canthari. A cantharus had been described as the wine cup of Dionysos,⁷⁵ and there is little doubt about the appearance of that god's favorite cup. In innumerable representations he is shown holding a drinking vessel with two thin vertical handles that curve high above the rim. A tall stem and foot usually add to the cup's elegance.⁷⁶ An Athenian red-figure crater of ca. 500 BCE shows Bacchus holding such a cantharus (fig. 2).⁷⁷ In the contemporary study of Greek ceramics, however, the term has become fairly elastic, being applied to virtually all Greek cups with vertical handles, whether or not the handles rise above the rim and irrespective of the presence of a high foot.⁷⁸ Rotund, low-footed cups, such as an Athenian black-glaze cup now located in Boston, are also termed "canthari" or "sessile canthari" (fig. 3).⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Hist. nat.* 33.150; Macrobius, *Sat.* 21.16; Sidonius, *Carm.* 22.31; Arnobius, *Nat.* 6.25; Valerius Maximus 6.6; *CIL* 9. 358; M. Milne and G. Richter, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York: Plantin, 1935), 25–26; Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen*, 137.

⁷⁶ C. Gasparri and A. Veneri, "Dionysos," *LIMC* 3.

⁷⁷ Gift of Frederick M. Watkins 1960.236: G. Richter, "The Kleophrades Painter," *AJA* 40 (1936): 100–115; J. Beazley, *The Kleophrades Painter* (Mainz: Zabern, 1974), 15, no. 28; *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1973), 50–53, no. 20; C. Houser, *Dionysos and His Circle: Ancient through Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1979), 29–31, cat. no. 4.

⁷⁸ For example, see B. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery* (The Athenian Agora 12; Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970), 122–124, pl. 29. For a special case, not relevant here, however, see I. Love, "Kantharos or Karchesion?" in L. Sandler, ed., *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, 1964), 204–222.

⁷⁹ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.8023. B. Sparkes, "Black Perseus," *Antike Kunst* 11 (1968):

The term becomes disturbingly loose, however, when one moves to the Latin world. Cups with high-swung handles are indeed termed canthari,⁸⁰ but other forms that are neither cups nor wine vessels can also be designated by the word. As noted above, Pliny the Elder described a famous mosaic by the Pergamene artist Sosus that depicts doves perched on a cantharus filled with water. A number of surviving mosaics seem to be imitations of Sosus's work; in those that seem relatively close to the lost original, however, the vessel has a design unlike that of any Greek cantharus. The mosaics show wide, shallow basins that are elevated on three feet and have hanging ring handles or horizontal handles that curl upward (pl. 1a).⁸¹ Many bronze vessels of these various forms have been found in the sites buried by Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE.⁸² Such a water vessel would perhaps better have been called ποδανιπτήρ, σκάφη, λέβης, or λεκάνη in Greek⁸³ or *labrum*, *concha*, or *pelvis* in Latin.⁸⁴ Klaus Parlasca has attempted to resolve Pliny's problematic application of the term cantharus by arguing that Pliny simply made a mistake. He argues that a cantharus can only be a small wine cup and that Pliny was confused by a Homeric reference to a wine vessel embellished

4–7, 10–11, figs. 1, 2; pl. 2, 1,2; I. Krauskopf, "Perseus und die Sphinx," *AA* (1986): 95–96, 98, figs. 1–2.

⁸⁰ Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen*, 46–48, figs. 20–24. Hilgers (ibid., 76–77, figs. 65–68) terms cups with vertical handles that do not rise above the rim (as in fig. 2 here) "*scyphi*." The designation is also followed by L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *L'argento dei romani* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1991), figs. 85–87. The terminology is not entirely satisfactory, however, since the Greek term "*skyphos*" is universally referred to a cup with horizontal loop handles, not vertical handles; see Sparkes and Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, 81–87, pls. 14–17.

⁸¹ The mosaic from Hadrian's Villa in the Capitoline is considered the closest copy, but all known examples display variations in the birds as well as the basins. One shows a sessile cantharus, but its doves have been replaced by parrots, and a cat is added. K. Parlasca, "Das pergamenische Taubenmosaic und der sogenannte Nestor-Becher," *Jdl* (1963): 256–268; E. Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting* (trans. J.D. Beazley; London: Chatto & Windus, 1955), 137, fig. 155; Archivio fotografico Pedicini, M.R. Rosaria, et. al., *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. I mosaici* (Rome: De Luca, 1986), cat. no. 17; F.P. Maulucci, *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Naples: Carcavallo, 1988), 69; Ruth Westgate, "Pavimenta atque emblemata vermiculata: Regional Styles in Hellenistic Mosaic and the First Mosaics at Pompeii," *AJA* 104 (2000): 266, figs. 12–13.

⁸² S. Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo di Pompei* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1993) "Bacili e colatoi di grandi dimensioni" S 1000–6000, 90–97, pls. 172–176, drawings (V. Morlando-d'Aponte), 200–240.

⁸³ R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* (Paris: De Boccard, 1962), 61–75, figs. 36–47.

⁸⁴ M. Anecchino, "Suppellettili fittile da cucina di Pompei," *L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1977), 109–110, 117; figs. 2, 10–12; pls. 52, 7.



Fig. 2. Dionysos holding ivy vines and a cantharus, detail of a red-figure calyx crater by the Kleophrades Painter. Athenian, ca. 500 BCE. Harvard University Art Museums. Gift of Frederick M. Watkins 1960.236.



Fig. 3. Black-glaze sessile cantharus with impressed decoration of Perseus and the Gorgons. Athenian, ca. 430 BCE. From Vico Equense on the Bay of Naples. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. H.L. Pierce Fund 01.8023.

with golden doves: the *depos* of Nestor (*Iliad* 9.632–641).⁸⁵ Parlasca, however, does not take into consideration the fact that Latin terminology on other occasions as well makes it clear that a cantharus can be a large vase used as a water basin or fountain. The reference to canthari as parts of buildings connected with water pipes in the legal document discussed above makes this clear, as does Paulinus's use of the word. Eucherius of Lyon, who, as pointed out above, defines a *luter*, or water vessel, as a *concha*, or *cantharus aquarius*, provides another parallel.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The Homeric vessel was very large and was used for mixing wine and water at a banquet. In spite of its apparent role as a crater, however, some ancient writers interpreted the *depos* of Nestor as a wine cup and hence a cantharus. Parlasca ("Das pergamenische Taubenmosaic," 264–273) argues that because of the presence of doves on both Nestor's and Sosus's vessel, Pliny would have been misled into thinking that Sosus's water vessel should be associated with the Homeric *depos*-cantharus.

⁸⁶ For washbasins on high pedestals called λουτήρ or, more commonly, λουτήριον, see Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, 99, figs. 50–72; Sparkes and Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, 218–221,



Fig. 4. Red-gloss ceramic chalice with a bird on a cantharus and clusters of acanthus, ca. 14–37 CE. M. Perennius Bargathes, Arezzo. Private collection.

In any case, compositions bringing together birds and traditional Bacchic drinking cups of the cantharus form certainly existed in the early Empire. An Arretine chalice in a private collection⁸⁷ shows a bird perched on what appears to be a true cantharus—a vertical-handled vessel of just the right size to be a drinking cup; the cup is not much larger than the dove (fig. 4).⁸⁸ The cup is placed on an inverted wicker basket and is flanked by sprouting plants and clusters of acanthus, also surmounted by birds.

figs. 16, 20, pls. 88–89, cat. nos. 1854–883. By the fifth century, however, the use of *luter* in the West had been strongly conditioned by the Vulgate, in which Jerome introduced this Graecism taken over from the Septuagint (see above, Literary Evidence).

⁸⁷ Height 14.0 cm; by M. Perennius Bargathes, of Tiberian date. The remains of a Bargathes stamp (... ATE) with its characteristic ligature of the T and the E survives. Compare F.P. Porten Palange, *La ceramica arretina a rilievo nell'Antiquarium del Museo Nazionale in Roma* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1966), cat. no. 43, pl. 34 g. For the date, see idem, *Marcus Perennius Bargathes* (Rome: Viella, 1984), 14–18; cited in M.T. Marabini Moevs, "Philosophers and Scholars in Roman Caricatures of Alexandrian Origin," in N. Bonacasa et al., eds., *L'Egitto in Italia dall'antichità al medioevo* (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1998), 439.

⁸⁸ The vessel could also be interpreted as a low cup (kylix?) with high-swung loop handles; compare S. Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo*, 78, pl. 172, drawing (V. Morlando-d'Aponte), 167, nn. 4062, 9197. In this case there would be a merging of the form of cantharus and kylix.

The apparent elasticity of the Latin word *cantharus* can be put into perspective if one considers the use of the *cantharus aquarius* in the Elder Pliny's time. Pliny died in the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE, and Pompeii and the other Vesuvian sites provide information as to what the term could have meant. Real marble vases for use in gardens survive there.⁸⁹ Some are fitted out as fountains,⁹⁰ while most are just basins to receive water.⁹¹ Many of these water vases have the form of vessels used for traditional Greek drinking parties, especially large craters used for mixing wine and water,⁹² and *kylikes*, wide drinking cups with horizontal loop handles.⁹³ Wine drinking was considered part of the realm of Bacchus, as was nature, fertility, and entertainment. The combination of gardens, water, and Bacchic vessels conjured up the image of a blessed existence under the patronage of the god.

Not only containers with the shapes of wine vessels, but also those with the forms of true water basins could be absorbed into this Bacchic atmosphere. A good example is offered by a marble basin supported by a kneeling satyr, excavated in the garden courtyard of a villa on the ancient seacoast near Pompeii, and now in Boston (fig. 5).⁹⁴ The broad, low form of the basin proper also corresponds to the form of Pompeiian bronze basins of types presumably used for water, if not for washing. Particularly characteristic is the low foot with an "S-curve" profile, found very frequently in basins from the Vesuvian sites.⁹⁵ Even though both in form and function this basin is

⁸⁹ W. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Bros., 1979), figs. 54–58, 131, 480, 530, 535.

⁹⁰ A small percentage of broad, bowl-shaped basins (*labra*) are centrally drilled for water jets: Annarena Ambrogì, *Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2005).

⁹¹ For various sorts of waterspouts, see C. Gaston, "Vasques rectangulaires à pieds en dalle dans les collections d'Autun (Saône-et-Loire): un mobilier en pierre méconnu," *RAr* 50 (2007): 305–317, especially fig. 4.

⁹² On marble vases of this form, see especially D. Grassinger, *Römische Marmorkrater* (Mainz: Zabern, 1991).

⁹³ For two marble *kylikes* of the first century BCE or CE, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, see P. Gusman, *L'art décoratif de Rome 1* (Paris: Albert Morancé, n.d.), pl. 7a; see also D.E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London: Tiranti, 1961), 12, 89, fig. 20.

⁹⁴ R. Paribeni, *Notizie degli scavi dell'antichità 1902* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1902), 568–578; C. Vermeule and M. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art 1971–1988* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), cat. no. 41. The modern brass armature fastening the basin to its pedestal seems to take advantage of an ancient hole for a water supply. Below the kneeling satyr, the base is perforated laterally.

⁹⁵ S. Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo*, S2000 series, 90–94, pls. 138, 140, drawing (V. Morlando-d'Aponte), 204–211.



Fig. 5. Marble water basin supported by a satyr, ca. 15–40 CE. Pompeii, Villa of the Fondo Bottaro. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Classical Department Exchange Fund 1980.206.

connected with water rather than wine, the presence of the supporting satyr makes it clear that the basin belongs to the realm of Bacchus.

Since the god of wine, entertainment, and nature can preside over the realm of water in the garden, it is conceivable that the cantharus, as the Bacchic vessel par excellence, could give its name to an entire category of vessels used in this setting. The term cantharus could thus have both a general and

a specific meaning;⁹⁶ in addition to being a drinking cup with two vertical handles, it could also signify any vessel bringing water to a Bacchic garden.

Flexible terminology, in which cantharus can refer to vases having a variety of shapes, also coincides with an increasing hybridization in the design of water vessels. As was just pointed out, one of the most popular forms for marble vases in the late Republican and Roman Imperial periods was the mixing bowl or crater;⁹⁷ it may take the form of a Classical Greek volute crater, which has a high, ovoid body, short, slightly concave neck, and heavy scroll handles that rise above the rim (fig. 6). Even more popular is the form of a Classical Greek calyx crater, which has a high, concave upper body above a short, convex lower body, and horizontal loop handles that curve upward slightly from the lower body (fig. 7).⁹⁸ However, in some vessels that have the bodies of calyx craters, handles are pulled high up over the rim, where they curl into scrolls. An example, two meters high, stands in the atrium of Saint Cecilia (Rome) (fig. 8, pl. 2b).⁹⁹ Somewhat less well-preserved examples are in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome),¹⁰⁰ and the Louvre.¹⁰¹ While, in a

⁹⁶ It is interesting to compare this usage to that of the Greek term *kotyle*, which was applied to any hollow vessel, including the winecup of Dionysos; see Milne and Richter, *Shapes and Names*, 25–28.

⁹⁷ On marble craters with relief decoration, see Grassinger, *Römische Marmorkratere*. For references to craters as fountains, see Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 5.6.23; Justinian, *Dig.* 33.7.24 (for the text, see Literary Evidence).

⁹⁸ For this example, see J. Herrmann, *In the Shadow of the Acropolis: Popular and Private Art in Fourth Century Athens* (1984; 2d ed.; Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), 13, 45, no. 42.

⁹⁹ No apparent restorations in marble; height to rim 184 cm. C. Antonini, *Manuale di vari ornamenti componenti la serie de' vasi antichi* (Rome: Stamperia De Romanis, 1821), 2, pl. 15; Martin van Heemskerck, *Die römische Skizzenbücher* (4 vols; ed. C. Huelsen and H. Egger; Berlin: Julius Bard, 1913), 1: 19–20, fol. 31^v, 36^v; E. Tormo, *Os desenhos das antigualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda pintor português (... 1539–1540 ...)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1940), 139, fol. 30 v.; R. Krautheimer, *CBGR* 1: 97, 103–104, 110, fig. 64; A. Ambrogi in A. Giuliano (ed.) *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture* (Rome: De Luca, 1984), 1: 7. 567; J. Herrmann and R. Tykot, “Some Products from the Dokimeion Quarries: Craters, Tables, Capitols, and Statues,” *ASMOSIA VII* (ed. Yannis Maniatis; Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, suppl. 51; Athènes: École française d'Athènes, 2009), 60–62, 69, 72, fig. 4: pavonazzetto marble from Dokimeion. Doubt has been cast on the idea that the crater stood at S. Cecilia as early as the middle ages: Amanda Claridge, “Vases”, 148–149.

¹⁰⁰ Height to rim 218 cm. Ambrogi in *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture* 1: 7. 566–568 (cat. no. xxv. 37); Herrmann and Tykot, “Some Products,” 60–62, 68, 72, fig. 3: white marble from Dokimeion.

¹⁰¹ Height ca. 155 cm. C. de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne* 2 (Paris: Impr. royale, 1826–1853), 428–429, pl. 172, no. 129; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris: E. Leraux, 1897), 1: 64; cited in Grassinger, *Römische Marmorkratere*, 220, ElzA. See also, Ambrogi in *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture* 1: 7. 568; J. Herrmann, “Crater

sense, this design can be seen as a combination of the volute crater and calyx crater, the contour of the handles and their slender, elegant tracery resemble the handles of Greek canthari (fig. 2) more than the heavy, solid handles of volute craters (fig. 6). On the other hand, such vessels are not simply greatly enlarged wine cups; the handles are still double-strands, thereby revealing their origin in the traditional horizontal loop handles of calyx craters.

The interbreeding of crater and cantharus is even more evident in Pompeian painting; in painted, crater-like vessels, the handles are airy and delicate like those of a cantharus.¹⁰² The earliest examples date from the late Republican period of the mid-first century BCE, in the villa at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata).¹⁰³ A striking example is found in the House of the Venus Marina at Pompeii, which was decorated not long before 79 CE (fig. 9); at first glance, the painted fountain vase with slender, high-swung handles looks just like a cantharus.¹⁰⁴ The handles, however, are made up of two strands, which in this case are braided together; again they are basically the horizontal loop handles of a calyx crater that have been twisted and pulled high up over the rim. A different kind of compromise turns up in one of the late paintings in the villa at Oplontis.¹⁰⁵ A painted fountain vase there has the form of a Greek calyx crater, complete to the short loop handles at the base of the body. At the same time, the vase has a second pair of handles—this time the vertical handles of a cantharus—added just below the rim. In these various ways, the crater and the cantharus have merged in form, just as they had in terminology.¹⁰⁶ In light of their hybrid typologies, such vessels could be called “cantharoid craters,” even though Latin-speakers of antiquity are more likely to have called them *canthari aquarii*.

with Panther Handles,” in Z. Fiema, C. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski, and R. Schick, *The Petra Church* (ed. P. Bikai; Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 2001), 337–338, fig. 2; Herrmann and Tykot, “Some products,” 60–62, 72, fig. 2: pavonazzetto marble from Dokimeion.

¹⁰² For paintings of garden vases, see Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii*, figs. 92–102, 104–106, 109, 113, 115, 123–125, 130, 470–475. For vessels with the shapes of kantharoi, see figs. 104, 470, 471.

¹⁰³ A. De Franciscis, *The Pompeian Wall Paintings in the Roman Villa of Oplontis* (trans. R. Kunisch; Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1975), pls. 17, 23.

¹⁰⁴ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii*, 64, fig. 104.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 306, fig. 470.

¹⁰⁶ The form of kylix and cantharus had merged in a similar fashion in the early Hellenistic period; see M. Pfrommer, *Studien zur alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin: Mann, 1987), 3–4, pl. 40. Such cups with high-looped handles would be termed “cup-cantharus” in English, “Pokalkantharos” in German, and, as Pfrommer argues, “karchesion” in Greek.



Fig. 6. Bronze volute-crater and stand. Greek, early 4th century BCE. Found at Spongano, Apulia. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. H.L. Pierce Fund 99.483.



Fig. 7. Black-glaze calyx crater with decoration in added color (West Slope Ware). Athenian, ca. 370 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift in Memory of Gretchen Osgood Warren, 62.792.



Fig. 8. Phrygian marble (pavonazzetto) cantharoid crater, ca. 150–230 CE. Santa Cecilia Trastevere, Rome. Drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1532–1535. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

In spite of the large number of Bacchic ornaments in Vesuvian gardens, the religious importance of the cult of Bacchus in this domestic setting should not be exaggerated. Wilhelmina Jashemski has pointed out that Vesuvian gardens contain actual shrines to a variety of gods, including the Lares and Penates, Hercules, Venus, Diana, Isis, and perhaps even to sacred trees. Some painted garden ornaments are apparently connected with these other cults. Sphinxes, presumably associated with Isis by way of her Egyptian homeland, are common supports for water basins represented in Pompeiian garden paintings.¹⁰⁷ A garden painting in the House of the Orchard shows a basin-like pedestal or brazier on which is placed a ewer identifiable as a vessel for the cult of Isis, because of its handle in the form of a cobra (*uraeus*) (pl. 1b, center).¹⁰⁸ This same painting also shows two water basins that are lobed like cockle shells, evoking the conchae of Paulinus's descriptions of the courtyards at Cimitile.¹⁰⁹ Cult installations to Bacchus, on the other hand,

¹⁰⁷ Jashemski, *Gardens of Pompeii*, 92, 95, 113, 440. No real basins of this form, however, seem to have been found.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 77–79, figs. 123–124.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 115–140, 349, n. 51.



Fig. 9. Wall-painting with a cantharoid crater fountain in front of a pine tree and birds, 69–79 CE. House of the Venus Marina, Pompeii.

are relatively difficult to find.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, at the very least, Bacchus and his retinue played an important role at least decoratively in suggesting an environment of pleasure connected with dining, drinking, entertainment, and nature.

The evocation of the god of wine may have been a commonplace of the imagery of pleasure and refreshment, rather than a serious religious statement; yet through middle and late Imperial times, Bacchic connections continued to be emphasized in imagery on marble water vessels. The cantharoid crater in the Louvre mentioned above is decorated with theatre masks, the theatre, of course, also being the realm of Dionysos. Two marble vases dated ca. 170–210 CE have handles that take the form of panthers, the sacred animal of Dionysos. One of these vessels has recently been excavated in a church at Petra, Jordan, where it had been reused in the nave, probably for ritual ablutions (pl. 2c).¹¹¹ The other, from Italy, is in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (fig. 10).¹¹² The vessel in the Gardner Museum is a basin (*labrum*) in which the panthers are drilled for a water supply, while the one in Petra does not have a tube for water. Both of these panther-handled vases and the vessel with theatre masks in the Louvre are carved of purple and white “pavonazzetto” marble from Phrygia, making them luxuriously colorful. Their color scheme may also have suggested spots of wine on white cloth. The shape of the vases and the contour of their handles continue to reflect the combination of calyx crater and cantharus.

By late Roman times, the cantharus and the crater seem to have mingled their functions as well as their forms. As brought out above in the first section of this article, Prudentius spoke of a huge cantharus in which wine was kept.¹¹³ That had been the role of the crater both in Classical and Hellenistic times.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Fiema, “The Petra Project,” 3; Pensabene, *Vie del marmo*, 314, fig. 312; Fiema, “Reconstructing the History of the Petra Church: Data and Phasing,” in Fiema, et al., *Petra Church*, 89–90; Herrmann, “Crater with Panther Handles,” 334–339. For two Early Byzantine water-spouts in the form of marble panthers in Varna, Bulgaria, see Minchev, “Fountains.”

¹¹² The foot and much of the body of the basin are (correctly) restored; see Vermeule, Cahn, and Hadley, *Sculpture in the Gardner Museum*, cat. no. 73. Compare the pavonazzetto basins from Punta Scifo: Pensabene, “Punta Scifa;” Ambroggi, *Labra*. For a sculptural representation of a cantharus-crater with panther handles, see Comstock and Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, 152–153, cat. no. 244; C. Vermeule, “Souvenirs of Alexander the Great’s March through Persia to India,” *Fenway Court* (1983): 42–45, fig. 1; Herrmann, “Crater with Panther Handles,” 337–338, fig. 3.

¹¹³ Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 367; see n. 41 above.



Fig. 10. Phrygian marble (pavonazzetto) basin-cantharus aquarius, ca. 170–210 CE. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Much of basin and all of foot restored.

Images that combine vases of the cantharus shape, water, and grape or ivy vines became omnipresent in the late Roman Imperial period. In countless mosaics of pagan, Christian, and Jewish character during the fourth century and after, birds and animals approach cantharoid craters, vines grow from them, and grapes growing from cantharoid craters nourish animals and birds or are harvested by cupids.¹¹⁴ An example in the apse of the synagogue at Sardis originally had peacocks among the ivy vines flanking the cantharoid crater (fig. 11).¹¹⁵ In a pagan context, the theme expresses

¹¹⁴ For example, see K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 173–174, 190, 193–195, figs. F, 92, 110, 171, 174, 184, 185, 188. For texts and references to a multitude of examples, see R. Flaminio, “Cantaro,” *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (ed. F. Bisconti; Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 13; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2000), 143–146.

¹¹⁵ David G. Mitten, “The Synagogue,” *BASOR* 174 (1964): 30–33, fig. 17. On the chronology, see A. Seager, “The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue,” *AJA* 76 (1983): 429; M. Bonz, “Differing Approaches to Religious Benefaction: The Late Third-Century Acquisition of the Sardis Synagogue,” *HTR* 86 (1993): 144–145. For a similar composition in a mosaic of the synagogue at Hammam Lif, Tunisia, see E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (Bollingen Series 37; 8 vols.; New York: Pantheon, 1953–1968), 2: 89–100, figs. 887–888; 6: 179; L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 260–261, fig. 57.



Fig. 11. Mosaic of a cantharoid crater, vines, and peacocks, first half of the 4th century CE. Synagogue apse, Sardis.

the power, pleasure, and prosperity that emanate from Bacchus. With only the slightest editing, the same images can evoke biblical vine metaphors,¹¹⁶ baptism, or salvation.¹¹⁷

Despite the strong presence of vases of the Greek cantharus shape in the Roman Imperial decorative repertoire, Paulinus's use of the word cantharus in his descriptions of installations in courtyards at Cimitile and Saint Peter's in Rome has not generally been interpreted as indicating a vase, much

¹¹⁶ H. Leclercq, "Vigne," *DACL*, 15, 2: 3113–3118.

¹¹⁷ Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols*, 2: 94–95) has advanced this kind of interpretation for the cantharus panel at Hammam Lif, basing himself on a phrase of the accompanying donor's inscription (... PRO SALVTEM SVAM ...). For canthari on Jewish ossuaries, Palestinian lamps, and Roman gold glass, see Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 3: 286–288, 978, figs. 155, 157; 1: 120; 4: 113, 118–119. Against interpreting imagery in synagogues, see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 561–579. For the fountain as a Christian symbol of salvation, see Paulinus's allegory on the cantharus of Saint Peter's, above, Literary Evidence.

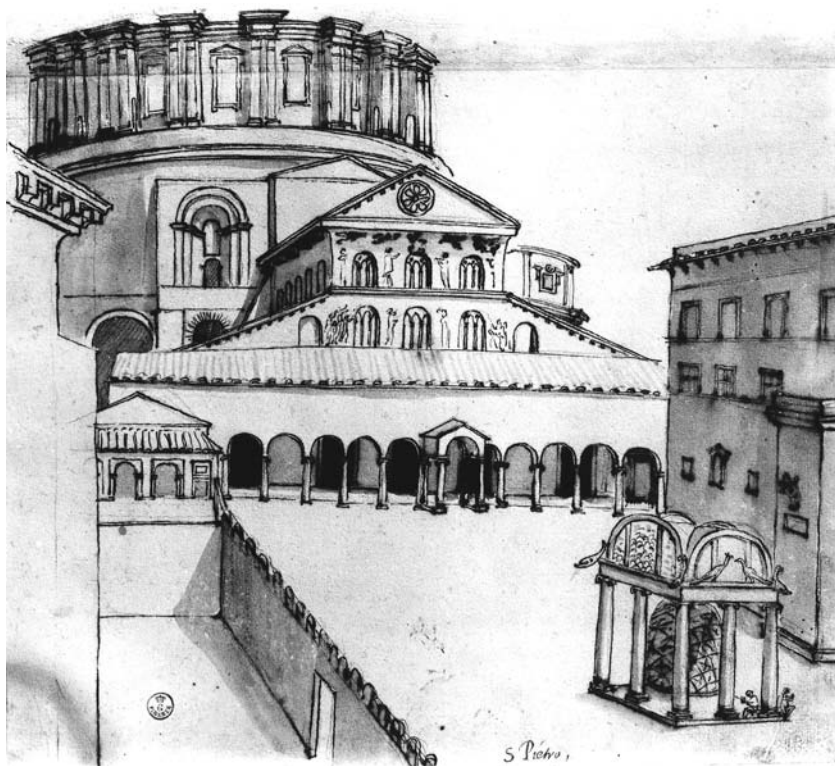


Fig. 12. Atrium and façade of Old Saint Peter's, 1575 CE or shortly before. Drawing by G.A. Dosio, formerly Uffizi, Florence, 2555.

less a vase of a specific form. Rather, scholars such as Henri Leclercq,¹¹⁸ Alfonz Maria Schneider, and Theodor Klauser¹¹⁹ have interpreted the term in the broadest possible sense: that is, as a water installation of undefined form. The reasoning is twofold: first, Pliny seems to have applied the term *cantharus* to a vessel unlike the drinking cup of Dionysos; and second, at Saint Peter's the *cantharus*-fountain in the atrium did not incorporate a vase of any kind—at least as the fountain is known in its final form. In the case of Pliny, we have seen that the term *cantharus* still designates a vase. The case of Saint Peter's, however, needs review from this perspective.

¹¹⁸ H. Leclercq, "Canthare," *DACL*, 2. 2: 1955–1969.

¹¹⁹ Schneider, "Cantharus," 845–847.

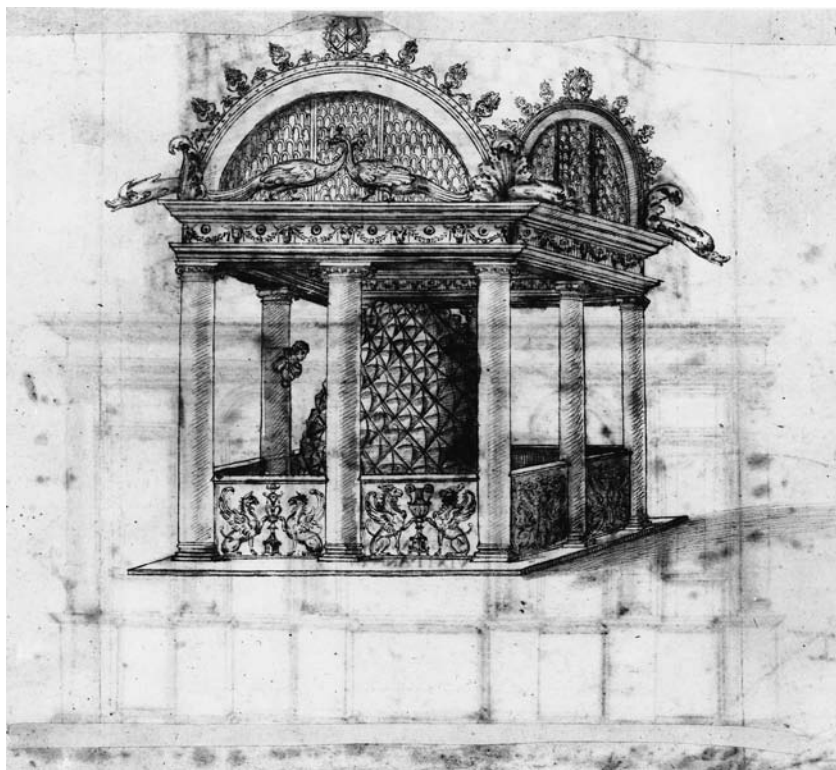


Fig. 13. Water installation with bronze pinecone in the atrium of Old Saint Peter's. Drawing by Cronaca (1457–1505). Uffizi, Florence, 1572.

Much is known about the appearance of the water installation in the atrium of Old Saint Peter's before the last standing remains of the church were torn down in 1608; numerous drawings by Renaissance artists record its appearance (figs. 12–13), and documents and descriptions supplement these depictions. At the center of the courtyard stood a huge bronze pinecone equipped to spurt water from numerous spouts. It was protected by a canopy carried by eight porphyry columns, on which were mounted bronze peacocks.¹²⁰ Pinecone, peacocks, and porphyry columns still survive in the

¹²⁰ J. Strzygowski, "Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903): 185–206; E. Petersen, "Pigna-Brunnen," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903): 312–328; C. Huelsen, "Der Cantharus von Alt-St. Peter und die antiken Pignen-Brunnen," *Römische Mitteilungen* 19

Vatican Museums (pl. 3).¹²¹ Scholars have long identified this pinecone as the cantharus mentioned by Paulinus; the identification can be traced back to the twelfth century.¹²²

Despite its ancient pedigree, Christian Huelsen and Richard Krautheimer have not accepted the identification of the pinecone with Paulinus' cantharus in their studies of the "Pigna" and Old Saint Peter's. It should be noted that Paulinus is not alone in referring to a cantharus in the courtyard; the *Liber Pontificalis* records that Pope Symmachus (498–514 CE) decorated the cantharus and atrium with marbles and mosaics.¹²³ There is no mention in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the bronze pinecone, but the eight columns appeared in connection with a renovation of the installation under Stephen II (752–757 CE).¹²⁴ Clearly the eight porphyry columns were added at that time,¹²⁵ since Paulinus had not only spoken explicitly of four columns but had also spun an allegory of the four gospels around them (see above, Literary Evidence). Furthermore, it is unlikely that Paulinus would have omitted the most striking feature of the arrangement—the bronze pinecone—from his flowery description, if in fact it existed in his time.¹²⁶ The absence of this massive bronze casting is particularly striking, since Paulinus comments on the bronze canopy over the cantharus. The eighth century is also a plausible time for a radical change to the water installation, since the level of the courtyard was raised at least 45 cm, probably at that time.¹²⁷

(1904): 87–116, figs. 1–6, pl. 5; R. Krautheimer, *CBCR* 5 (1977): 229–230, 261–271, figs. 211–212. On marble pinecones, see B. Pettinau in *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture*, 1. 7. 503–504 (cat. no. 18. 1).

¹²¹ Huelsen, "Cantharus von Alt-St. Peter," 95–99, fig. 4; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphywerke* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932), 52–54, pls. 9–10. For the Pigna, see also Helbig, *Führer*, 1: 375–378, nos. 478–479.

¹²² Petrus Mallius, *Historiae Basilicae Antiquae* (1153–1183 CE) *Acta Sanctorum, Junii, VII* (Suppl. 2; Antwerp, 1717) 32*; "Canthare," *DACL*, 2. 2: 1958.

¹²³ Cited in Krautheimer, *CBCR* 5 (1977), 174; see also, above, Literary Evidence.

¹²⁴ renovavit in atrium ante fores beati Petri Apostoli qui quadriporticos dicitur, columnas marmoreas VIII, mirae pulchritudinis, sculptas, quae desuper quadris composuit et aereum desuper conlocavit tegumentum ("in the atrium in front of the entrance [of the church] of the Blessed Apostle Peter, which is called the quadruple porch, he renovated [with] eight marble columns of amazing beauty, sculpted, which he placed over a square and he set up a bronze covering above"); cited in Krautheimer, *CBCR* 5 (1977), 175.

¹²⁵ *Renovare* can mean to renovate or to build anew.

¹²⁶ Krautheimer, *CBCR* 5 (1977), 267. The remodeled Vatican fountain could have been inspired by the pinecone fountain of the New Basilica, Constantinople; Minchev, "Fountains," 173.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 266, 271.

The date when the pinecone was brought into the atrium remains in doubt. Krautheimer favors a date no later than the eighth century, since once the eight porphyry columns were set up by Stephen II, the pinecone could no longer have been inserted through the intercolumniations between the columns.¹²⁸ Huelsen favors the tenth to twelfth centuries, when the Pigna would have been brought as a no-longer functional trophy of Roman greatness.¹²⁹ While his hypothesis has much to recommend it in terms of Roman Medieval topography, it requires another reassembly of the porphyry-columned canopy.¹³⁰

Krautheimer, it should be noted, is inclined to believe that the bronze canopy that survived until 1608 was the one already seen by Paulinus.¹³¹ Although it had been carried by only four columns in Paulinus's time, presumably it was a large and ingenious construction that was preserved through the various renovations of the installation.

The bronze pinecone once in the atrium of Saint Peter's then can be eliminated from the fourth-century scenario recorded by Paulinus; moreover, without the pinecone, the idea that the word *cantharus* can mean almost any object connected with holding or squirting water becomes much more tenuous. The terms *cantharus* or *cantharus aquarius* probably should be restricted to objects or arrangements in the form of a vase.

Further philological evidence for the form of a *cantharus* comes surprisingly from the Old Latin translation of the Bible (the *Itala* or *Vetus Latina*). As shown above, the term *cantharus* is used to translate *χυτρόκαυλος*, a Greek word for a pot with two vertical handles. The *cantharus* in question can thus also be imagined along the lines of the wine cup of Bacchus.

Recently archaeological evidence has emerged for the presence of vases that could be called *canthari aquarii* in the entry courtyards of religious buildings of antiquity.¹³² In the late 1960s, a large marble vase with heavy "S-scroll" handles was excavated in the atrium of the synagogue at Sardis

¹²⁸ Ibid., 264, n. 3.

¹²⁹ Huelsen, "Cantharus von Alt-St. Peter," 105–107.

¹³⁰ Michael McCormick (personal communication) has pointed out that the large bronze pinecone at Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen may well have a bearing on the issue of dating. Given the church's many evocations of great Imperial monuments in Italy, it is likely that the presence of the pine cone at Aachen was inspired by the water installation of Saint Peter's. It therefore follows that the Pigna was present at Saint Peter's by that time. On the "pigna" in Aachen, see Strzygowski, "Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier," 203–205, fig. 13.

¹³¹ Krautheimer, *CBCR* 5 (1977), 264.

¹³² For a rejection of the idea that marble vases were present in the atria of S. Cecilia and Santi Apostoli at Rome during antiquity, see Claridge, "Vases and Basins," 148–149.

(pl. 2a, fig. 14).¹³³ The vessel could be considered either a greatly transformed volute crater or a greatly enlarged drinking cup of Bacchus. The vase, which was set up in the second half of the fourth century, spouted water brought to it through a system of pipes into a pool below the level of the courtyard. The pool, it should be noted, would have been convenient for foot-washing, as performed in the church at Tyre according to the panegyric of Eusebius (see above, Literary Evidence). The installation at Sardis probably was called a *krene* (κρήνη) by Greek-speaking contemporaries, in consideration of its function.¹³⁴ It may well have been the fountain of the synagogue (συναγωγῆς κρήνη) mentioned in the Sardian “List of Fountains.”¹³⁵ It might also have been termed a *maskaules* (μασκαύλης), supposedly the transcription of the Hebrew “maskol.”¹³⁶

Another arrangement that would have been called a cantharus aquarius by Latin-speakers stood in the atrium of the sixth-century church at Petra, Jordan: namely, a reused limestone basin and supporting shaft, dating from the second or third century (fig. 15).¹³⁷ The basin had a central tubular hole for a jet of water. It is uncertain whether the water jet functioned in the sixth century. There was no pressurized water system in the Petra church, but water may have been conducted from the roofs of the church, as Paulinus describes it at Cimitile (*Carm.* 27, courtyard 1). The system of pipes may have been removed by ancient looters.¹³⁸

¹³³ G. Hanfmann, “The Tenth Campaign at Sardis,” *BASOR* 191 (1968): 29–31, fig. 23; L. Majewski, “Restoration of the Marble Crater from the Synagogue,” *BASOR* 199 (1970): 51–53, figs. 38, 43; G. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 169, fig. 251; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 245, 306–307, figs. 45, 64. Porphyry vessels of similar form in Italy (Amalfi, Assisi) could well have been brought from Constantinople; see, Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, 205–206, pl. 99.

¹³⁴ The terminology for water vessels in general appears to have been more functionally based in Greek than in Latin (see first section of this article).

¹³⁵ W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis 7; Leiden: Brill, 1932), 37–40, no. 17; Hanfmann, “Tenth Campaign at Sardis,” 30. This identification was kindly called to our attention by David G. Mitten.

¹³⁶ See LSJ s.v. *μασκαύλης* (Hebrew *maskol/maskel*; Aramaic *maskilta*). See an inscription from Philadelphia: L. Robert, “Inscriptions grecques de Sidé,” *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes*, 3 ser. 32 (1958): 15–58; reprinted in *Opera minora selecta: Epigraphie et antiquités grecques* 5 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1989), 183; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (Cahiers de la revue biblique 7; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1967), 31, no. 28. This inscription was kindly called to our attention by Christopher Jones.

¹³⁷ Found in fragments in the atrium: Fiema, “Reconstructing the History,” in Fiema et al., *Petra Church*, 90, 100; J. Herrmann, “Basin and Pedestal,” in Fiema, et al., *Petra Church*, 340–341.

¹³⁸ The atrium also contained a cistern: on the atrium, see Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos, “Architecture of the Complex,” in Fiema, et al., *Petra Church*, 180–191.



Fig. 14. Original elements of marble fountain vase excavated in the atrium of the synagogue, Sardis.

At Cimitile, there can be no doubt that Paulinus created a water installation in the courtyard between the two churches that made use of marble vases. He mentions not only a cantharus, but also conchae, and vasa, which must have had the form of vessels and vases. The restricted area between the churches would not have permitted a series of bulky masonry basins. Paulinus explicitly points out that his conchae are “Parian” (that is, white marble) and that his vasa are marble. The combination of contrasting shapes and marble perfectly suits a variety of vase-like objects. The effect may have been somewhat like the main courtyard of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, which is packed with marble basins to the point of looking like a showroom for a dealer in garden ornaments.¹³⁹

A candidate for one of Paulinus’s marble vases still survives in the church complex at Cimitile. A battered basin 85 cm high, probably made of Parian marble (fig. 16–17),¹⁴⁰ fits the definition of a sessile cantharus used by

¹³⁹ See, for example, V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milan: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1928), pls. 66, 67.

¹⁴⁰ van den Hoek and Herrmann, “Parian Marble,” 343, fig. 8; C. Ebanista, “et manet in mediis quasi gemma intersita tectis. La basilica di S. Felice a Cimitile: storia degli scavi, fasi edilizie, reperti” (*Memorie dell’Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti in Napoli*, XV)

specialists in Greek ceramics; it originally had two vertical handles, which have been largely broken away.¹⁴¹ The small Attic black-glazed ceramic cantharus of about 430 BCE cited above (fig. 3) displays a very similar basic form, including the low foot, the short, straight upper body, and handles that do not rise above the rim.¹⁴² The marble cantharus has the remains of a horizontal handle plate bordered with scrolls in an arrangement similar to those of Roman silver cups of the early first century (figs. 18–19).¹⁴³ It also has a leaf where the lower end of the handle attaches itself to the body, as do such silver cups. The soft forms and lack of definition in the ornamentation of the marble cantharus, however, suggest a date in the range of 140 to 220 CE.¹⁴⁴

In 1792 Andrea Ambrosini, a local scholar, identified this vase as the very cantharus mentioned by Paulinus as the principal attraction under a bronze canopy in the courtyard between the Cimitile churches,¹⁴⁵ and we proposed the idea again in 2000.¹⁴⁶ A serious obstacle to this identification, however, is presented by the absence of a tube to bring a water supply up through the vase's foot, as in the Petra basin (fig. 15). Rainwater was provided to Paulinus's courtyard from cisterns on the roofs of the churches and, although no trace of this plumbing has been rediscovered, it is likely that a system of pipes brought the water to the vases in the courtyard. On a visit to Cimitile in 2000, we noticed a fragmentary marble vessel that had just such a tube for

(Napoli, 2003), 210; P. Pensabene, "Marmi e reimpiego nel santuario di S. Felice a Cimitile, in Cimitile e Paolino di Nola. La tomba di S. Felice e il centro di pellegrinaggio. Trent'anni di ricerche," in *Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana* (École française de Rome, 9 marzo 2000) (ed. H. Brandenburg e L. Ermini; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto de Archeologia Cristiana, 2003), 167–168, 202, C 58, fig. 53.

¹⁴¹ The criterion apparently used by Sparkes and Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, 122–124, pl. 28. With its low foot, the marble vase could be called a sessile cantharus. Romanists, however, tend to call such shapes *scyphus*, in conflict with the well-established definition of the Greek *skyphos*. See above, n. 80.

¹⁴² The Boston vase came from a collection in Naples, and a nearly identical piece was found in Nola itself; see Sparkes, "Black Perseus," 4–7, 10–11, figs. 1, 2; pl. 2.1.2. The form of the marble cantharus is similar enough to that of ceramic examples for it too to be designated, following Sparkes, a cantharus of the "Perseus shape."

¹⁴³ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1997.83. For other examples, see Stefanelli, *L'argento dei romani*, pls. 98, 106–108, 184.

¹⁴⁴ Contrast the leaves with undulating borders in Corinthianizing capitals of Hadrianic date with those of (later) second or third century date at Ostia: P. Pensabene, *Scavi di Ostia VII: i capitelli* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1973), cat. nos. 638, 644, 647.

¹⁴⁵ A. Ambrosini, *Delle memorie storico-critiche del cimitero di Nola* (Napoli: nella stamperia di Antonio Paci, 1792), 434; cited in Ebanista, "Un vaso strigilato da Cimitile," *Campania Sacra* 28 (1997): 11–12, nn. 45–46 (figs. 11–12).

¹⁴⁶ In the original version of this paper. The idea is retained in van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Parian Marble," 343, fig. 8.

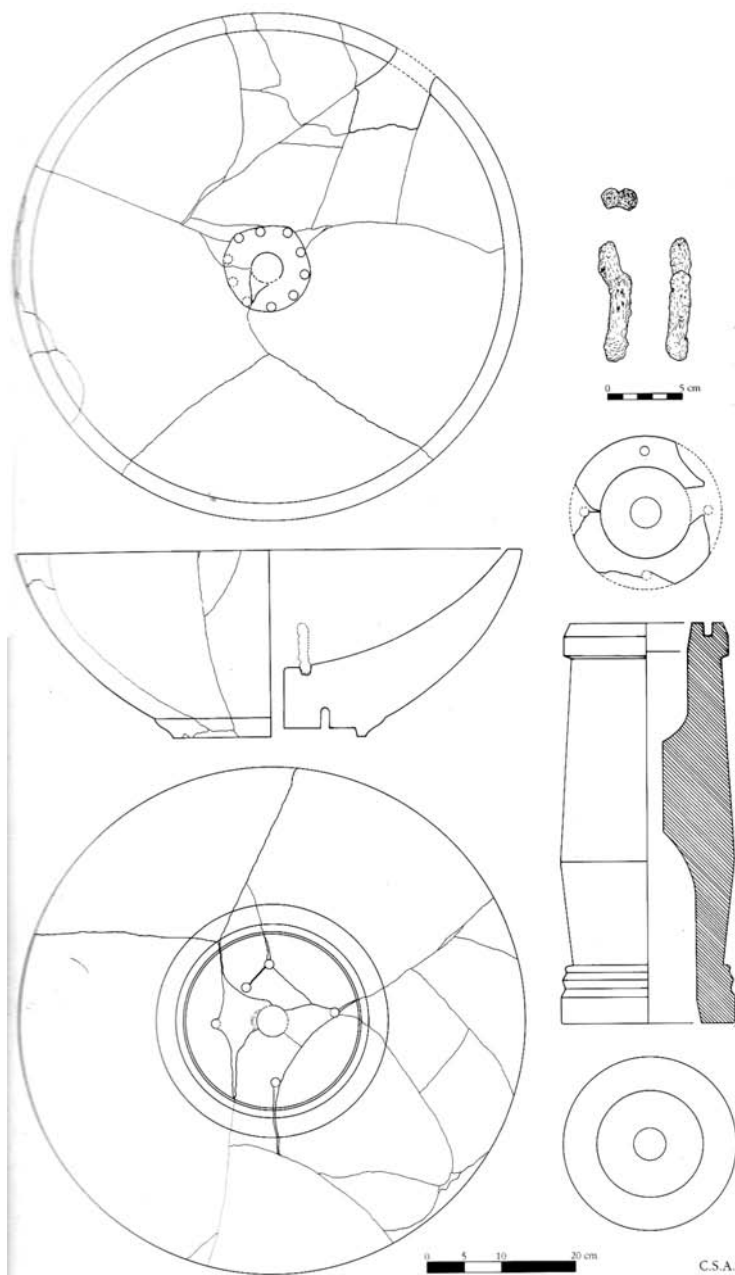


Fig. 15. Basin and pedestal, limestone, 2nd or 3rd century CE. Found in the atrium of the church at Petra, Jordan. Drawing by Catherine Swift Alexander.



Fig. 16. Marble sessile cantharus, 1st or early 2nd century CE. Antiquarium, church of St. Felix, Cimitile.



Fig. 17. Marble sessile cantharus, 1st or early 2nd century CE. Antiquarium, church of St. Felix, Cimitile.



Fig. 18. Silver cantharus with preparations for a Bacchic sacrifice, ca. 1–35 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Francis Warden Fund, Frank B. Bemis Fund, John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund, and William E. Nickerson Fund 1997.83.



Fig. 19. Silver cantharus with preparations for a Bacchic sacrifice, ca. 1–35 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Francis Warden Fund, Frank B. Bemis Fund, John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund, and William E. Nickerson Fund 1997.83.



Fig. 20. Fragmentary Carrara marble basin with water inlet (cantharus aquarius), mid-1st century CE. Antiquarium, church of St. Felix, Cimitile.

water. The vessel had been discovered by the Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta during a reorganization of the storerooms at Cimitile. The new find is a basin without handles, apparently carved of Carrara marble, and having the form of a stylized flower, perhaps a lotus. Its floor is carved as a pinwheel of S-shaped fluting, and its rising wall is a row of elongated petals (fig. 20).¹⁴⁷ The object is highly similar to a beautiful Early Imperial water basin in the Vatican Museums (fig. 21),¹⁴⁸ and both probably date from the first century. Both basins have a central tubular projection for a jet of water, which makes them fit the definition of the Roman cantharus aquarius. As Thomas Lehmann and Patrizio Pensabene have both observed, the lotus-form basin in Cimitile is probably Paulinus' cantharus that stood under the canopy in one of his courtyards.¹⁴⁹

Paulinus's "cantharus" therefore must be understood in the sense of cantharus aquarius rather than in the sense of the drinking cup of Dionysos, since the Cimitile cantharus is a relatively shallow basin without handles.

¹⁴⁷ Pensabene, "Marmi e reimpiego," 167, 202, C 57, fig. 51.

¹⁴⁸ G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1956), 57, pl. 22; van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Parian Marble," 343–344, fig. 10.

¹⁴⁹ T. Lehmann, "Die Kirchenbauten in Cimitile/Nola. Ergebnisse der Forschungen der letzten 15 Jahre," *Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana* (École française de Rome, 9 marzo 2000) (ed. H. Brandenburg e L. Ermini; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2003), 123, fig. 14; Pensabene, "Marmi e reimpiego," 167.



Fig. 21. Carrara marble basin with water inlet (cantharus aquarius), mid-1st century CE. Musei Vaticani 2324.

As noted above, the name of the drinking cup of Dionysos may have been extended to all vessels with a water jet because of the idyllic, often Bacchic, mood they created in a Roman garden.

In the early fifth century the two-handled marble sessile cantharus (figs. 16–17) may have stood in the courtyard as one of Paulinus's conchae, but alternatively it might have been used for ritual ablutions in one of the churches at the site. An analogy is provided by the panther-cantharus in Petra, which was probably used in the interior of the church where it was found (pl. 2c). During the Renaissance and probably before, the Cimitile vase served as the church's baptismal font; a crude hole on one side may have served to empty it after baptisms.¹⁵⁰ The battered vase eventually lost its baptismal role in the early seventeenth century, when it was displaced by a more beautiful and less damaged Roman marble cinerary urn that had recently been discovered.¹⁵¹ Amanda Claridge has pointed out that, in general, the fashion for the reuse of Roman marble canthari in baptisteries in Italy dates from the Renaissance.¹⁵²

There are, however, late antique precedents for the use of a marble cantharus-basin as a baptismal font. As early as the mid-fifth century some baptisteries in Jordan and Palestine have round auxiliary stone basins adjacent to the main baptismal font, as in the church in Petra (fig. 22). Zbigniew Fiema has conjectured that these smaller fonts were used for the baptism of infants.¹⁵³ A large Roman marble cantharoid crater with S-shaped handles was used as a font in a remodeling of the baptistry at Stobi in Macedonia not long after 479 CE (figs. 23–24).¹⁵⁴ William B. Dinsmore, Jr. conjectured that baptism by immersion was given up in Stobi at that time because of

¹⁵⁰ Archivio Storico Diocesano di Nola, *Sante Visite*, IV (1580) f. 138r; C. Ebanista, "Un vaso strigliato" 11, n. 43. Some pin holes around the rim could have served to fasten the covering known to have existed in the 16th-century baptismal font, see van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Parian Marble," 343, fig. 8. C. Ebanista, "et manet in mediis," 210; Pensabene, "Marmi e reimpiego," 167–168, 202, C 58, fig. 53.

¹⁵¹ Ebanista, "Un vaso strigliato," 11–13.

¹⁵² Claridge, "Vases and Basins," 148–149. Whether Early Christian or Norman, the marble cantharus used as baptismal font in the thirteenth century in the cathedral of Syracuse shows that the fashion had begun in the Middle Ages: see below and pl. 4b.

¹⁵³ Fiema, *Petra Church*, 47–48, 53, figs. 55–57. The supplemental font was present in the Petra baptistry as early as Phase IV of the mid-fifth century. For a color illustration, see <http://www.flickr.com/photos/seetheholyland/5748908882/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁵⁴ W. Dinsmore, Jr., "The Baptistry: Its Roofing and Related Problems," in J. Wiseman ed., *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi* (Beograd: Boston University and the National Museum of Titov Veles, 1975), 2: 20–21, figs. 6–9. The baptistry was definitively destroyed ca. 570, and it was in decay before that time.



Fig. 22. Cross-shaped baptismal font with supplementary round basin, 6th century CE. Baptistry, Petra.

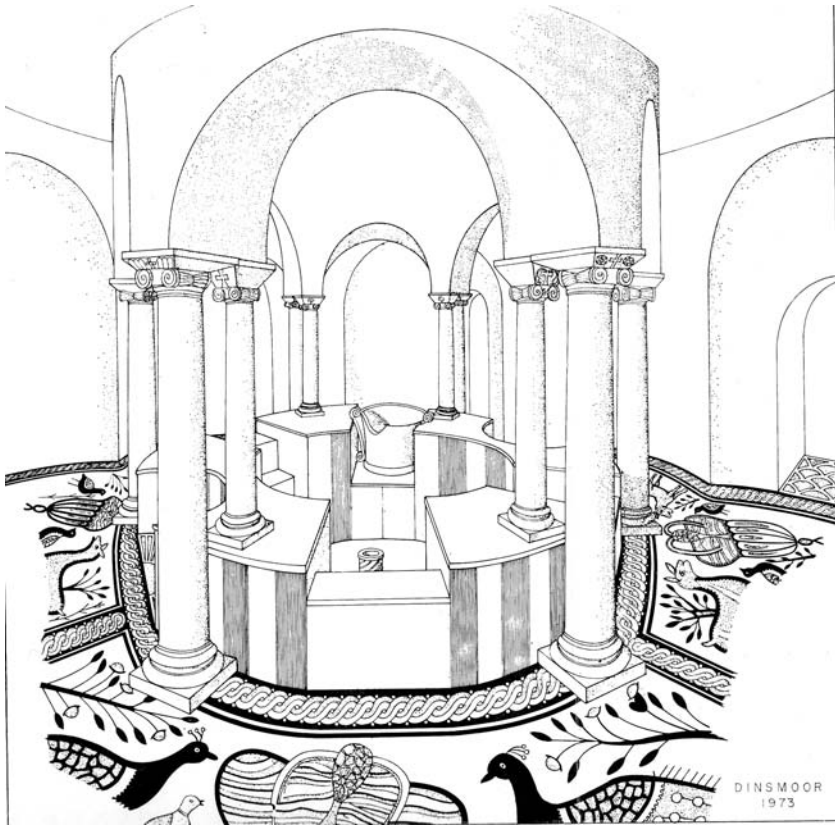


Fig. 23. Baptistry with marble cantharus, 6th century. Stobi, FYRM. Drawing from Dinsmoor, "Baptistry," fig. 8.

problems with the water supply. In Cimitile an octagonal room was added beside the apse of Paulinus's *Basilica Nova* around the middle of the fifth century.¹⁵⁵ Although there was no basin for immersion in the room, it has the characteristic form of a baptistry. Since there was a shortage of water at Cimitile, as mentioned by Paulinus (*Carm.* 27, Courtyard 1), the sessile cantharus-basin could have been a practical substitute for a large font. Precisely what role the sessile cantharus may have played in the baptismal ritual at Cimitile is, of course, uncertain. Baptism on special feast days is another possible use; since the early seventeenth century at least, a marble

¹⁵⁵ Lehmann, "Kirchenbauten," 125, Pl. I:b, fig. 17.

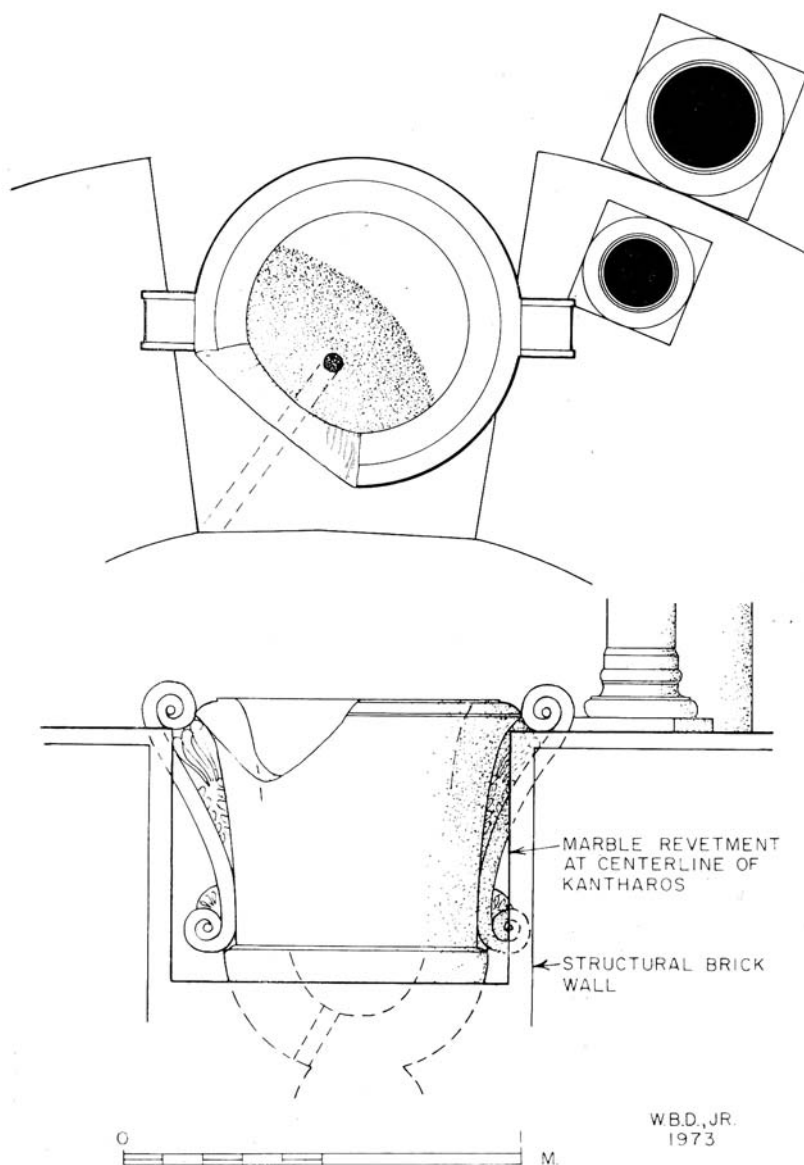


Fig. 24. Marble cantharoid crater, probably 2nd or 3rd century, reused in the 6th century baptistery, Stobi, FYRM. Drawing from Dinsmoor, "Baptistery," fig. 6.

cantharus has been present in the Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna, where it was used for baptisms on Pentecost (pl. 4a).¹⁵⁶ The form of the Ravenna cantharus seems ultimately to be based on late Hellenistic drinking cups; the concave neck and band of ornament below it can be found in ceramic bowls¹⁵⁷ and on silver scyphus-canthari of 150–150 BCE.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, the proportions of the atrophied neck and the enlarged body, as well as the Cupids flying with garlands, recall late Roman bronze bathing vessels of the Black Sea Region.¹⁵⁹ The sketchy workmanship of the Ravenna cantharus also indicates a late Roman Imperial date. The eagles and Cupids suggest the realm of Jupiter and Venus rather than Bacchus, who is usually evoked by the cantharus shape. The prolonged use of the vase in a Christian structure makes it evident how easily the pagan associations of such generic images could be ignored, tolerated, or even appreciated.

Marble cantharus-basins continued to be used and reused in medieval Italy. Fragments of a large marble vase were excavated in a courtyard at S. Vincenzo al Volturno in Campania (fig. 25). The vase, which was probably about 90 cm. high in origin, was of pure cantharus form and decorated with masks of Silens and other Bacchic symbols.¹⁶⁰ The vase dates from the second half of the second century, but it is uncertain if it was drilled for use as a fountain. During the ninth century it apparently stood in the courtyard, which probably was a garden-like area positioned alongside the “South Church.” It probably formed a kind of atrium for two refectories.¹⁶¹ In spite of its pagan imagery, the cantharus must have enhanced the experience of

¹⁵⁶ Spiro Kostoff, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1965), 141–142, 146 (doc. 7), 147 (doc. 9), fig. 124.

¹⁵⁷ For an Italo-megarian beaker with the wave pattern see Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.284. <http://metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/130007923> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁵⁸ For silver skyphus-canthari with similar handles, profile, and ornamental bands, see Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.49.2–3. <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130011397> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁵⁹ For a bronze incense bowl/situla from the Crimea with Cupids and garlands and a narrow neck, see M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971), cat. 483. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/incense-bowl-with-erotes-carrying-garlands-torches-a-wineskin-and-an-amphora-153120> (consulted 7 August 2013). For another without the neck, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecques et romaines*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1912), 488. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101076189180;seq=502;view=1up;num=488> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁶⁰ Claridge, “Vases”, 147–151, figs. 154–186, 209. The dimensions given in the text seem to disagree with the scale in fig. 209.

¹⁶¹ Riddler et al., “Garden Court.”



Fig. 25. Reconstruction of a fragmentary marble cantharus of 150–200 CE excavated in a garden court at S. Vincenzo al Volturno, Campania. Drawing from Claridge, “Vases,” 209, fig. 5:188.

the courtyard, much as the vases and cantharus had enhanced Paulinus’ courtyard at Cimitile some three hundred years earlier. The San Vincenzo cantharus could well have stood in the ecclesiastical complex already in Paulinus’ time, since the excavators thought that at an “atrium of some kind” occupied this space in late Roman times.¹⁶² The impact of such a mythological vase is conveyed by a poem written by Theodulph in the late eighth century on a visit to a southern French monastery. In this case the vase was bronze rather than marble:

¹⁶² Riddler et al., “Garden Court,” 208.

*Est mihi vas aliquod signis insigne vetustis,
Cui pura et vena et non leve pondus inest,
Quo caelata patent scelerum vestigia Caci,
Tabo et stipitibus ora soluta virum,
Ferrati scopuli variae seu signa rapinae,
Humano et pecudum sanguine tactus ager.*

I have a remarkable vase of ancient design
Made of pure metal and of no light weight,
On which are clearly engraved the imprints of Cacus' crimes,
The gore and the decapitated heads of men stuck on stakes,
The iron cliffs and various signs of ravage,
The fields covered with the blood of men and of beasts.¹⁶³

The absence of any disapproval of the vase's iconography for its pagan associations is among the many remarkable features of the poem.

A marble sessile cantharus was employed as a baptismal font in the thirteenth century in the cathedral of Syracuse (pl. 4b).¹⁶⁴ Its bulky shapes and bluff, schematic workmanship could be either Early Christian but are more probably Norman. The stone itself could well be from Catalonia.¹⁶⁵ The tradition that the cantharus came from the local catacombs indicates the prestige and prominence connected with marble vases in Early Christian settings, perhaps stemming in part from Paulinus's poems.¹⁶⁶

In summation, it is clear that when Paulinus refers to a cantharus, he means a vase equipped with a jet of water. At Cimitile, where Paulinus's cantharus has been identified with a high degree of probability, the vase has the form of a basin, not a cup with handles. We may infer that at Saint Peter's, too, the cantharus that Paulinus praised under the bronze canopy in the atrium had the form of a vase, but the specific form is unknown. Marble vases with shapes derived from the classic wine cup of Dionysos were popular in Early Christian ecclesiastical contexts. They may have been used

¹⁶³ P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1985), 162–165. Cited in Riddler et al., "Garden Court," 209.

¹⁶⁴ G. Agnello, *Siracusa nel medioevo e nel rinascimento* (Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia, 1964), pl. 68; idem, *Guida del Duomo di Siracusa* (Siracuse: Mascalli, 1964), 15. The vase was kindly called to our attention by Lorenzo Lazzarini, who also provided the bibliography.

¹⁶⁵ Either Santa Tecla stone or Buixcarrò: compare A. Álvarez, A. Gutiérrez, M.P. Lapuente, À. Pitarch, I. Rodà, "The *Marmor of Tarraco* or Santa Tecla Stone," in *ΑΕΥΚΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ*, Marbres et autres roches de la Méditerranée antique: études interdisciplinaires, P. Jockey (ed.) (ASMOSIA VIII, Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose/Maison méditerranéenne de sciences de l'homme, 2009), 129–140, pl. I, 6,7.

¹⁶⁶ A Greek inscription on the vase characterizes it as a crater; V. Strazzula, *Studio critico sulle iscrizioni cristiane di Siracusa* (Siracusa: Norcia, 1895), 6. The lettering looks Renaissance.

for ablutions or ornamental purposes in the atrium or for ablutions in the church, and they eventually became supplementary baptismal fonts. Early Christian patrons and builders probably ignored the original connection with Dionysos, whether overt or subtle. It was sufficient that the old objects presented precious material and the continuation of a high-status decorative tradition.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ On the Early Christian indifference to Classical detail and iconography, see Hugo Brandenburg, "Magazinierte Baudekoration und ihre Verwendung in der spätantiken Architektur Roms des 4. Und 5. Jh.," *Boreas* 30/31 (2007/2008): 169–188; especially 186–187.

CHAPTER TWO

THECLA THE BEAST FIGHTER: A FEMALE EMBLEM OF DELIVERANCE IN EARLY CHRISTIAN POPULAR ART*

Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.

Ever since its appearance in the exhibition “The Age of Spirituality” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 1977, the decorated ceramics of Late Antiquity have taken their place within the canon of Early Christian artistic expression.¹ Their figural decoration presents an engaging mixture of biblical, non-biblical Judeo-Christian, secular, and mythic themes. At times the boundaries between these realms are hard to define. The following study attempts to clarify a few of these areas of ambiguity, in particular the role played by the story of Saint Thecla, a tale that held a significant place in cult and popular art.

EARLY CHRISTIAN IMAGES ON NORTH AFRICAN POTTERY

In Roman times workshops in the area of modern Tunisia produced and exported pottery that was widely diffused throughout the Mediterranean world. This pottery was a kind of *terra sigillata*, a shiny red ceramic that distinguished itself from its Italian and Gaulish counterparts by generally being somewhat lighter in color—varying from orange-red to brick-red—coarser in structure, and less glossy. In English the pottery is called African Red Slip Ware (ARS), alluding to both its geographical derivation and (implicitly) its relatively matt surface. From the middle of the third to the early fifth centuries the Tunisian kilns were the main producers of fine tableware for the

* First published in David T. Runia and Gregory E. Sterling, eds., *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* (Studia Philonica 13; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2001), 212–249.

¹ Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979).

entire Mediterranean area, and their products even reached as far as the Black Sea and Roman Britain.²

In the long tradition of ARS pottery, the relief-decorated wares of the later period are the most intriguing for students of early Christianity. Figures from both Christian and pagan repertoires were made in molds and applied as low reliefs to the surface of the vases. Traditional scenes with animals, so abundant in North African mosaics, also appear on pots, bowls, and lamps. As in the mosaics, the creatures are both domestic and wild, and fish and birds as well as quadrupeds enliven the pottery. The vivid presence of these animal images provides one of the many common threads that link the African ceramics of pre-Christian times to those made long after Christian beliefs gained dominance. Whether Greek mythology or biblical stories are shown, the depiction of wildlife can play a prominent and even intrusive role.³ On a bowl dated 350 to 430 CE, for example, a fish of huge proportion swims somewhat out of context below a scene depicting the sacrifice of Isaac (pl. 5a). On a contemporary bowl the same fish is chasing a smaller fish in a more appropriate setting, since it features Isis with her entourage on a boat (pl. 5b).⁴ Thus, in spite of the different belief systems reflected on the two dishes, their peripheral fauna is identical. This kind of iconographic digression demonstrates the decorative looseness with which North African potters could treat their subject matter. At times, of course, they would adhere strictly to their business, as in a depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac

² For the forms, chronology, and distribution of African Red Slip Ware (ARS), see John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972); Idem., *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1980); A. Carandini, L. Sagui, S. Tortorella, and E. Tortorici, "Ceramica africana," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale: Atlante delle forme ceramiche 1. Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981), 9–227, pls. 13–109.

³ For a survey of figural decoration on ARS, see the works of Salomonson cited throughout the chapter and Konrad Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder des Heidentums und Christentums* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1990); Fathi Bejaoui, *Céramique et religion chrétienne. Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: République tunisienne, Ministère de la culture, Institut national du patrimoine, 1997). For a tabulation of figure types, see Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana," pls. 61–64, 70–93.

⁴ See Peter La Baume and Jan W. Salomonson, *Römische Kleinkunst. Sammlung Karl Löffler*, Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln, Band III (Köln: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1976), 151–152, fig. 601; Jan W. Salomonson, *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur l'iconographie du martyre en Afrique Romaine*. Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, Verhandelingen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 98 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1979), 31–32, fig. 23.

on a bowl in Boston, where the hand of God and the sacrificial ram flesh out the story appropriately (pl. 6a).⁵

Christian imagery is often well-defined and easy to recognize on both ARS and lamps produced in the same area: Adam and Eve, Isaac and Abraham, the spies carrying enormous grapes from the land of Canaan, Daniel in the lion's den, the three Hebrews, the Jonah cycle, Solomon on his judgment seat, Joseph and Potiphar's wife are all popular scenes. Many are familiar from the Roman catacombs. These scenes appear side by side with imagery from the New Testament: Christ trampling the serpent underfoot, the ascension of Christ, the resurrection of Lazarus, Christ and the woman with the issue of blood, the apostle Peter. Other images present Christian symbols or suggest liturgical practices; thus there is an abundance of lamps with chi-rho signs, crosses, or chalices, and these emblems are sometimes embellished with extra decoration in the form of animals or birds.⁶

The specific meaning of all figures, however, is not always easy to determine. Some Christian themes have proven to be extremely local and might never have been detected if just the right clue had not been found in a contemporary Christian text. A vivid example is provided by the case of a man sitting in a treehouse, which frequently appears on African lamps produced in the fifth and sixth centuries (pl. 7b, c). Below the "tree-man" a dog chases a rabbit and another little figure is tied by his wrists, apparently suspended from the treehouse. A bird sits on top of the hut. An ARS bowl in Mainz elaborates the imagery further, adding an enclosed garden of grapevines and Cupid holding a bird.⁷ The tradition of tree houses for watching or hunting animals, it might be noted, is still current in modern times, an example seen in western Algeria some years ago (pl. 7a). The scene with the tree-man, which has not been widely identified as Christian, happens to follow a biblical interpretation in the Pseudo Cyprianic treatise *De duobus montibus Sina et Sion*.⁸ In a rather loose way the interpretation is based on biblical

⁵ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989.690, Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Fund. Ex Frank Sternberg, *Auction*, Nov. 20, 1989, Zürich, lot 402.

⁶ See Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes*; Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue des lampes en terre cuite grecques et chrétiennes* (Paris, 1986); and Bejaoui, *Céramique*. For the chronology, see Barbera and Petriaggi, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche*, 351–425.

⁷ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.40863. Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, pl. 25 (identified as stories of Ganymede).

⁸ For the identification of the scene, see A. Stuiber, "Die Wachhütte im Weingarten," *JbAC* 2 (1959): 86–89. For the text, see G. Hartel, *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia*, Pars III (CSEL 3.3; Vienna, 1871), 104–119; and Pseudo Cipriano, *I due monti Sinai et Sion. De duobus montibus* (ed. C. Burini; Fiesole: Nardini, 1994). See also Anni Maria Laato, *Jesus and Christians in De duobus montibus Sina et Sion* (Åbo: Åbo akademis förlag, 1998), 154–158.



Fig. 1. ARS bowl with a woman flanked by lions (St. Thecla), 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39679. Drawing by J.W. Salomonson (slightly modified).



Fig. 2. ARS dish with a woman flanked by lions (St. Thecla) and the Sacrifice of Isaac, 430–440 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41398.

passages such as the parable of the tenants in the vineyard in Matt 21:33–43 and the song of the unfruitful vineyard in Isa 5:1–7. In the interpretation a guardian is appointed to survey the territory from the opening of a watch-hut. As soon as a robber enters, the guardian makes noise to chase him away. On another level, the vineyard stands for the spiritual life of the Christian people. The robber represents the devil, who tries to separate humans from the spiritual vineyard. The tree-man represents Christ, who is lifted up on a tree in a watch-hut, trying to prevent the evil actions of the wandering devil by making loud noise. Only by reading the literary text, which originated in third-century North Africa, can the meaning of this scene be explained. The imagery is, of course, made more emphatic on the lamp, with the would-be robber captured and a dog chasing away a thieving rabbit. Thus while some North African ceramic images illustrate easily recognizable biblical stories, others, such as the tree-man, are more puzzling and would be impossible to understand if no additional texts were at hand.⁹

But in this article the focus is turned to another, more elusive puzzle: a female *orans* figure, of which multiple examples have been preserved (pl. 6b, figs. 1–3). In this case, the Christian nature of the scene has been recognized and the authors have previously identified the figure as Saint Thecla.¹⁰ The relationship of literary sources and images, however, needs closer examination.

DOMINA VICTORIA

A fragmentary bowl in a private collection in Massachusetts shows a woman, stripped to the waist and praying with outstretched arms (pl. 6b).¹¹ Her hair flows loosely over her shoulders and she wears a long skirt. Two lions sit docilely at her feet like large house cats; the head of the one on the left is missing. Other examples make it clear, however, that both lions were shown with long manes. A *tabula ansata* at the woman's left is inscribed DOMINA VICTORIA.

This composition seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity in antiquity. Another bowl in Mainz and bowl fragments in Tunisian and Algerian museums showing the same scene and inscription have been studied by

⁹ In addition to the passages from Isaiah and Matthew, other biblical texts may have been influential, such as the watchman and the wicked of Ezek 3:16–21.

¹⁰ John Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek, *Antioch, the Lost Ancient City* (ed. Christine Kondoleon; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 226, no. 117.

¹¹ Ibid.



Fig. 3. Fragment of an ARS plate with a woman flanked by lions (St. Thecla), 350–430 CE. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. Gift of William K. Zewadski, 1996.5.230.

J.W. Salomonson (fig. 1).¹² Recently two unpublished examples have been placed on display in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz. One is a bowl that is virtually complete¹³ while the other is a large fragment from a plate with a broad rim (fig. 2).¹⁴ A fragment showing a lion and one with the inscribed *tabula ansata* have turned up on the art market.¹⁵ Another fragment of the inscription is located in the Carlos Museum in Atlanta (fig. 3).¹⁶

The bowls make use of virtually identical molds for their relief decoration, and all have the same basic shape: a curved body, flat base, and plain rim. Two grooves are on the inside below the rim, and two more encircle the center of the floor. John Hayes has classified the shape as his form 53, and he dates such bowls ca. 350–430 CE (roughly the time of Saint Augustine).¹⁷ The reliefs on the rim of the plate in Mainz are reproduced in somewhat smaller scale and are adjoined by a scene of the sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 2). The bush, the hand of God, and the feet of Isaac all repeat what is seen on the bowl in Boston that shows the complete sacrifice of Isaac (pl. 6a). The center of the plate in Mainz also bears stamped decoration of the category that Hayes classifies as style D, and thus the plate appears to be datable around 430–440 CE—slightly later than the bowls of form 53.¹⁸ It should be noted that the DOMINA VICTORIA inscription appears with all of the female *orans* and lion compositions, and apparently occurs in no other context.

Salomonson has suggested that the imagery on the bowls borrows from representations of biblical heroes such as Daniel, to create an image of Christian martyrdom both through gesture and through the juxtaposition of the human figure with a pair of lions. The basic schemata of the DOMINA VICTORIA and Daniel scenes, indeed, have much in common. On an ARS bowl in Boston lions flank Daniel, who holds out his arms in the *orans* pose, although in this case all the figures are vigorously running (pl. 8a).¹⁹ A palm branch below alludes to the fortunate outcome. An African lamp of a well-known type shows Daniel as an *orans* in a static, frontal position.

¹² Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 82–90, fig. 13, pl. 63.

¹³ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41400.

¹⁴ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41398.

¹⁵ Harlan J. Berk Ltd., *Sale 85* (Chicago, 9 March 1995), lots 634G (lion) and 650B (*tabula ansata*).

¹⁶ Possibly the rim of a large plate of Hayes form 55.

¹⁷ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 78–82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, stamp types 105 and 118(?), 220–221, 248–249, fig. 44.

¹⁹ J. Herrmann, *Romans and Barbarians* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), cat. 144; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 91; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, cat. 23.

Hovering above him are an angel and the prophet Habakkuk, while below the lions fawn symmetrically at his feet (pl. 8b). On a sixth-century ivory comb from Akhmim, Egypt, the lions flanking Daniel are seated quietly, as in the DOMINA VICTORIA bowls (fig. 7).²⁰

Salomonson also points out that the terminology of the inscription echoes the language of martyrdom, a theme to which we will return. While he raises the possibility that this is a generic emblem of martyrdom or perhaps even an emblem of the Church triumphant through its martyrs, he also offers the alternative that the orans represents or alludes to a specific martyr from North Africa by the name of Victoria. A Victoria is a prominent member of a group of martyrs from Abitina, who were executed at Carthage during the Diocletianic persecutions in 304.²¹ Although no details of her death are recorded, one would have to presume from the ceramic images that the saint was exposed to wild animals in an arena. Adopting this option, Salomonson translates the inscription DOMINA VICTORIA as "Lady Victoria," interpreting it as a kind of polite address directed to the lady.²² Dagmar Stutzinger follows Salomonson in regarding the DOMINA VICTORIA image as an allusion to the martyr Victoria but is somewhat less willing to see it as a generic paradigm of martyrdom.²³

In all these lines of thought the inscription functions essentially as a name tag for the figure represented on the plate. This is particularly true, of course, where DOMINA VICTORIA stands simply for "Saint Victoria." Other readings of the inscription are, however, possible. *Domina* can be interpreted as a vocative and *victoria* as an acclamation rather than a proper name: "Lady, victory [is yours]!"²⁴ An important basis for this interpretation comes from epigraphic traditions connected with this kind of pottery. The DOMINA VICTORIA bowl can be related to inscribed ARS of earlier date with scenes of the arena. Small pear-shaped jugs show various compositions of men combatting wild beasts. These *venatores* are accompanied by wreaths, palm branches, and other plume-like attributes to illustrate their successes

²⁰ Claudia Nauwerth and Rüdiger Warns, *Thekla. Ihre Bilder in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 51–53, fig. 19; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 75, pl. 59.

²¹ *Acta Saturnini*, 2; *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. II, Dies XI, Caput 1. Paul Monceaux, *Histoire de la littérature de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (7 vols.; Paris: E. Leroux, 1901–1923), 3: 550; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 86–88.

²² Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 87–88.

²³ D. Stutzinger, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (ed. H. Beck and P. Bol; Frankfurt am Main: Das Liebieghaus, 1984), 685, cites Eusebius' account of the martyrs of Tyre (*Hist. eccl.* 8. 7. 1–4).

²⁴ Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Antioch*, 226, no. 117.



Fig. 4. Detail. ARS jug inscribed TELEGENI NIKAI, 3rd century. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL 414.

and victories. On some such vessels a small *tabula ansata* bears the inscription TELEGENI NIKAI, “Telegenius (or member of the Telegenii), be victorious!” (pl. 8c, fig. 4).²⁵ According to Salomonson, this acclamation refers to a member of a family or association that had a menagerie of wild animals and a group of venatores under their command. He identified a number of such associations, which seem to have formed rival teams in the business of animal games and enjoyed great popularity in the first half of the third century.²⁶ It is noteworthy that the NIKAI formula is a Greek verbal form but is written in Latin letters and in a Latinized format.²⁷

²⁵ Jan W. Salomonson, “The Fancy Dress Banquet: An Attempt at Interpreting a Roman Mosaic from El-Djem,” *BABesch* 35 (1960): 25–55, esp. 50–51. Occasionally the inscription occurs on bowls as well; see Jan W. Salomonson, “Spätromische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara ‘C,’” *BABesch* 44 (1969): 4–109, esp. 70, pl. 94.

²⁶ The *sodalitates* that Salomonson identified include the Telegenii, Pentasii, Tauriscii, Sinematii, Perexii, Tharaxii, Ederii, and Decasii. See previous note and also La Baume and Salomonson, *Sammlung Karl Löffler*, 128–129; Idem, “Peervormig kannetje ...,” *Archaeologica Traiectina* 14 (1980): 51–53; and A. Beschtaouch, “Nouvelles recherches sur les sodalités de l’Afrique romaine,” *CRAI* (1977): 486–503; Idem, “Une sodalité africaine inconnue, les Perexii,” *CRAI* (1979): 410–418; Idem, “Nouvelles observations sur les sodalités africaines,” *CRAI* (1985): 453–475. Some names, such as the Pentasii and Decasii, have Greek numerical connotations, while others, such as the Tauriscii, reflect names of animals.

²⁷ For inscriptions like these on North African pottery and mosaics, see Katherine M.D.

Νῖκα formulas were common over a long period of time in the Greek- and apparently also in the Latin-speaking world.²⁸ They occur on marble slabs, columns, and various other materials to proclaim success or express hope for victory. The addressees of such formulas were groups or individuals engaged in theater performances or employed in the amphitheater where animal games and chariot races took place.²⁹ These νῖκα inscriptions also appear in a somewhat different context, for example, as a salute to politically powerful persons such as emperors and governors.³⁰ Νῖκα formulas can,

Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 79–80.

²⁸ For a survey of νῖκα acclamations, see Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 65–80. For acclamations in general, see Eric Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 152–163 (Die Νῖκα-Akklation); and Theodor Klauser, “Akklation,” *RAC* I (1950): 216–233.

²⁹ In early Byzantine times the regular formula is νῖκα ἢ τύχη followed by a name in the genitive, such as νῖκα ἢ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων or νῖκα ἢ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων. Of all the νῖκα acclamations this type is the most widespread. Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 45, 55, 76 ff.; see also Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (JRS 5; London, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989), nos. 181; 184–186. In addition, the proper name of a person may occur, as on an inscription from Corinth: νῖκα ἢ τύχη Γεωργίου κ(αί) Εὐμορφίας (Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, Corinth 8/1, 200) or νῖκα ἢ τύχη Πετομένου κέ Αἰτοῦ κέ τοῦ Δόρου (from Alexandria, *SEG* 31, 1490, dated 608–610). Other variants include: νῖκα ἢ τύχη τῆς πόλεως, νῖκα ἢ τύχη τῆς πόλεως καί τοῦ γράψαντος, νῖκα ἢ τύχη τῶν ὅδε (Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* [JRS 6; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993], nos. 3; 10; 11). The tradition continues for a long time; see, for example, an acclamation dated to the ninth or tenth century from Corinth: νῖκα ἰ τύχη τὸν καταπονούμενον ἐν τοῦ ἀνόμου τόπο τοῦτο (Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, Corinth 8/1, 213).

³⁰ Council of Constantinople 536 CE (Mansi 8, 1086): νῖκα ὁ Αὐγουστος. From Aphrodisias: ν[ῖκα] ἢ τύχη τοῦ β[ασι]λέως νῖκα ἢ τ[ύ]χη τῆς δεσποί[ν]ης· τοῦ νέ(ου) Θεοδο[σί]ου πολλὰ [τά ἐτ]η (Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, 61, 2). Slightly different in a document from Crete: νῖκα τῶν δεσπότες Ῥωμαίων (*IC* IV 513 Gortyna, 6 CE). πᾶσα νῖκα ... (Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 6b). The acclamation “victory” is also prominent in the so-called Ibas-acclamations, a protocol that was read in 449 CE at the “Robbers’ Synod” against Ibas, Bishop of Edessa. In a theatrical way and in hierarchical order the magistrates were addressed: “Victory to the Romans ...! May our sovereigns be ever victorious! May the victory of Theodosius increase! May the victory of Theodosius the August be perpetual! The victory of Valentinian the August increase—the victory of our sovereigns multiply! The victory of the God-fearing increase! To the orthodox many years! One God! [Give] Theodosius victory! One God! [Give] Valentinian victory! ...” The document has been preserved in Syriac; see S.G.F. Perry, ed., *The Second Synod of Ephesus together with Certain Extracts Relating to It*, from Syriac mss. preserved in the British Museum (Dartford: Orient Press, 1881). With thanks to James Coakley for helping us find this edition. See also, O. Seeck, “Libanius gegen Lucianus,” *Rheinisches Museum* LXXIII (1920): 84–101, esp. 85–87. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 208–219.

moreover, be overtly religious forms of address, when they claim victory for divinities and for religious attributes.³¹

The most common form (νικά) can be read either as νικά in the present indicative, active third person singular of νικάω (“so and so is victorious”), or as νικά in the present imperative, active second person singular of the same verb (“so and so, be victorious!”). If preceded by a noun or name in the vocative case, the imperative mood is inevitable, but the indicative may have had overtones of an urgent statement as well.³²

Alan Cameron called attention to the bilingual nature of these phrases, pointing out that the acclamation *nika* or *nica* was fully established in the Latin-speaking world from the first century CE onwards. As the ARS jug above demonstrates, a Latin name could mingle with a Greek verb, but the reverse was also possible. As Cameron points out, the address to the emperor in Greek σὺ νικάς translates into Latin as *tu vincas*. Surprisingly, this formula also occurs in Greek script in a strange configuration as σο βίνκας³³ or (αὐγούστε) τοῦ βίνκας,³⁴ leaving the reader confused about which language is intended.

The victory formulas or slogans mentioned above were expressed grammatically through verbal forms, but the DOMINA VICTORIA inscription consists of two nouns. Such a formula, which is not a complete sentence, could also be considered an acclamation. Thus the question arises: Are there other examples of such slogans with implied verbs? Exclamatory language and acclamations are often hard to find, since literary texts obviously prefer indirect discourse even when they describe events in which shouting and yelling is heard.³⁵ One of the meanings that the Latin dictionary of Lewis and Short lists for *victoria* is “battle cry or shout of victory,”³⁶ citing a passage from Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* 5.37: *tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt* (“then according to their custom they shout out

³¹ Numerous examples exist of Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικά often in the quadrants of a cross, sometimes in combination with τοῦτο νικά. The acclamation also occurs in the vocative and imperative: Χριστέ νικά (Roueché, *Aphrodisias*, 139). Other examples include: ὁ σ(αυρὸς) νικά or ὁ σ(αυρὸς) ἐνίκησεν, ἀεὶ νικά (from Philae in Egypt, *ICE*, 590). The acclamation appears on amulets with the names of gods, such as νικά ὁ Σέραπιδις τὸν φ(θ)όνον or νικά ἡ Εἰσις (*IG XIV* 2413, 4 and 5).

³² Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 76.

³³ See the Porphyrius monument: σο βίνκας (vac.) Πορφύρι, Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 78.

³⁴ *IC IV* 512 (Gortyna).

³⁵ On the problem of *oratio recta* and *oratio obliqua* in this respect, see David Potter, “Performance, Power, and Justice in the High Empire,” in *Roman Theater and Society* (ed. William J. Slater; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 144–147.

³⁶ LSJ, s. v. IIB.

‘victory’ and raise a howling cry”). Another example of such language can be found in *De Civitate Dei* 2.24, where Augustine recalls a famous prophecy given to the celebrated Roman dictator Sulla: *Victoria tua est, Sulla!* (“Victory is yours, Sulla!”).³⁷ Even centuries later in the year 800 the *victoria* acclamation is still alive. The *Liber Pontificalis* reports that after the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III the faithful in old St. Peter’s cried out: *Karolo, piisimo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatore, vita et victoria!* (“Life and victory to Charles, most benevolent Augustus, crowned by God, great and peace-making emperor!”).³⁸

Unexpected confirmation for the acclamation *victoria* in the realm of the circus comes not from direct sources but indirectly from Greek inscriptions. Reconstructing the acclamation νίκη εἰς (τὸ) Πράσινον (Βένετον), Alan Cameron suggests that this phrase is directly adapted from a Latin circus acclamation: *Victoria* [sc. *veniat*] *in Prasinum* (*Venetum*), the Prasini and Veneti being the two rival factions of the Greens and Blues in the circus during Byzantine times. As Cameron points out: “It is not surprising that the Latin original is not attested, since Latin inscriptions normally just list the details of a charioteer’s career and records, and none of our literary sources preserves circus cries or acclamations in Latin.”³⁹ If our reading of DOMINA VICTORIA is correct, then the ARS bowl has preserved a rare testimony to a Latin circus acclamation and is comparable—in message though not in grammar—to the tradition of sporting slogans applied to small jugs with amphitheatre scenes as seen above.

DOMINA: WHO WAS THAT LADY?

Although we favor *victoria* as an acclamation rather than a proper name, the question still remains who the figure on the bowl might be—if, in fact, she was intended to represent a specific person.

³⁷ Augustine uses exclamatory language as a rhetorical tool, for example: “Tunc ergo erit victoria, tunc corona” (*Enarrat. Ps.* 102, 8). “Perpetuae victoria de diabolo.” (*Serm.* 281 2.2, In Natali martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis). “Plena victoria, plena pax” (*Enarrat. Ps.* 143, 9). “Ubi usque ad sanguinem certamen, ibi gloriosissima et plena victoria” (*Serm.* 284 5, In Natali martyrum Mariani et Jacobi). “O victoria sine labe! Quid est enim victoria perpetua, nisi victoria sine fine?” (*Serm.* 6, De pluribus Martyribus) “Quam ergo segura est nostra victoria, cum ille iudicabit qui testatus est!” (*Enarrat. Ps.* 36, *serm.* 3, 18).

³⁸ Edition of Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (3 vols.; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1981, repr.), 2: 7 (XCVIII).

³⁹ Cameron, *Porphyrius*, 72. For examples of such records in Latin, see Louis Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l’orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940), 287–291.

Like its counterpart *dominus*, the title *domina* is associated with the female head of a household, the *domus*. Female members of the imperial family could be addressed with this title, as could goddesses such as Cybele or Isis. Christian writers often refer metaphorically to the church as *domina*. So in general the word is used as a title of respect or affection. Since we are dealing with language and images of the circus, it is worth noting that circus factions were originally run by businessmen who were called *domini factionum*. Eventually the powers of these people were taken over by the imperial system, but the title *dominus* continued to exist. Although no longer private entrepreneurs, they became managers and supervisors, who might have earned their positions by having been athletes or charioteers themselves.⁴⁰ The title *dominus* therefore was familiar language in the realm of games and teams, and the female version, *domina*, may allude to this fact.

A more certain association of the word *domina* exists in accounts of martyrs. In the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* there are two striking instances where Perpetua is addressed as *domina*, once by her brother in a dream,⁴¹ the other by her father in the reality of the story.

"Daughter have pity on my gray hair, have pity on your father, if I am worthy to be called father by you; ... Look at your brothers, look at your mother and aunt, look at your son who will not be able to live after you are gone. Give up your pride! Don't destroy us all. None of us will ever speak freely again if you undergo any punishment." These words he spoke as a dutiful and affectionate father, kissing my hands and throwing himself at my feet, and crying he no longer called me "daughter" but "lady" [*domina*].⁴²

The reversal of roles in this passage is striking, although its significance is not immediately clear. The title *domina* seems to signify more than "politeness" or "affection" as some commentators have suggested.⁴³ Did Perpetua gain her title here because of her power over the fate of her family? Or does the

⁴⁰ Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 8–9.

⁴¹ *Pass. Perp.* 4, 1: tunc dixit mihi frater meus: "Domina soror, iam in magna dignatione es, ..." (then my brother said to me "Lady sister, you are now in great dignity"); Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 87.

⁴² *Pass. Perp.* 5, 2–5: "miserere, filia, canis meis; miserere patri, si dignus sum a te pater vocari; ... aspice fratres tuos, aspice matrem tuam et materteram, aspice filium tuum qui post te vivere non poterit. depone animos; ne universos nos extermines. nemo enim nostrum libere loquetur, si tu aliquid fueris passa." haec dicebat quasi pater pro sua pietate basians mihi manus et se ad pedes meos iactans et lacrimans me iam non "filiam" nominabat sed "dominam".

⁴³ See Jacqueline Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité, suivi des Actes* (SC 417; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996), 200, 209.

narrative allude to the idea that she has already reached a different level of *dignitas* in anticipation of her martyrdom?⁴⁴ After all, the *Passion of Perpetua* and her companions continued to live on and became incorporated into the liturgy, being read at yearly celebrations to commemorate the martyrs' deaths. For the audience, this martyr was indeed a victorious *domina*.

The question then arises whether there is a specific narrative tradition that could refer to the female orans and her two lions. These animals hardly match the story of Vibia Perpetua and her young companion Felicitas. They were attacked by a ferocious cow so that, as the story tells us, their sex would match that of the beast.⁴⁵ Other martyr stories introduce various kinds of beasts—panthers, leopards, lions, wild boars, bulls, and bears—without providing a satisfying comparison with the images on the DOMINA VICTORIA bowls.

Outside the Christian realm legends exist as well in which the accused are thrown to the beasts but miraculously escape.⁴⁶ The story of Androcles, a Dacian slave and convict who was spared death, is a good example. The story goes that Androcles had helped a lion cure his paw and had shared room and board with him. Thrown into the arena and exposed to the animals, he was rewarded for his help, since the same lion was launched at him. Instead of attacking his former friend and benefactor, the lion licked his feet and devoured a leopard. In both non-Christian and Christian traditions there are other less romantic accounts, in which the events take an unexpected turn.⁴⁷ At times victims were spared when the animal was not in the mood that day⁴⁸ or when it turned against the attending venator instead of the prisoner.⁴⁹ None of these stories, however, provide situations closely analogous to the image on our bowl.

⁴⁴ We prefer the interpretation of Bastiaensen, who suggests that the title is both of respect and of privilege granted by Perpetua's martyrdom. In this respect the subsequent word *dignatio* in 4.1 also points to her martyrdom, see A.A.R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, et al., *Atti e passioni dei martiri* (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, A. Mondadori, 1987), 419, 424.

⁴⁵ *Pass. Perp.* 20.

⁴⁶ For a vivid description, see Roland Auguet, *Cruauté et Civilisation. Les jeux romains* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), esp. chapter 3. See also Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 50, n. 67.

⁴⁷ See also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.7.1–4.

⁴⁸ *Pass. Perp.* 19: et cum ad ursum substrictus esset in ponte, ursus de cavea prodire noluit ("and so when he [Saturus] was bound on the platform, the bear did not want to come out of his cage").

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: itaque cum apro subministraretur, venator potius qui illum apro subligaverat, subfossus ab eadem bestia post dies muneris obiit ("then when he [Saturus] was given to a boar, the venator who had tied him to the boar was gored by the animal instead and died a few days after the show").

A more suitable match for the images on the DOMINA VICTORIA bowl—both in its narrative detail and its literary context—does not come from a contemporary chronicle of a local North African martyr but requires a trip to the legendary apostolic environment of Asia Minor. The apocryphal tales of Thecla, the female companion, adherent, and potential rival of Paul, offer what seem to be the closest parallels. Salomonson and Stutzinger have both cited Thecla as an analogous figure in their treatment of the DOMINA VICTORIA bowls.⁵⁰ The parallels with her, however, are so compelling that it is highly likely that Thecla does not just hide in the background but is, in fact, the intended subject of the imagery.

Let us consider some details of the narrative first. The *Acts of Thecla* were highly popular in the early Church, as is shown by many Latin translations of the original Greek, as well as Syriac, Armenian, Slavonic, Coptic and Arabic versions.⁵¹ The following passages from the Greek version are the most relevant for our purpose:

28 When the animals paraded in the procession, they tied her to a fierce lioness, and princess Tryphaina followed her. While Thecla sat on her, the lioness licked her feet, and the whole crowd was amazed. The charge written on her placard was “Sacrilegious.”⁵² ...

30 When dawn arrived, Alexander came to fetch her, for it was he who provided the beast hunts. He said “The governor has taken his seat, and the crowd shouts for us. Allow me to bring the beast fighter in.”⁵³ ...

32 Then there was quite an uproar, and roaring of the beasts, and shouting of the people and the women seated together. While the men said “Bring the sacrilegious one in” the women said “May the city perish for this injustice. Do away with all of us, proconsul! What a bitter sight! What a bad judgment!”⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 85, note 133, 88; Stutzinger, *Spätantike*, 684.

⁵¹ For the Greek text of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (APTh.) see R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1891–1903); L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres Apocryphes* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1913). For the Latin versions: Oscar von Gebhardt, *Passio S. Theclae Virginis: die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae: nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen* (TU NF 22/2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902). For an introduction: W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.; Cambridge: J. Clark & Co., 1992), 2: 213 ff. Jan N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996).

⁵² APTh. 28 (Lipsius): Ἡνίκα δὲ τὰ θηρία ἐπόμπευεν, προσέδησαν αὐτὴν λεαίνῃ πικρᾷ, καὶ ἡ βασιλίσσα Τρύφαινα ἐπηκολούθει αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ λέαινα ἐπάνω καθεζομένης Θέκλῃς περιέλειχεν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξίστατο· ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῆς ἦν Ἱερόσυλος.

⁵³ Ibid., 30: Καὶ ὅτε ὄρθρος ἐγένετο, ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος παραλαβεῖν αὐτήν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐδίδου τὰ κυνήγια, λέγων Ὁ ἡγεμὼν κάθηται καὶ ὁ ὄχλος θορυβεῖ ἡμᾶς· δὸς ἀπαγάγῃ τὴν θηριομάχον.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 32: Θόρυβος οὖν ἐγένετό τε καὶ πάταγος τῶν θηρίων καὶ βοῇ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὁμοῦ καθεσθεισῶν, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων Τὴν ἱερόσυλον εἰσάγαγε· τῶν δὲ λεγουσῶν Ἀρθήτω ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ ταύτῃ· αἶρε πάσας ἡμᾶς, ἀνθύπατε· πικρὸν θέαμα, κακὴ κρίσις.

33 Thecla, taken out of the hands of Tryphaina, was stripped naked, received a loincloth, and was thrown into the stadium. Lions and bears were launched toward her. A fierce lioness ran up and lay down at her feet. The throng of women cried out loudly. A bear ran up to her, and the lioness ran to encounter the bear and ripped her apart. And again a lion, trained against humans and property of Alexander, ran up to her. But the lioness engaged in close combat with the lion and perished with him.⁵⁵ ...

34 Then they threw in many beasts while she stood there and prayed with her arms outstretched.⁵⁶

The situation described is akin to what is seen on the bowl: a woman is condemned to the beasts but survives. One of the animals refuses to attack her and becomes her defender. In that sense the heroine of the story functions as a female Androcles. As we will see below, these passages provide some details that have particular resonance with the DOMINA VICTORIA bowls.

WORD AND IMAGE

The narrative speaks about a sign or a placard, on which the accusation was inscribed, that was carried with the accused in the procession. The Greek word here is *ἐπιγραφή*, which means “inscription” in a general way; the word is also used in a legal sense, when it means “description” in pleadings or “registration” of property for tax purposes. The Latin manuscripts of the Thecla story render the words *ἡ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῆς* (“the charge on her placard”) either as: *causa ... elogii*,⁵⁷ *elogium ... superscriptum*,⁵⁸ or *titulus ... scriptus*.⁵⁹ In martyr literature other such signboards are mentioned. In

⁵⁵ Ibid., 33: Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκ χειρὸς Τρυφαίνης ληφθεῖσα ἐξεδύθη καὶ ἔλαβεν διαζώστραν καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ στάδιον. καὶ λέοντες καὶ ἄρκοι ἐβλήθησαν ἐπ’ αὐτήν. καὶ πικρὰ λέαινα προσδραμούσα εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἀνεκλίθη· ὁ δὲ ὄχλος τῶν γυναικῶν ἐβόησεν μέγα. καὶ ἔδραμεν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἄρκος· ἡ δὲ λέαινα δραμούσα ὑπὴντησεν καὶ διέρρηξεν τὴν ἄρκον. καὶ πάλιν λέων δεδιδαγμένος ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ὃς ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔδραμεν ἐπ’ αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ λέαινα συμπλέξασα τῷ λέοντι συνανηρέθη.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 34: Τότε εἰσβάλλουσιν πολλὰ θηρία, ἐστώσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκτετακυίας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ προσευχομένης.

⁵⁷ Cod. Londin. Harl. 4699.

⁵⁸ Von Gebhardt, *Passio*, mss. group Ca.

⁵⁹ Von Gebhardt, *Passio*, mss. group Bb. The meaning of the word *elogium* is “short saying” or “inscription”; it also has legal implications when it refers to the specification of an offense before the magistrates. The word *titulus* has a wide variety of meanings, the most basic of which are: “inscription,” “placard,” or “notice.” The latter can refer to something to be sold or let, as in the case of slaves put up for sale. The word may have positive connotations when used as a title of honor or glory.

the account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, for example, a man by the name of Attalus was led around the amphitheater behind a sign board, on which was written “this is Attalus, the Christian.”⁶⁰ Here the term is πίναξ, a “board” or “plank” that in general denotes a panel with anything drawn or engraved on it. Like ἐπιγραφή, the word has legal connotations, referring to a public noticeboard or register. The Greek and Latin terms have in common that they indicate both the nature of the crime and the signboard on which the crime was inscribed.⁶¹ The wording in the Thecla story is very similar to the words in the Gospel of Mark that report the charge against Jesus: “The inscription of the charge against him read ‘the King of the Jews.’”⁶²

It is tempting to view the *tabula ansata* on the ARS bowl in light of these signboards carried by prisoners on their way to the arena and possibly posted inside during the contest.⁶³ In the case of the bowl, however, the message is not one of accusation but of victory. The sign of shame in the story has been transformed into a banner of success on the bowl.⁶⁴ Placards of victory are known to have existed in triumphal processions.⁶⁵ The famous

⁶⁰ See *Ep. Lugd.* 44: καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγράφτο Ῥωμαῖστί· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀτταλὸς ὁ Χριστιανός (“and he was led around the amphitheater with a placard in front of him, on which was written in Latin: this is Attalos, the Christian”). H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 62–84. In the *Mart. Pio.* 20 the sentence was read (in Latin) from a tablet: καὶ ἀπὸ πινακίδος ἀνεγνώσθη Ῥωμαῖστί· Πιόνιον ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογήσαντα εἶναι Χριστιανὸν ζῶντα καὶ ἡμεῖς προσετάξαμεν (“and from a tablet was read in Latin: we ordered Pionius who confessed to be a Christian to be burned alive”). Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 136–166. Also cited in Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 85, note 133.

⁶¹ For a picture of a relief that shows such a sign and further discussion, see Kathleen M. Coleman, “‘Informers’ on Parade,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999) 230–245, esp. 237–238.

⁶² Mark 15:26: ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, cf. Luke 23:38: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος. *APTh.* 28 (Lipsius): ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῆς ἦν Ἰερόσυλος.

⁶³ See also Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 84–85.

⁶⁴ The mentioning of a *titulus* is a rare feature in early Christian writing. In addition to the account of the crucifixion of Christ, we found only two other texts in which these placards occur: the *Acts of Thecla* and the account of the *Martyrs of Lyon and Vienne*.

⁶⁵ Louis Robert (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques* [Paris: Champion, 1938], 110) quotes a passage from Cassius Dio 62, 20, which describes a victory procession of Nero in Rome with placards on poles: καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι σανίδια [τε] ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνατείνοντες, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀγώνισματος, ὅτι τε Νέρων Καίσαρ πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησεν αὐτό (“and behind them were others who held up placards on spear shafts, on which was written the name of the game and the kind of contest, and that Nero, Caesar, first of all Romans from the beginning of age, had won it”). The word here is σανίδιον: small board, plank, tablet, or public register. In the procession these boards were carried on δόρατα: shafts of spears, sticks, or poles.

relief on the arch of Titus in Rome that depicts the spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem provides a visual example of such placards, where they also have the form of *tabulae ansatae*.⁶⁶

An intriguing Greek word that to our knowledge occurs only in the *Acts of Thecla* is the term “female beast fighter” (ἡ θηριομάχος).⁶⁷ The masculine form (ὁ θηριομάχος) is well attested and sometimes connected with the musician and god, Herakles.⁶⁸ To be sure, the words θηριομαχέω and θηριομαχία are frequent in stories of both men and women who are condemned to the beasts, but the feminine θηριομάχος is unprecedented; in this story it occurs rather emphatically three times. While some Latin translations render the Greek word ἡ θηριομάχος as *bestiaria*, there seems to be a certain resistance to this word in the Latin manuscripts. Only a few give the straightforward translation: *da eam ut ducam bestiariam* (“give the beastfighter up so that I may bring her in”).⁶⁹ A large group of manuscripts has *noxia* (“culpable” or “criminal”)⁷⁰ instead, while others offer flowery paraphrases, such as *trade adducendam sacrilegam quam nosti iudicum sententia ad bestias condemnata* (“hand over the sacrilegious one to be brought in, whom you know has been condemned to the beasts by a sentence of the judges”).⁷¹

There is evidence that alludes to female activity in and around the arena. Female gladiators are fairly well attested,⁷² but beast fighting seems at best to have been a rare female activity.⁷³ It is noteworthy that the word ἡ θηριομάχος

⁶⁶ E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York: A. Zwemmer, 1961), 135, fig. 146; D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 187, fig. 155.

⁶⁷ *APTh.* 30: δὸς ἀπαγάγω τὴν θηριομάχον. 35: ἐκείνοις προσδῆσωμεν τὴν θηριομάχον. 36: καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν θηριομάχον. The word ἡ θηριομάχος is repeated only in the *Thecla* hagiography that quotes or refers to the *Acts of Thecla*, see Ps. Basil, *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae* 1,18; 1,21. For a discussion of the terminology in literary texts and inscriptions, see Louis Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris, E. Champion, 1940), 321–324. Robert refers to Christian texts but does not mention the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* nor does he list θηριομάχος with the feminine article.

⁶⁸ See Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 19.

⁶⁹ Cod. Paris. 5306; Cod. Lond. Harl. 4699 and von Gebhardt, *Passio*, mss. group Bc. Cod. Lambeth. 94 has: ... *eam bestiis pugnaturam*.

⁷⁰ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. notes that the word is used especially for criminals condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts.

⁷¹ Von Gebhardt, *Passio*, Group Ca–d.

⁷² D. Briquel, “Les femmes gladiateurs: examen du dossier,” *Ktema* 17 (1992): 47–53. Kathleen M. Coleman, “*Missio* at Halicarnassus,” *HSCP* 100 (2000): 487–500. s.v. “Gladiatrix,” see also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladiatrix> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁷³ Martial, 7–8; see Kathleen M. Coleman, ed., *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum* [*M. Valerius Martial*] (Oxford/ New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Cassius Dio 66.25.1; Juvenal 1.22–23.

has been translated into Latin as *bestiaria* and *noxia* and not as *venatrix*. Pollack suggests that a distinction in terminology may exist between *venatores* and *bestiarii*. In his view the former possibly represents voluntary or professional animal fighters, who were well-trained and armed, and participated for payment or for glory. The latter include people who were thrown to the beasts in an involuntary way, such as convicts or prisoners of war. The article points out that the recipients of this kind of death sentence were mostly non-citizens, particularly Christians, and that in later imperial times they usually belonged to the lower ranks of society.⁷⁴

The passages of the *Acts of Thecla* cited above also speak of the heroine being dressed only with a loincloth or waistband.⁷⁵ The Greek text employs the rare word διαζώστρα; its more common equivalent is διάζωμα, “that which is put around as a belt” or “a belt tucked around the loins.”⁷⁶ Again the Latin translations use a variety of terms. A few have paraphrased the noun with a verbal construction: *Thecla ... spoliata atque praecincta, ...* (“Thecla, who was stripped of her clothes and given a loincloth, ...”).⁷⁷ Some use *campestrum*, a word that is listed as *campestre* in dictionaries: *... et accepit campestrum*;⁷⁸ others render *subligatorium: et accepto subligatorio dimissa est in arena praecincta* (“and after receiving a loincloth she was released in the arena properly girded”).⁷⁹ The latter word is kin to the more usual *subligaculum*, *subligar*, or *subligatura* from the verb *subligare*: “to bind” or “tie below,” “to gird” or “tuck up.” One group of manuscripts replaces the word for loincloth, changing it to “sentence,” so that Thecla received a sentence instead of a loincloth: *... et accepit sententiam* (“and she received a sentence”).⁸⁰ The other variant reads: *Thecla ... accepto monitorio missa est in theatrum* (“Thecla was sent into the theater after she received a warning”), but *monitorius* may just be a miswriting for *munitura*, another word for loincloth.⁸¹

⁷⁴ “Bestiarii,” PW 3.360.

⁷⁵ *APTh.* 33: ἔλαβεν διαζώστραν καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ στάδιον. For a critical introduction and commentary on the *Acts of Paul*, see Jeremy W. Barrier, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

⁷⁶ An allusion to the word (although of a different stem) may exist in *Oratio* 24 of Gregory of Nazianzen when he writes that God saved Thecla as well as Susanna: θεὸς καὶ Σωσάνναν ἐρρύσατο, καὶ Θέκλαν διέσωσεν.

⁷⁷ Von Gebhardt, *Passio*, mss. group B; Bc has *procincta*.

⁷⁸ Ibid., mss. group Cb.

⁷⁹ Ibid., mss. group Cc; these texts show a duplication.

⁸⁰ Ibid., mss. group Ca.

⁸¹ Ibid., mss. group A.

The costume of the woman on the bowl reflects the text in that she is stripped to the waist. Her drapery does not seem to be a traditional mantle but an unusual garment: a kind of skirt belted at the waist. Such a skirt seems to be virtually unknown in earlier times, and it appears to be an item of clothing apparently worn by women condemned to the beasts in late antiquity.⁸² The skirt might well be considered a feminine version of the gladiator's *subligaculum*, hanging lower and covering the legs. This arrangement would have been especially appropriate in a Christian context since Thecla's chastity was as important to her audience as her heroism.⁸³

Another clear similarity between word and image is Thecla's posture. As in the story, she stands with her arms outstretched and prays in the traditional pose of the orans.⁸⁴ Fourth-century viewers might also have viewed this pose as evoking the cross,⁸⁵ with its miraculous power to calm the beasts, an interpretation found in the writings of third- and fourth-century theologians.⁸⁶

The menagerie that Thecla faces in the arena is also clearly represented on the bowl. In the most memorable part of the narrative, a bear and two lions are launched toward Thecla.⁸⁷ Two lions return on the bowl, although they are male and sit in a calm, docile fashion. The story presents the two lions more violently; a lioness engages with a male lion with the sad result that both succumb simultaneously. The ceramic imagery, however, could refer to the more generic "throwing in of many beasts," when Thecla is described as praying (see the text given above). The lions, who color the first part of the narrative so vividly, could have been used to represent the "many" who also failed to harm the victorious lady.

A review of the generally accepted early Christian images of Thecla, moreover, shows similar treatment of the animal assaults in the story. None of these images show combat among the animals. Many examples from the eastern Mediterranean show Thecla flanked by a variety of contrasting animals—either a male and female lion, as on an early Byzantine gold

⁸² As shown on ARS: see figs. 19–22.

⁸³ An outlook also evident in the *Pass. Perp.* 20.

⁸⁴ For the orans figure in early Christian art, see Peter van Dael, *De dode, een hoofdfiguur in de Oudchristelijke kunst* (Amsterdam, 1978).

⁸⁵ Tertullian, *De Orat.* 14; van Dael, *Hoofdfiguur*, 191–192; Stutzinger, *Spätantike*, 685.

⁸⁶ Eusebius describes the magical power of Christ that is manifest in the martyrs, see *Hist. eccl.* 8.7.2.

⁸⁷ In the Thecla story the lions are male and female, while the bear is female.

pendant (pl. 9a)⁸⁸ and a Coptic stone relief (fig. 5);⁸⁹ or a bull or bulls, wolves (?);⁹⁰ or a lioness and bear, as on a Coptic flask (fig. 6).⁹¹ Other objects, however, such as a silver reliquary in Adana, Cilicia,⁹² and a comb from Akhmim in Egypt (fig. 7),⁹³ present the heroine as she appears in the ARS images, praying and flanked by symmetrically seated lions, both of which appear to be male. Nauerth and Warns, in fact, consider “Thecla zwischen zwei Löwen” as a special category of Thecla compositions.⁹⁴ To this list can be added a bronze ring from Egypt in Boston (pl. 9b).⁹⁵

The axially symmetrical composition of such Thecla scenes and Thecla’s cruciform pose are very similar to the more frequent images of Daniel in the lions’ den and may well have been influenced by them, as pointed out above. In the case of the comb from Akhmim showing an image of Thecla the relationship to Daniel scenes is unmistakable. The other side of the comb actually showed Daniel in a virtually identical composition (fig. 8).

In some of the representations of Thecla from the eastern Mediterranean, the saint is shown in a dignified, aristocratic costume (pl. 9, fig. 7); she wears a long-sleeved dress (chiton) and an abundant mantle, which is pulled over her head to veil her hair modestly. At times she has a halo, and in one case

⁸⁸ Michael Padgett, in A. Lazaridou, ed., *Transition to Christianity: Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD*, exhib. cat. Onassis Cultural Center, New York (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2011), 133, cat. no. 93.

⁸⁹ Nancy Sevcenko, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 513; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Antioch*, cat. no. 116.

⁹⁰ Monica Gilli, *Le ampolle di san Mena. Religiosità, cultura materiale e sistema produttivo* (Rome: Palombi, 2002), 32, tipo 5.

⁹¹ Nauerth and Warns, *Thekla*, 25–42, figs. 10, 14–16.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 55–59, fig. 21. They manage to distinguish male and female lions, a distinction not seen in the ARS bowls with Tecla. In an example in Mainz (above, fig. 1), however, Tecla is flanked by male lions, both facing right: one thereby seems to turn away from Tecla, as if driven away or defeated.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 51–53, fig. 19; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 75, pl. 59. With special thanks to Gabriele Mietke of the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst in Berlin for her help with the photographs.

⁹⁴ Claudia Nauerth, “Nachlese von Thekla-Darstellungen,” *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* 6 (1982): 16–17, pls. 6–7; Rüdiger Warns, “Weitere Darstellungen der heiligen Thekla,” in *Studien zur frühchristlichen Kunst II* (ed. G. Koch; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 83–85, pls. 20–21, 1.

⁹⁵ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: unpublished, precise find spot unknown. The Greek letters in mirror script on either side of Thecla may be read: $\varphi\rho\omicron\nu\theta\ \mu\omicron\iota$ “be mindful of me.” The letters above Thecla’s right hand have been damaged by filing. A bronze ring was listed among the objects excavated by Grenfell and Hunt at Gharek-el-Fayum in 1899–1900 (Letter from Keft at the MFA, 16 August 1900, pp. 47, 57). The ring is listed among “Roman Period” objects, but this could conceivably include Coptic materials. It seems possible therefore that the ring was actually found in the Fayum (JH, 15 June 04). With many thanks to Lawrence Berman for this information.



Fig. 5. Coptic limestone relief with St. Thecla flanked by a lion, lioness, and angels, 5th century. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 48–10.



Fig. 6. Coptic ceramic pilgrim flask depicting St. Thecla between a lion and a bear (reverse, Menas on the obverse), 6th century. Musée du Louvre, Paris, MNC 1926.



Fig. 7. Ivory comb with St. Thecla between lions, from Akhmim, Egypt, ca. 6th century. Formerly Frühchristliche-byzantinische Sammlung, Berlin, 3263.



Fig. 8. Reverse of preceding: Daniel in the lion's den.

the hand of God presents a wreath. She has taken on a hieratic, sanctified aspect. In the Coptic limestone sculpture and Menas flask (figs. 5–6), on the contrary, Thecla is presented as a criminal exposed in the arena. She is without mantle, and a noose that is knotted around her belt circles her neck. The ARS plates also present the persecuted woman as a criminal stripped of high-status garments; and since she wears only a skirt or long loincloth she appears, at least in this respect, even closer to the text of the *Acts of Thecla*.

THE COMPANY SHE KEEPS

The traditions of early Christian art make it even more probable that the female orans is Thecla rather than a martyr of the great age of persecutions. In the art of the third to sixth centuries, Christian subject matter is normally drawn from biblical stories that recount escapes from mortal danger and deliverance from tribulation, such as the tales of Daniel, Abraham and Isaac, the three Hebrews in the furnace, and the miracles of Christ. Even in the christological realm, the most tragic aspects of biblical narratives are generally avoided; Christ's passion is represented, but it is the resurrection that is emphasized, and only rarely is there an allusion to the crucifixion. Depictions of bloody martyrdom are rare and appear primarily in contexts directly connected with the veneration of martyrs, such as reliquaries or constructions at the tombs of martyrs.⁹⁶ The predilection for happy endings is especially prevalent in early Christian popular art, whether on objects of daily use or in funerary art. The DOMINA VICTORIA scene unmistakably belongs among the classic scenes of deliverance, since on the plate rim in Mainz it is coupled with the sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 2).

Very few female saints stand in this biblical realm. In the gold glass produced at Rome and widely distributed in the West, the legendary Roman martyr and heroine of chastity Agnes appears as an orans, sometimes flanked by Peter and Paul or by Christ, Mary, St. Lawrence, doves, or—most often—by trees.⁹⁷ While she appears in the loftiest of company, she seems to have ascended to the untroubled world of paradise, and her tribulations

⁹⁶ H. Leclercq, "Actes des martyrs et les monuments figurés," *DACL* 1:422–446, nos. II–IV, VI, XI. The gems in figures 77 and 78 (now Metropolitan Museum of Art) may well be forgeries. The mosaic in figure 84 is likely to be Venus because of her mirror and altar.

⁹⁷ See the inscription index in C. Morey and G. Ferrari, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959). Most provenances are unknown, but two impressive examples come from Cologne.

and martyrdom are scarcely alluded to. Thecla belongs to this same illustrious company for a variety of reasons. She is a better example than Agnes of the deliverance experienced by the heroes of the Hebrew Bible; although she was called "protomartyr," she managed to escape all her persecutions and death sentences.

Thecla enjoyed great popularity in early Christian theology. In the Latin-speaking world she is frequently cited as an example of deliverance and chastity.⁹⁸ Although not as popular as in Milan, she is well attested in North Africa from early times onwards. In fact, the earliest patristic testimony for the existence of the *Acts of Paul* (and implicitly, Thecla) comes from North Africa and dates to the beginning of the third century.⁹⁹ It is not unthinkable that Tertullian and the group of women around him already knew a Latin version of the Greek *Acts*. Willy Rordorf has cautiously argued for the early existence of such a Latin translation in North Africa.¹⁰⁰

In the works of Augustine that are contemporary with the ceramics under discussion Thecla appears twice, in connection with discussions of virginity. Because of her high standing and lofty reputation as a virgin as well as a martyr, she is beyond reach for some of Augustine's audience. In his presentation Crispina, a married martyr, is offered as an alternative role model.¹⁰¹ Thecla also appears in Augustine's writings against Faustus, but in a passage reporting Faustus's views. The latter was a Manichean, who like Augustine came from North Africa. In an argument over the differences between Manichean and Christian ascetecism, Faustus presents Thecla among biblical figures

⁹⁸ On Thecla in patristic literature, see: K. Holzhey, *Die Thekla-Akten. Ihre Verbreitung und Beurteilung in der Kirche* (München: J.J. Lentner, 1905); L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres Apocryphes* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1913); M. Aubineau, "Compléments au dossier de sainte Thècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 356–362; Willy Rordorf, *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers chrétiens* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1986), 435–443 (Thecla in the Western hagiographic tradition); Léonie Hayne, "Thecla and the Church Fathers," *VC* 48 (1994): 209–218; and Monika Pesthy, "Thecla among the Fathers of the Church," in Bremmer, *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 164–178.

⁹⁹ Tertullian, *Bapt.* 17. Tertullian speaks of the "falsely written" *Acts of Paul*. Since Tertullian refers to a story connected with Thecla, it shows that he had in mind an integral version of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, see Willy Rordorf, *Liturgie*, 458. See also A. Hilhorst, "Tertullian and the Acts of Paul," in Bremmer, *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 150–163.

¹⁰⁰ Rordorf, *Liturgie*, 437–438.

¹⁰¹ Augustine, *Virginit.* 45. Yvette Duval's idea that Augustine refers in this passage to an African martyr by the name of Thecla seems unlikely. In *Serm.* 354 (*ad Continentes*), Augustine makes a similar point in juxtaposing the Roman Agnes with the local Crispina. The legendary heroines, Thecla and Agnes, function as reminders to the audience not to set their aspirations too high and to practice humility; see Yvette Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle* (Rome, École française de Rome, 1982), 726.

who exhibited ascetic behavior, such as Daniel, the three Hebrews (Ananias, Azarias and Mishael), and the apostle Paul.¹⁰² In the North Africa of Augustine's time both Manicheans and mainstream Christians evidently accepted Thecla as a figure of biblical stature. Thecla's popularity in North Africa also extended to the grass-roots level of prosopography. Thecla evidently had a significant diffusion as a woman's name, since the *Acta Sanctorum* attests to it at least four times among female martyrs.¹⁰³

Thecla appears in more overtly liturgical contexts in the Latin-speaking world. She is cited in the prayers of the *Commendatio animae*¹⁰⁴ and in the so-called *Cena Cypriani* alongside popular biblical heroes.¹⁰⁵ The latter is a pseudonymous text thought to have come from northern Italy or Gaul and has been dated to the fourth and fifth centuries. Two other contemporary prayers, likewise handed down under Cyprian's name, invoke the example of Thecla as a model of deliverance. As in the other examples, she is accompanied by famous biblical stars.¹⁰⁶

In the East as well, Thecla is a favorite of theologians, who invoke her together with Jonah, Susanna, and other illustrious figures of deliverance.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Augustine, *Faust.* 30. 4. Faustus came from Mileve, spent time in Rome as a rhetorician, and visited Carthage in 383, where he became Augustine's temporary mentor.

¹⁰³ ASS, Maii, Dies 10, II 556; ASS, Iunii 13, II 678; ASS Iunii 14, II 797; ASS Aug. 30, VI 551. The latter was a woman from Hadrumetum, who was martyred with her husband Bonifacius; they were reported to be the parents of twelve sons.

¹⁰⁴ The *Ordo Commendationis Animae* contains a series of invocations that follow the formula: *Libera, Domine, animam ... sicut liberasti ...*, after which a biblical name follows. The oldest preserved example of the use of this litany is the *Sacramentarium of Rheinau*, dated to the eighth century. It contains the names Enoch, Elijah, Noah, Abraham, Job, Isaac, Lot, Moses, Daniel, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Susanna, David, Peter and Paul, and Thecla. The names slightly vary in other similar texts. For a study, see L. Gougaud, "Étude sur les 'Ordines Commendationis Animae,'" *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 49 (1935): 3–27.

¹⁰⁵ For the tradition of the text, see E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Steenbrugge, 1995) 468, no. 1430; and Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992).

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, the second *Oratio Pseudocypriana* (ed. Hartel; CSEL 3/3), 147–149. This prayer calls up various figures of deliverance as examples: ... exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Ionam** de ventre ceti exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **tres pueros** de camino ignis ardentis **Ananiam, Azarium et Misael** exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Danielem** de lacu leonum, et misisti **Abacuc** prophetam exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Tobiam et Sarram** dum orarent in atrio domus suae exaudi me orantem, exaudisti **Susannam** inter manus seniorum, sic et me liberes ab hoc saeculo mortali exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Ezechiam** regem Iudaeorum et doliisti ab eo infirmitatem carnis eius liberes sic et me de hoc saeculo sicut liberasti **Teclam** de medio amphitheatro, liberes me ab omni infirmitate carnis meae

¹⁰⁷ Gregory of Nazianzen, *C. Julian. Imp.* (orat. 4), PG 35, 589; *In Laud. Cypr.* (orat. 24), PG 35, 1180; *Carm. Moral.* PG 37, 593; 639. For many more examples of this usage, see M. Aubineau, "Compléments au dossier de sainte Thècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 359–362.

Like Agnes, Thecla is also a prime symbol of the Christian virtue of chastity. The crime of which Thecla was initially accused was refusal of marriage. Through all her trials she does not give in and escapes with her life, her reputation and her virginity intact. In later writings this aspect of purity becomes more prominent. In the *Symposium* of Methodius of Olympos, Thecla is one of the virgins, who leads the chorus and is a prime example of virtue.¹⁰⁸

In addition to the literary sources, Thecla has already been identified in artistic compositions together with the heroes of the Hebrew Bible. In a glass bowl found in Cologne but incorporating several gold glass medallions of a kind produced in Rome, Thecla is shown in the flames of one of her ordeals. An adjoining roundel shows a seated lion, probably also connected with her story, as Nauerth and Warns have pointed out.¹⁰⁹ The other roundels show Adam and Eve, Moses, Isaac, Jonah, the Hebrews in the furnace, and Susanna. On the ivory comb from Akhmim, Thecla is juxtaposed with Daniel on the two sides of the object (figs. 7–8). The plate rim in Mainz (fig. 2), which puts our image of the lady and lions beside Abraham and Isaac, offers the same kind of figurative association. As in other cases where the lady and lions appear in this biblical company, the lady should be identified as Thecla.

Like other scenes of deliverance in early Christian popular art, the victorious lady on ARS must have had a specific identity. She is no more likely to be an abstract emblem of martyrdom than Daniel in the lions' den would be. On a deeper level, of course, all such images of deliverance may evoke recent tribulations experienced by Christians during the great persecutions, but on the primary level they have names and specific stories. Again, allusions to the Church's victory through its martyrs may well resonate with such a depiction, but it is hard to see this as the primary meaning of the scene of the half-dressed woman flanked by lions. Representations of Ecclesia are known from the fifth century, as in the mosaic of Santa Sabina at Rome, but she is a calm matron whose troubles are far behind her.¹¹⁰ Because of her virginity, Thecla is associated with the Church by Ambrose and others, but this would have been on a secondary level for viewers or users of a piece of pottery.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Methodius of Olympos, *Symp.* 285–293.

¹⁰⁹ Nauerth and Warns, *Thekla*, 22–24, pl. 3; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Antioch*, cat. no. 226, no. 117.

¹¹⁰ See H. Leclercq, "Église," *DACL* IV 2:2227–2228, fig. 3977.

¹¹¹ Ambrose, *Ep.* 63.34: Quo munere autem venerabilis Thecla etiam leonibus fuit; ut ad pedes praedae suae stratae impastae bestiae sacrum deferrent jejunium; nec procaci oculo

Thecla's combination of apostolic standing, heroic escape, and chastity presents all the ingredients necessary for a ceramic workshop of the fourth and fifth centuries to transfer a popular narrative into the realm of popular art. Her escapes from savage animals, her standing as a companion of Saint Paul, the popularity of her *Acts*, her prominence in theological writings and liturgical texts of the time, and her appearance in other forms of popular art virtually guaranteed that viewers of the fourth and fifth centuries would have attached her name to the victorious lady on ARS ceramics.

COMPASSIONATE CONSERVATISM?

Escapes from persecution are not necessarily inevitable on ARS. This craft emerges from its roots in the middle Roman Empire, iconographically as well as technically. Roman art in North Africa as elsewhere had a long tradition of representing unsavory amphitheatre and circus entertainments, which included gladiatorial combats, horrifying scenes of cruel hunts, venatores overcome by animals, and executions of prisoners by exposing them to animals. African mosaics of the second and third centuries offer vivid examples of *damnatio ad bestias*.¹¹² This same sort of subject matter appears in ceramics of the middle Empire. Lamps and Gaulish *terra sigillata* of the second century present such executions in equally direct and brutal terms: lions or bears approach or leap up on prisoners—both male and female—who are tied to a stake or pushed toward the animals in a variety of macabre ways (fig. 9).¹¹³ Strangely enough, palm branches evoking some sort of victory are at times scattered in the field. Grisly images of such murders appear on ARS jugs from the tetrarchic period, at exactly the same time as the great persecutions. A jug (of the form probably called a *lagoena*) in Mainz shows a particularly cruel form of punishment, with the victim hoisted on the

virginem, nec ungue violarent aspero; quoniam et ipso aspectu virginitatis violatur sanctitas 36. Christus hoc dicit ad Ecclesiam, quam vult esse virginem, sine macula, sine ruga. Bonus hortus virginitas, quae plurimos boni ferat fructus odoris 37. Nec potest dubitare quisquam quod Ecclesia virgo sit, quam etiam in Corinthiis despondit apostolus Paulus (I Cor 7:26), virginem castam assignare Christo.

¹¹² Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 42–50, figs. 38 a–c; Kathleen Coleman, “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments,” *JRS* 80 (1990): 52–59, pls 2 and 3.

¹¹³ Leclercq, “Actes des martyrs,” figs. 75–76; Leclercq, “Ad bestias,” *DACL* 1: figs. 88–90; Felix Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata* (“Samian Ware”) (Liverpool/London: University Press, 1936), 1138–158; Jochen Garbsch, *Terra sigillata: Ein Weltreich im Spiegel seines Luxusgeschirrs* (München, Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1982), 59 (E 30).

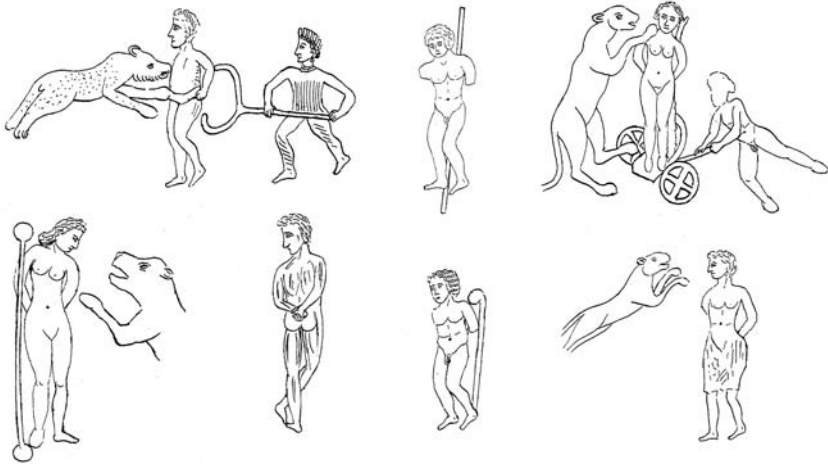


Fig. 9. Executions “*ad bestias*”: Stamp types on Gaulish sigillata vases [drawings: Oswald, *Figure-Types*, 1140 (Hadrianic), 1141 (Hadrianic), 1146 (Domitianic to Antonine), 1147 (Antonine), 1149 (Antonine), 1139 (Hadrianic?), 1155 (Hadrianic)].

stake so that the bear has to leap repeatedly to tear at him (pl. 10a, b).¹¹⁴ The arrangement would also have exposed the victim’s wounds more fully to the public as the bear gathered himself for the next leap. The animal handler (venator) stands behind the stake with a whip, a short sword, and a wrapping to protect his arm. This object, dated around 300 CE, provides a grim insight into the world of the persecutions and a public that was apparently conditioned to enjoy such entertainments.

Damnatio ad bestias reappears (or continues to appear) on ARS ceramics dated 350–430 CE, but it has been argued that a new spirit emerges in these representations. Several ARS bowls of Hayes form 53 are known that show male and female prisoners bound to the stake and approached, rather than attacked, by bears or lions (figs. 10–11).¹¹⁵ Salomonson discerned a

¹¹⁴ Ascribed to the workshop of Navigius in the museum records. The figures on the jug are defined as scenes of the hunt, the circus and an execution “*ad bestias*.” In detail, they are (clockwise from the handle) a donkey and an antelope, the execution, a spearman attacking a deer, and a heroic warrior supporting another in a Phrygian cap (Achilles and Penthesilea). The latter could have been a battle between male and female convicts as a mythological entertainment: see Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 60–73.

¹¹⁵ No emblems of victory accompany the scenes. Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, pls. 40–41; Stutzinger, *Spätantike*, 684–685; Carandini et al., “Ceramica africana,” 172, pl. 86, 1, 2; M. Ricci

hesitancy among the beasts and an absence of gruesome detail of the sort seen in second-century mosaics. He concluded that these representations present a change of attitude in that cruel spectacle had been transformed into a situation of sympathy for the intended victim. In light of the later fourth- and fifth-century dating of the bowls, he raised the possibility that the images were intended to be read as Christian martyrdoms—whether generic or specific in their reference.¹¹⁶ Dagmar Stutzinger, Jochen Garbsch, and Bernard Overbeck were more ambivalent about associating these representations of *damnatio ad bestias* with Christian martyrdoms but seem to leave the possibility open.¹¹⁷

It can now be demonstrated that the old spirit did, in fact, continue to live on in ARS workshops. In 1990 Meg Armstrong published a new group of images, dated 350–430, that are housed in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne; these images show no hesitancy on the part of the animals (figs. 12–13).¹¹⁸ Man-eaters pounce on prisoners at the stake with the unmitigated harshness of second- and third-century ceramics (pl. 10-a, b, fig. 9). In one fragment a bear leaps on a man (fig. 12) and in another a woman, who is stripped to the waist but wearing a breastband, has the paws of a large predator on her belly (fig. 13).¹¹⁹ A bowl of Hayes form 53 that shows the latter scene fully has recently been placed on display in Mainz; a bear bites the woman's chest (fig. 14).¹²⁰ Another bear circles, and a bush provides some setting. These animals are not all bark and no bite. In the absence of any mitigating detail, it seems impossible to consider such images anything other than *damnationes ad bestias* in the traditional sense, and Armstrong rightly omits any allusion to martyrdom in her discussion of them. These representations make it clear that this still represented an appropriate method of execution for convicts or captives—a method that a significant majority of the public evidently continued to approve, as it did in pre-Constantinian times.

in Arena et al. (eds.), *Roma*, 173, I.2.16. A bowl with a man at the stake and two running bears has recently been put on display in Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39712; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 14.

¹¹⁶ Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 43–50.

¹¹⁷ Stutzinger, *Spätantike*, 684–685; Jochen Garbsch and Bernard Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1989), 159.

¹¹⁸ Meg Armstrong, "The Köln Römisch-Germanisches Museum Study Collection of African Red Slip Ware," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 25 (1991): 435–436, figs. 48–50.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 436, figs. 48–49.

¹²⁰ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.4145.

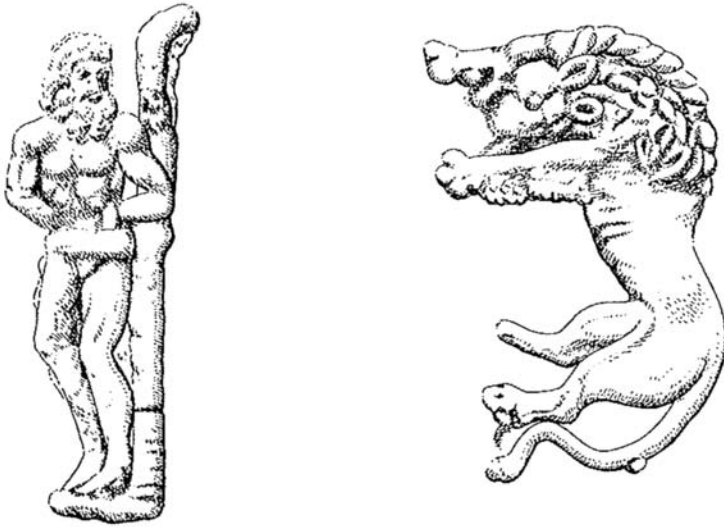


Fig. 10. Relief figures from an ARS bowl in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, inv. 68/28 [drawings: Carandini, "Ceramica africana," 172, pl. 86, 1].

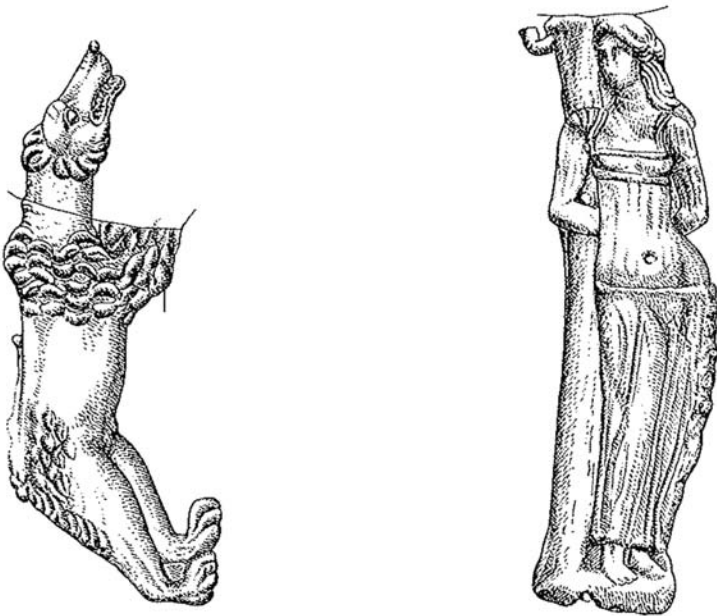


Fig. 11. Relief figures from an ARS bowl in Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano, Crypta Balbi.

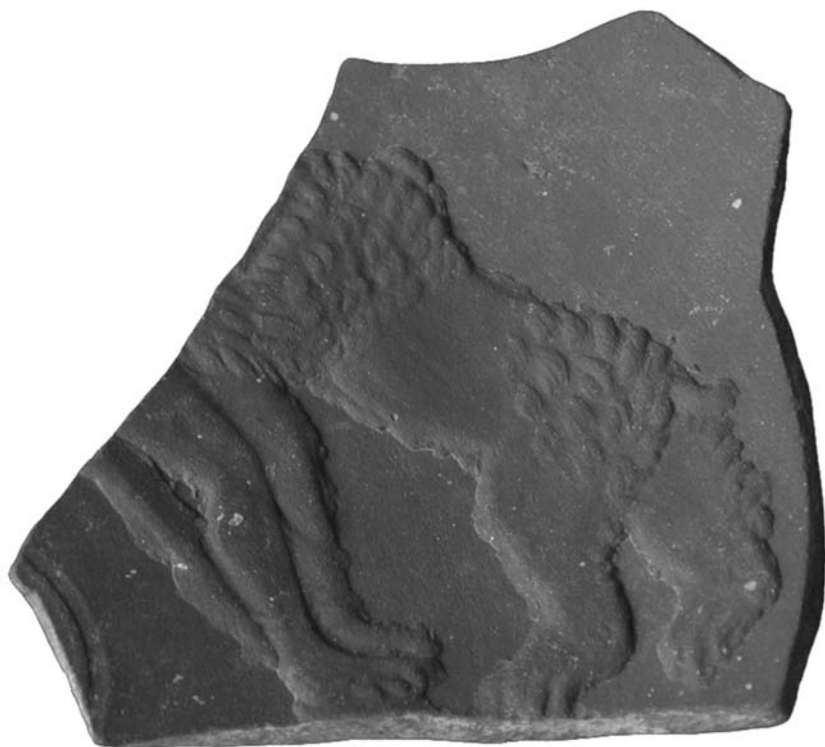


Fig. 12. ARS bowl fragment with a male prisoner attacked by a bear, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL797.

There was, of course, strong resistance to bloody public entertainments by Christian writers, and gladiatorial combats were eventually eliminated—although not definitively until 434 to 438 CE.¹²¹ Hunts in arenas, however, were apparently not brought to an end, and *datio ad bestias* may well have continued to form part of the spectacle. Constantine ordered the execution of two Frankish kings in this fashion.¹²² Isaurian captives were also thrown to the animals in the amphitheatre of Konya in 353–354 CE.¹²³ In the last years of

¹²¹ George Ville, “Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétienne,” *MEFR* 72 (1960): 331.

¹²² “Bestiis obicit:” Eutropius, *Hist.* 10. 3. Cited by Leclercq, “Ad bestias,” *DACL* 1:451; Salomonson, “Spättrömische rote Tonware,” 49, note 119.

¹²³ “in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus obiecti sunt praeter morem.” Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.2.1, cited by Leclercq, “Ad bestias,” *DACL* 1:451; Salomonson, “Spättrömische rote Tonware,” 49, note 119.



Fig. 13. ARS bowl fragment with a female prisoner attacked by an animal, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL798.



Fig. 14. ARS bowl with a woman at the stake bitten by a bear, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41495.

the fourth century, Augustine could still refer to this as a punishment meted out to the worst kind of criminals.¹²⁴ The visual evidence now reinforces the historical sources and confirms that the unsavory tradition of execution *ad bestias* continued throughout the fourth century and perhaps well beyond. In the minds of a significant part of the public, the execution of present-day criminals and barbarian prisoners evidently could be kept conveniently separate from the similar deaths of Christian martyrs of the past. These images of unmitigated cruelty on ARS wares seem to have been conceived

¹²⁴ Augustine, *Faust.* 22.79; cited in Salomonson, “Spättrömische rote Tonware,” 49, note 119.

as executions, and only with difficulty could a viewer so inclined interpret them as martyrdoms.

In cases where the animals approach but do not touch the bound prisoners on these ARS bowls (figs. 10–11), there is usually no compelling reason to change the interpretation to a more compassionate one: no palm branch or wreath of victory, no inscription offers hope of a positive outcome for the human victim. The apparent hesitancy shown by the animals may reflect the quality of observation on the part of the African potters rather than a fundamental revaluation of the images. These poor unfortunates still seem to be condemned criminals rather than martyrs. Representations of martyrs at the stake may, in fact, have been as unwelcome to Christian viewers as depictions of the crucifixion were.

A GLIMMER OF HOPE?

One series of images on ARS bowls of form 53 seems to fall between the worlds of ordinary execution and Christian martyrdom: a much-discussed bowl from the former Löffler collection, now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, shows a bear digging its claws into a woman prisoner who is tied to a stake set in a low platform (pl. 10c, fig. 15). Although the bear shows his teeth ferociously, he turns his head away, as if distracted.¹²⁵ A broad leaf-like form in the field has been interpreted as a palm of victory (which, however, is normally much taller and more slender, as in fig. 10). The interpretation of the bowl is complicated by the repetition of the stamps—probably for decorative purposes, a frequent occurrence on ARS ceramics.¹²⁶

The bear's distraction could allude to some sort of escape—if only a temporary one. Salomonson cites the story of a group of female martyrs—Saints Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda—who were exposed to a bear in the amphitheatre of Thuburbo (Tunisia).¹²⁷ Although ferocious and half-starved, the beast would only lick the feet of the three girls. Immediately thereafter, however, the girls were beheaded. In another North African story cited by Salomonson, a lion attacks Saint Marciana, rears up, seizes her, but then

¹²⁵ Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 47; Stutzinger, *Spätantike*, 684–685; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 159–160, no. 180.

¹²⁶ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, figs. 26, 27. An unpublished bowl of form 53 has two identical figures of Bacchus and his panther.

¹²⁷ *Passio SS. Maximae, Donatillae et Secundae* 6, *Analecta Bollandiana* IX (1890): 115; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 50, fig. 39.



Fig. 15. Detail. ARS bowl with women attacked by bears, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL541.



Fig. 16. Fragmentary ARS bowl with a woman at the stake hugged by a bear, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41962.



Fig. 17. ARS bowl with a martyr holding a wreath between a lion and a panther, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39895.

pulls back.¹²⁸ The bear-and-woman image might also allude to the *Acts of Thecla*; the bear could have been turning back from its victim because it was distracted by the approach of the lioness.

On the other hand, the leaf form may only represent a bit of setting rather than a palm of victory. Other examples of the bear-and-woman image now on display in Mainz provide little comfort for a Christian interpretation. One

¹²⁸ "Ligatur ad stiitem devota Christi virgo ... Dimissus est leo ferocissimus qui cum magno impetu veniens erectas manus in puellae pectus imposuit; sanctum martyris corpus odoratus, eam ultra non contigit" *Acta S. Marcianae* 5–6: *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. I, 596; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 50.

is a fragment showing the woman held in a true “bear hug” (fig. 16).¹²⁹ The other example, on a complete bowl, separates the bear and the woman at the stake, placing them on opposite sides of the field.¹³⁰ No inscription or palm of victory is present. In these depictions of a strangely ambivalent carnivore, the emphasis may lie on the eccentricities of animal behavior rather than on the virtue of the condemned human.

An enigmatic bowl in Mainz (fig. 17) offers a firmer indication of triumph in the face of amphitheatre animals:¹³¹ a lion and a panther approach a human figure seated on a throne and holding up a large wreath with both hands. The wreath frames the figure’s head, creating an almost comical effect. The figure wears boots and a short, unbelted tunic, like that worn by some *venatores*. The hairstyle may be that of a woman, as proposed by Salomonson.¹³² Whether male or female, the human is clearly victorious in some sense over the animals, as the wreath and the throne make clear. Whether the figure is a martyr, a biblical figure, or a particularly successful venator, however, remains to be seen.

AVOIDING MISUNDERSTANDINGS

One of the few unambiguously Christian treatments of these confrontations between human and beast on ARS is provided by the images of Saint Thecla. Her epigraph, DOMINA VICTORIA, and her posture of prayer make it clear that her story is set in a Christian context that concludes with a successful escape. Ambiguity would, of course, have been more completely eliminated if the saint’s name had been clearly inscribed, as names were inscribed on gold glass produced at Rome. This was not, however, the tradition of the central African pottery workshops; while flasks and platters might on occasion be inscribed with the names of the princes of the apostles or geographic personifications,¹³³ the bowls and dishes dealt with here were never labeled. It was evidently by dipping into its own tradition of sporting

¹²⁹ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41962.

¹³⁰ Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41911.

¹³¹ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 15.

¹³² Basing his argument on a fragment of the same composition in Constantine: Salomonson, “Spät-römische rote Tonware,” 49, fig. 60.

¹³³ A mold-made lentoid flask in Cologne, inv. KL426, bears the named figure of Paul: Salomonson, *Sammlung Karl Löffler*, cat. 611; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, cat. 49. A series of mold-made platters bear named personifications of North African provinces: Salomonson, “Spät-römische rote Tonware,” 7, fig. 2.

slogans applied to pots with amphitheatre scenes that a satisfactory solution could be found. The victorious lady was cheered on like a member of a third-century sporting club. By dispelling the ambiguity, equipping her with a winner's slogan, and implicitly giving her the name Thecla, images of the lady could assume their place among the vastly popular scenes of deliverance, which were one of the universal themes of early Christian art.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to Jan Willem Salomonson, who graciously gave us the benefit of his records, his knowledge, and his critical observations. Kathleen Coleman generously provided much bibliography and a critical reading of a draft of the text. In Atlanta, Peter Lacovara was especially helpful. In the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz and in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum at Cologne, Ernst Künzl, Hansgerd Hellenkemper, Agnès Adam, and Friederike Naumann-Steckner enthusiastically put the resources of their institutions at our disposition.

CHAPTER THREE

“TWO MEN IN WHITE:” OBSERVATIONS ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN LAMP FROM NORTH AFRICA WITH THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST*

John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek

THE LAMP

A ceramic oil lamp in an American private collection (pl. 11a)¹ is one of a relatively small group of lamps that is distinguished from most such works of popular art in presenting an ambitious christological composition—the Ascension. Five examples were previously known, three of which came from Carthage or Sicily.² A few molds of African provenance for producing

* This essay was originally published in David Warren, Ann Brock, and David Pao, eds., *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions, and Symbols*, Festschrift François Bovon (Brill/Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), 293–318.

¹ Harlan J. Berk, Ltd., 1997, *94th Buy or Bid Sale*, lot 1020, Chicago; John Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2002; 2nd ed., Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins, 2003), no. 37.

² Collected with bibliography by Fathi Bejaoui, *Céramique et religion chrétienne: Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997), 141.

- 1) Syracuse, Museum (?): Paolo Orsi in *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (1915): 208, fig. 18; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, fig. 77.
- 2) Carthage (fragmentary): Henri Leclercq, “Lampes,” *DACL*, 8: 1086–221, cols. 1171–1174, no. 1085, fig. 4; Abdelmajid Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie* (Musées du Bardo et de Carthage) (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976), 52, cat. 75, pl. 3; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, fig. 77a.
- 3) Viviane Hoff in Christiane Lyon-Caen and Viviane Hoff, *Musée du Louvre: catalogue des lampes en terre cuite grecques et chrétiennes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986), 102–103, no. 50.
- 4) Piazza Armerina: illustrated in Gino V. Gentili, “Lucerne cristiano-bizantine a croce romana della villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina,” *Nuovo Didaskaleion: Studi di letteratura e storia cristiana antica* 5 (1952): 86, figs. 1, 4.
- 5) Private collection, Germany (?). Illustrated in Jochen Garbsch and Bernard Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung München and Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 1989), no. 86, 138.

lamps of this type are also known (fig. 1).³ Another example of the lamp has appeared on the art market (fig. 2).⁴ All show the same scene with the same framing elements. Some appear to be made from relatively fresh, sharp molds and may be dated relatively early (fig. 2); others, such as the American example, appear to be made from worn molds and could be somewhat later (pl. 11a).⁵ While the identity of the scene on these eight pieces is no longer in doubt,⁶ the composition has not been examined in its broader setting in Early Christian art and thought. The ambitious scope of the iconography merits such attention, in spite of the modest level of workmanship the objects represent.

On all the lamps, the figural composition appears in the central, keyhole-like field of the lamp: the field is composed of a central disc, which is perforated by two filler holes for oil, and a broad channel, which extends out to the spout, where a wick would have been placed. Christ is dressed in a long tunic, carries a staff or standard topped by a cross over his left shoulder, and raises his right hand. His head is circled by a halo, and he is enclosed in a slightly oval ring, probably intended to represent radiant light. In some examples the border of the ring has been embellished with a row of dots or beads,⁷ and in another the border is hatched.⁸ Beside his feet two angels, whose wings and bodies are interrupted by the filler holes, carry Christ upwards toward heaven. Around the upper part of Christ's ring of radiance are the four symbols of the evangelists: from left to right, an eagle's head, a man's head, the forepart of a bull, and the forepart of a lion. Below Christ

Other examples have surfaced in the last ten years, for example, in Phthiotis, north of Lamia in Greece, perhaps a local copy of a North African import; see G. Kakavas, "Lamp with Depiction of the Ascension," in Anastasia Lazaridou, ed., *Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD* (New York; Athens: Onassis Foundation, USA-Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2011), 157, no. 127.

³ For an example, see Bejaoui, *Céramique*, fig. 77b. The material, which is not described, is probably plaster; for another, see fig. 1b, photographed by the authors in 2002 at Harlan J. Berk Ltd. in Chicago.

⁴ Andrew Spira, "Pottery," in R. Temple, ed., *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: Textiles, Metal Work ...* (London: Temple Gallery/Shafesbury: Element Books, 1990), 70–87, esp. 80, 83; cat. 34; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 49, fig. H.

⁵ Indistinct detail can also be caused by a later generation of molds; that is, molds made from lamps rather than from freshly modeled patrices. In such cases, the indistinct lamps could be dated substantially later than the original design.

⁶ Bejaoui points out some previously unidentified or misidentified pieces, see Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 141.

⁷ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 138; Spira, "Pottery," 80, cat. 34.

⁸ Bejaoui, *Céramique*, fig. 77.



Fig. 1. Plaster mold for an African lamp with the Ascension of Christ. Tunisia, 440–490 CE. Art market.



Fig. 2. African lamp with the Ascension. Tunisia, 440–470 CE. Formerly art market.

and the angels, two men in long belted tunics face forward (or outwards), and the one on the right raises his hand.

Some ambiguity remains about the identification of these figures. As several writers have pointed out, the two figures could represent the "two men in white" who speak to the apostles and foretell the Second Coming in Acts 1:10–11.⁹ Their pose, turned out as if to address the spectator, as well as their number, favor this latter interpretation. Alternatively, they could stand as an abbreviation for the eleven apostles present at the Ascension in Luke 24:50–53 and Acts 1:9–12.¹⁰ It has also been suggested that they reflect influence from the *Apocryphon of James*, in which Christ selected Peter and James to witness his ascension.¹¹ It remains questionable, however, whether this apocryphal text, which seems not to have left a trace in Early Christian literature,¹² could have been influential in the realm of art.

Another problem is posed by Christ's raised right hand. Something appears to extend it beyond the border. Bejaoui has interpreted this detail as a scroll.¹³ Christ, however, does not normally gesture in this way with a scroll, nor do scrolls have such long, funnel shapes. When Christ is shown in majesty with a scroll, as on the doors of St. Sabina, Rome (fig. 3) and in the Rabbula Gospels (pl. 14), the scroll is held in the left hand and hangs down.¹⁴ It seems more likely that the ill-defined detail represents the arm and hand of God, clasping Christ by the hand and lifting him up, as in some representations of the Ascension, particularly a famous ivory panel of the Holy Women in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (pl. 11b).¹⁵

⁹ L. Bernabo Brea, "Lucerne di età cristiana nel Museo di Siracusa," in *Nuovo Didaskaleion: Studi di letteratura e storia cristiana antica* (19 vols.; Catania: Centro di studi di storia arte e letteratura cristiana, 1947–1969), 1 [1947]: 59; Spira, "Pottery," 83; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 144.

¹⁰ Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 142; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 138.

¹¹ Cited by Herbert Kessler in Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1979), 454.

¹² Dankwart Kirchner, "The Apocryphon of James" in Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 1: 285–299, esp. 286.

¹³ Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 143. Leclercq thought that it was the key to the kingdom of heaven given to Peter: Henri Leclercq, "Lampes," *DACL*, 8.1: col. 1171.

¹⁴ For these and other examples, see André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Bollingen series xxxv, 10; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pl. I (p. 34), figs. 117, 195, 280, 328.

¹⁵ Henri Leclercq, "Ascension (dans l'art)," *DACL*, 1.2: 2926–934, esp. 2928–931, figs. 986–988; A.A. Schmid, "Himmelfahrt Christi," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum et al.; 8 vols.; Rom: Herder, 1968–1976), 2: 269–276, 273, fig. 1; Wolfgang

The broad rim of the lamp is decorated with alternating square and round medallions in relief, and on each side of the spout is a triangular medallion. Some of the round medallions are filled with the chi-rho monogram of Christ, the others are enlivened with geometric figures.¹⁶ The same series of medallions appears on all lamps with the Ascension.

It has long been known that the Ascension lamps were produced in the area of modern Tunisia. These and vast numbers of similar lamps with different figural decoration were exported from kilns in central Tunisia.¹⁷ They probably came from Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, near Maktar, where lamp molds and lamp fragments with the same medallions on the rim have been found.¹⁸ From the first through the seventh centuries enormous numbers of fine red-ware bowls, plates, and jugs, often with figure decoration, were also produced in Tunisia and exported around the Mediterranean.¹⁹ The lamps are called "African lamps," and the other ceramics "African Red Slip Ware" (ARS) or "terra sigillata chiara." Whether made from worn or fresh molds, all the Ascension lamps belong to Hayes type IIA, which is characterized by an unperforated handle, a canal between the disc and the spout, a broad flat rim, and relatively crisp workmanship. Hayes, followed by Bejaoui, dates the type from 420 to 500+. Hayes' type IIB is coarser and ranges from some time in the second half of the fifth century through the seventh century.²⁰ An

F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York: Abrams, 1962), cat. 93; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 138; Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980): fig. 76.

¹⁶ Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes*, 1st foldout, motifs A4 (var.), D8, F3, F5.

¹⁷ John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972), 310–314; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 17–18.

¹⁸ D.F.S. Peacock, F. Bejaoui, and N. Ben Lazreg, "Roman Pottery Production in Central Tunisia," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990): 70, 73, 74, fig. 9c, h.

¹⁹ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 13–299; Andrea Carandini, Lucia Sagui, Stefano Tortorella, Edoardo Tortorici, "Ceramica africana," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1: *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981), 9–227, pls. 13; for Christian images, see Bejaoui, *Céramique*; Anniewies van den Hoek and John Herrmann, "Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian popular Art," above, Chapter Two, 65–106, and in *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies on Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* (ed. David T. Runia and Gregory E. Sterling; Studia Philonica Annual XIII; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 212–249; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 49.

²⁰ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 313–314; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 17–20; L. Anselmino and C. Pavolini in Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana," 207. Recent excavations in the Crypta Balbi at Rome have demonstrated the strong presence of Hayes type IIB in the late seventh century: Lucia Sagui in M.S. Arena et al, eds. *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Rome: Electa, 2001), 276–278.



Fig. 3. Wooden door panel with an appearance of Christ, 422–440 CE. Santa Sabina, Rome.

early chronological reference point is provided by impressions of a *solidus* of Theodosius II of 430, used as a shoulder ornament on some lamps of type IIA.²¹

The Ascension lamps, some of which are nicely made and finely detailed, find a comfortable location in the main period of type IIA (fifth century). Garbsch and Overbeck date an example in a private collection to the fifth century.²² Further support for the chronology may be found in a medallion on the shoulder of the Ascension lamps. One kind of medallion used is a double circle enclosing arcs, which in turn enclose a small circle and a dot. A pair of these medallions flanks the handles on the African lamps (pl. 11a, fig. 2).²³ This same form is also stamped into ARS plates, and Hayes classifies the stamped roundel as type 87, connecting it to the early phase of his style D. He dates style D about 440 to 500.²⁴ A date relatively early in this span would place the stamp type around 440 to 460. If, as seems likely, the potters producing lamps were in close communication with the potters producing plates, and if, as again seems likely, the lampmakers picked up motifs from the dishmakers rather rapidly, then the creation of the Ascension lamp design would also date around the middle of the fifth century, perhaps 440–470. Once the design had been established, Ascension lamps could have remained in production for decades.²⁵

CHANGING VISIONS OF THE ASCENSION

The presentation of the Ascension on these lamps elaborates well beyond the textual basis provided in Luke-Acts and seems to mark a watershed in the history of artistic efforts to convey the departure of Christ from the earth. The biblical accounts are extremely brief in their descriptions. In Luke 24:50–51, it is said that “Then he led them [the apostles] out as far as Bethany, and lifting up his hands he blessed them. While he blessed them, he parted from them and was carried up into heaven.” The most detailed biblical account is that offered in Acts 1:9: “And when he had said this, as they were looking on, he was lifted up, and a cloud took him out of their sight.”²⁶

²¹ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 313; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, cat. 82, 83, 83a.

²² Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 138.

²³ For this type, see also Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes*, foldout, motif F5.

²⁴ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 221, 245, no. 87, fig. 44c.

²⁵ One medallion has been dated fifth or early sixth century: Barbera and Petriaggi, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche*, 360, 399, motivo 24.

²⁶ The longer ending of Mark (16:19) is least specific about the means of transit: “So then

The immediate aftermath is provided in the verses that follow (Acts 1:10–11): "And while they were gazing into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white robes, and said, 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.'" In Acts 1:12, the locus of the event is given as Mount Olivet.

The details of the account in Acts seem to have been the stimuli for the earliest representations of the Ascension (late fourth or early fifth century): the mountainous setting, the cloud, and the "taking up" reappear on two Gallic sarcophagi and in the ivory panel in Munich, ascribed to Rome (pl. 11b). Christ is shown in profile, stepping up vigorously in a mountainous terrain, and his hand is taken by the hand of God, reaching down from a cloud.²⁷ Two awestruck apostles crouch below Christ on the Munich ivory. While the visual retellings of the story are relatively close to the account in Acts, there are also non-textual elements. Christ's active pose, the agency of the divine hand, and the apostles' gestures of fear and awe are elements apparently improvised by artists or derived from some other textual source. The animation of the apostles, for example, could have been borrowed from the account of the Transfiguration in Matthew (17:6).²⁸ The animation of the apostles was certainly assumed by contemporary sources; in his Sermon 265 on the Ascension, St. Augustine speaks of the astonishment and joy of the apostles in his interpretation of Acts 1:11.

On the famous wooden doors of S. Sabina in Rome, datable between 422 and 440 (fig. 4), the Ascension is depicted in terms similar to the Munich ivory panel, but with significant alterations, which to some degree move the image closer to the text of Acts. Although still shown in profile, Christ no longer climbs the mountain vigorously but is taken up passively into the cloud by a group of angels. The upper bodies of two winged angels emerge from the cloud, and one takes him by the hand. Another angel stands by. Four apostles now gesture with amazement and bewilderment on the mountainside below Christ.²⁹ Christ appears more passive, as in the

the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God."

²⁷ Leclercq "Ascension," *DACL*, 1.2, 2928–931, figs. 986–988; Schmid, "Himmelfahrt," 270–273; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 454, fig. 67; Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 39–40, fig. 76.

²⁸ Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980), 70–71.

²⁹ Elisabetta Lucchesi-Palli in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 486–488, cat. 438; Jeremias, *Holztür*, pls. 60–65.

account in Acts, but the angels are interpolated as the agents of his elevation. Two apocryphal texts have been cited as possible sources for their presence: *Gospel of Peter* 10 and *Epistula Apostolorum* 51.³⁰ The idea of angelic presence, however, was current in theological interpretations of the time, as shown again by Augustine's *Serm.* 265, where the "men in white" of Acts 1:11 are called angels.

Although originally created no more than a few decades later, the African lamps have profoundly altered this relatively direct translation of the biblical account of the Ascension (pl. 11a, fig. 2). Christ is turned frontally, stands tranquilly, carries a cross-standard, has a halo around his head, and has an ovoid ring of radiance around his entire body. A symmetrical pair of flying angels carries him upwards, supporting the ring below his feet. The four symbols of the evangelists appear above the ring. The image has become that of Christ in majesty, with a strong allusion to the Second Coming. The four evangelist symbols are clearly an abbreviated version of the four beasts that introduce the Second Coming in Rev 4:6–8; their wings must have been omitted because of the extremely small size of the images on the lamps. In the biblical account the beasts appear around the enthroned one, who is surrounded by a rainbow (Rev 4:2–3), which is evoked on the lamps by the oval ring surrounding Christ. This ovoid ring of radiance might also be described as a "corona lucido globo," the term that Paulinus of Nola used for the element surrounding the cross in an apse mosaic he commissioned.³¹ The two men on the canal of the Ascension lamp, who seem to be the "two men in white," introduce an element specifically drawn from Acts. None of the other elements of the lamps' composition, however, adhere to the details of the biblical accounts of the Ascension, other than presenting Christ as passively taken up. The general concept, however, can be justified as a legitimate development of the implications of the passage in Acts (1:11) that says that Jesus will come again as he departed.³² The book of Revelation makes it clear that he will return in majesty, and the imagery in Revelation was used to enrich the imagery of the Ascension. The imagery might almost be considered a Second Coming or Parousia,³³ but the hand of God helping Christ

³⁰ Schneemelcher, *Apocrypha*, 1, 225, 278; cited in Jeremias, *Holztür*, 71, 144, note 262.

³¹ Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 32, 10: cited in Joseph Engmann, "Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola," *JbAC* 17 (1974): 21–46, esp. 21–22.

³² André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza—Bobbio)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958), 59; Engmann, "Apsis-Tituli," 40–41, also citing Beat Brenk and Henri Stern.

³³ Compare Engmann, "Apsis-Tituli," 39–42.

upwards and the two men (in white?) make it clear that the primary meaning of the scene is that of the Ascension.

A similar image of Christ in majesty had already appeared on the doors of Santa Sabina (422–440), but not in the context of the Ascension. In one panel entitled by Gisela Jeremias "Parousie," Christ stands blessing and holding a scroll inscribed IXYΘC (fig. 3).³⁴ He is haloed, and his entire body is enclosed in a circular laurel wreath. The letters ΑΩ in the field beside him make the allusion to Revelation clear (Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:13). The four beasts appear around the wreath. Below is a semicircle that defines a starry field in which Sts. Peter and Paul hold a ringed cross above the head of a woman (Mary or the Church). The sun and moon appear above the three figures. The composition on the African lamps (pl. 11a, fig. 2) can be understood essentially as a transposition of the elements of this image of Christ into the context of an Ascension. Angels remain necessary for the elevation of Christ, and the divine hand also remains from earlier tradition. Apparently this re-thinking of Ascension iconography took place approximately within the period 430–440 (doors of Santa Sabina finished) and circa 440–470 (date of the lamp design). Needless to say, the radical reworking of artistic tradition was not due to the humble potters who produced the lamps; they must have been inspired by some major work of art in their North African homeland, whether in mosaic, painting, or illuminated manuscript.

Various other new elements in the lamp's composition come from other artistic traditions. The symmetrical pair of angels flying horizontally and carrying the ring of radiance could well have been influenced by busts or entire figures of Christ enclosed in a wreath carried by pairs of angels or cherubim. Examples are sculpted on the wooden doors from Saint Barbara, Cairo, dated to the late fifth or early sixth century,³⁵ on the limestone door lintel of the Evangelists Basilica at Alahan in Cilicia (pl. 12a), dated variously in the range 450 to 540,³⁶ and on two fifth-century marble sarcophagi in

³⁴ IXYΘC (sic). Jeremias, *Holztür*, 80–88, pls. 68–69; Lucchesi-Palli in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 438.

³⁵ *L'Art Copte* (Petit Palais Paris, 17 June–15 September 1964, Ministère d'État Affaires Culturelles) cat. no. 92. H.-G. Severin in B. Brenk, ed., *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1977), cat. no. 286; G. Gabra with contributions by A. Alcock, *Cairo: The Coptic Museum and Old Churches* (Cairo: Egyptian International Publishing/Longman, 1993), cat. no. 45.

³⁶ Gerard Bakker in Mary Gough, ed., *Alahan, An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), 87–88, pl. 19. For photos, see <http://www.pbse.com/dosseman/alahan/> (consulted 7 August 2013). For a date of 450–470, see Martin Harrison in Gough, *Alahan*, 21–34; for a date of 530–540, see Christine Strube, "Die Kapitelle von Qasr ibn Wardan," *JbAC* 26 (1983): 59–106, esp. 103, 105.



Fig. 4. Wooden door panel with the Ascension, 422–440 CE. Santa Sabina, Rome.

Marseille (figs. 5a, b).³⁷ The image might be understood as a generic image of Christian triumph or a Parousia as well as an Ascension.³⁸ The image is probably derived from a centuries-old Roman emblem of heroization or apotheosis; innumerable third-century sarcophagi in Italy depict a portrait of the deceased in a roundel carried by a pair of horizontally flying Cupids; an example from the Gardner Museum, Boston represents this numerous type (fig. 6).³⁹

In the next step of the composition's development, the pair of angels carries not a wreath but an oval ring of radiance that encloses a full figure of Christ enthroned. One example is on a wooden door lintel from Cairo (pl. 12c),⁴⁰ another on a limestone lintel from Bawit.⁴¹ Both pieces, which are in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, are usually dated to the sixth century. As Grabar has pointed out, this kind of body halo, "aureole," or "mandorla" makes its first securely dated appearance in the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (432–440).⁴² In one mosaic the aureole appears around Aaron and his companions as a protection against the stones thrown by the people and seems to translate the *gloria domini* of the biblical text (Num 14:10). The African lamps belong to this phase of development; Christ is enclosed in an oval ring of radiance rather than a circular wreath. There is a further novelty; the angels have changed their position and support the mandorla from below. The upper circuit of the mandorla is occupied by the busts of the evangelist symbols. Two evangelist symbols also appear in the wooden lintel from Cairo—below the mandorla.

³⁷ Paola Borraccino, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani di Marsiglia* (Bologna: Patron, 1973), 75–79, cat. nos. 22–23, figs. 29–31; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 142.

³⁸ In Alahan, the tetramorph of the vision of Ezekiel is represented on the underside of the door lintel: Gough, *Alahan*, pl. 20. If the images on the front and underside of the lintel are to be read together, they could form either the Second Coming or the Ascension.

³⁹ Cornelius Vermeule in Cornelius C. Vermeule, Walter Cahn, Rollin Hadley, *Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1977), cat. 62.

⁴⁰ From Al Mo'allāqa: Engmann, "Apsis-Tituli," 39, 41–42, pl. 3; Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 287b; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 451; Gabra, *Coptic Museum*, cat. no. 41. Two of the four apocalyptic beasts appear beside Christ. From the context it is clear that the door frame represents the Ascension—while alluding to a second coming. Dated 735 by B. Ratliff, in Evans and Ratliff, *Byzantium and Islam*, cat. 42.

⁴¹ André Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons; London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), 244, 403, fig. 278; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 142.

⁴² As a protective envelope around Moses and his companions (Num 14:10) and around the body of the central of the three angels at Mamre: Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 117–118, figs. 274, 286. For the possible influence of a rabbinic text, see H. Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 420.

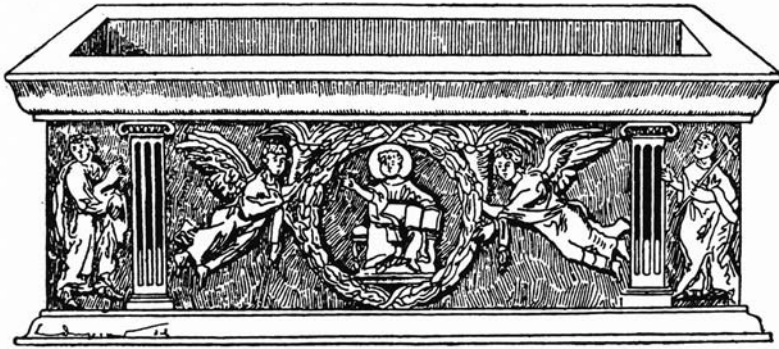


Fig. 5a–b. Stone sarcophagus with the enthroned Christ, angels, and Saints Peter and Paul, 450–500 CE. Crypt of S. Victor, Marseille. (b) Drawing by A. De Ruffi.



Fig. 6. Marble sarcophagus with the deceased transported above earth and sea by Cupids, ca. 230. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



Fig. 7. Lead ampulla with the Ascension, 6th or early 7th century. Treasury of S. Giovanni, Monza.

Images that combine the Ascension and Christ in majesty went on to enjoy great popularity in the sixth century; the evidence is entirely from the East. Typically, Christ is enthroned and holds a book. His aureole is supported by not one but two pairs of angels. The spectacle is viewed from below by the Virgin Mary and twelve apostles in a state of agitation. The scene is common on the lead ampullae from the Holy Land preserved in the cathedrals of Monza and Bobbio in Lombardy (fig. 7).⁴³ The scene is depicted with particular animation on a gold medallion with Greek inscription on the art market (pl. 13).⁴⁴ Frescoes from the apses of churches at Bawit, Egypt dated about A.D. 550 to 650 follow a similar scheme, but the four beasts of the apocalypse replace the angels.⁴⁵ The Rabbula Gospels, illuminated in Syria in 586, show another variation on the theme (pl. 14).⁴⁶ Christ in majesty stands enclosed by an aureole and holding a scroll. The aureole is carried upwards from below by the tetramorph, rendered in terms that closely follow the description by Ezekiel. A pair of flying angels supports the aureole at the sides while another pair brings crowns. Two more angels flank the Virgin and instruct the apostles, developing the “two men in white” of Acts.

EASTERN OR WESTERN?

In recent times, these sixth-century Ascensions with Christ in majesty have universally been considered to be a distinctly Eastern type.⁴⁷ Christ is characterized as passive, and the type is contrasted with the “active” Western type, where Christ steps upwards (pl. 11b).⁴⁸ The two types are implicitly regarded as timeless creations inherent in two different cultural outlooks. However, the similar Ascension in majesty on the African lamps, stemming as it does from the Latin-speaking, western Roman provinces of Byzacena

⁴³ Grabar, *Ampoules*; Idem, *Christian Iconography*, fig. 319 (considered “symbolic scenes”).

⁴⁴ Unpublished. The Ascension is inscribed: ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν (Rom 16:24*). The reverse shows the Annunciation and the Nativity, with the inscription: Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ (Luke 1:28).

⁴⁵ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, fig. 325; John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 71–72, fig. 55.

⁴⁶ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 35, pl. 1; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 454–455, fig. 68.

⁴⁷ Schmid, “Himmelfahrt,” 1970; Engmann, “Apsis-Tituli,” 39–42; Jeremias, *Holztür*, 87; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 454–455, fig. 68; Robin M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 166–167.

⁴⁸ Jeremias, *Holztür*, 70; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 454, fig. 67.

and Africa Proconsularis, presents a certain inconvenience for this scheme. The lamps reveal the presence of the "Eastern" type in the Latin West, and even more inconveniently they are apparently as early or even earlier in date than any of the preserved "Eastern" examples of the type. The problem posed by the Ascension lamps, however, has not been confronted, since they generally seem to be either unknown or ignored. Bejaoui himself dutifully accepts received wisdom and simply identifies the Ascension on the lamps as the Eastern type, resulting from Eastern influence.⁴⁹

Eastern influence could, of course, reach fifth-century Tunisia; the impressions of *solidi* of Theodosios II (the emperor in Constantinople) on the rims of some African lamps can in a sense be considered Eastern influence, but there is no evidence that the composition of the Ascension lamps was known in the East at that time. It seems worth considering the possibility that the Ascension in majesty composition on the lamps was the result of an empire-wide development in which North Africa may have played a significant role. North Africa, after all, was a powerful artistic producer in late antiquity. Its ceramics dominated the Mediterranean market from the fourth through the sixth centuries,⁵⁰ and North African craftsmen traveled widely in the West during the fourth century to produce mosaic pavements; North African pavements had a significant influence in the East as well.⁵¹ The absence of wall mosaics or paintings has eliminated what must have been the most ambitious North African artistic compositions from our view. Although we cannot follow it directly, creativity in major realms of Christian iconography may well have accompanied the undeniable creativity of North African artists in the realms of popular and decorative art.

No less significantly, theological activity, exemplified by the work of St. Augustine of Hippo in Africa Proconsularis, located close to the border with Numidia, provided an intellectual matrix in which such iconographic creativity could well have been at home. His writings, moreover, show that the importance of the Ascension as a feast had a historical development, and it is in this context that an evolving—rather than a timeless—conception of the artistic presentation should be understood.

⁴⁹ Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 142. He, however, gives a fifth century date for the Bawit lintel rather than the sixth century date advanced by Grabar, *Byzantium*, 403.

⁵⁰ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 13–299; Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana."

⁵¹ Katherine Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 196–233. A sharp decline in the quality of African mosaics has been linked to the Vandal conquest ca. 430: Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 225. Pottery production, however, continued as if unaffected by political events.

AUGUSTINE AND THE ASCENSION

Though established by the beginning of the fifth century, the origins of the feast of the Ascension are far from clear.⁵² Early sources indicate that the Easter vigil was followed by a period of fifty days (Pentecost), in which various elements of Christ's resurrection were commemorated; this fifty-day period ended with a celebrative last day.⁵³ Available information does not suggest that individual events such as the Ascension were celebrated separately.⁵⁴ In the course of the fourth century a more articulated situation emerges, in which commemorations of the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Spirit become increasingly separate elements. Several sources attest to this evolution: the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, a Syrian document, prescribes that at the completion of fifty days after the resurrection a commemoration of the Ascension should be held, a tradition to which Eusebius also attests.⁵⁵ Moreover, there are indications in Palestine of a twofold commemoration on the fiftieth day: that of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the Ascension.⁵⁶

Other traditions single out the fortieth day. In one of its canons the Council of Elvira (held between 300 and 309) mentions the custom of having the period end on the fortieth day.⁵⁷ The council condemns this practice as heretical and wants to maintain a fifty-day period. The Council of Nicea also mentions the fortieth day after Easter as an important point in time.⁵⁸ Neither of these canons spell out what the theological significance of this day was,⁵⁹ leaving open questions of why the period would end on the fortieth day and whether the Ascension or the descent of the Spirit were featured events. By the beginning of the fifth century, however, the celebration of the

⁵² In *Serm.* 265F (Lambot, 25) dated around 405, Augustine claims that the celebration of the Ascension was well established throughout the Christian world, just as the celebration of Pentecost was. He called the former the "holy day of Quadragesima" and termed the latter "Quintagesima," the Latin equivalent of the Greek πεντηκοστή.

⁵³ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 8, 25; Hansjörg Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit I, Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1983), 80.

⁵⁴ This is the general opinion among scholars of liturgy. Cantalamessa has a slightly different opinion and cautions against oversimplifying the reconstruction of the development, see Raniero Cantalamessa, *Easter in the Early Church: An Anthology of Jewish and Early Christian Texts* (Minneapolis: Liturgical Press, 1993), 21–22.

⁵⁵ *Doctr. Apost.* canon 9; Eusebius, *De Solemn. Pasch.* 5; Auf der Maur, *Feiern*, 80.

⁵⁶ Egeria, 42–43; Jerome, *Com. in Gal.* 2, 4, 10–11; *Com. in Eph. Prol.*; Auf der Maur, *Feiern*, 80–81.

⁵⁷ Mansi, *Concilia*, II, 13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 669.

⁵⁹ Auf der Maur, *Feiern*, 82.

Ascension on the fortieth day was well established as was the coming of the Holy Spirit on the fiftieth day.

This development accentuates the individual elements of the post-Easter period and arranges them in a kind of chronological order. The Lukan account clearly offered the theological backbone for this evolution, since the numbers forty and fifty were embedded in the post-resurrection narratives of Acts.⁶⁰ The development as a whole—here sketched in a nutshell—meant that the original unity of the Easter celebrations from the passion, death, and resurrection to the glorification of Christ was now divided in separate memorial days, a tendency that was not unique to the Easter cycle but extended to other seasons of the ecclesiastical year as well from this time onward.⁶¹ The emergence of the feast of the Ascension in liturgical terms seems to parallel the rather late appearance of Ascension iconography, since depictions of the Ascension are missing in the art of the catacombs and in Roman fourth-century sarcophagi.⁶²

Augustine is one of the first theologians in the West known to have given Ascension sermons.⁶³ Since the North African lamps originated not long after his lifetime (354–430), his sermons provide us with material that forms a remarkable parallel to and preparation for these visual images. Just as the lamps were works of popular art, the sermons were addressed to a popular audience. They were not composed as exercises for a highly intellectual discourse but given as spontaneous and lively speeches, as it were, off the cuff.

The main task of the bishop was to preach, and Augustine was a preacher par excellence. It has been calculated that he must have delivered five to seven thousand sermons in the almost forty years of his service as a bishop. He addressed his people weekly on Saturday nights, Sunday mornings and sometimes evenings, with additional sermons on special occasions and festive days, such as the celebration of the Ascension.⁶⁴ About 550 authentic sermons have come down to our time, and occasionally new ones are discovered. Many more sermons have been transmitted under Augustine's name but by and large are not by him.

⁶⁰ Acts 1 and 2.

⁶¹ H.A.J. Wegman, "Hemelvaart," in *Grote Winkler Prins* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1979–1984).

⁶² Schmid, "Himmelfahrt," 268, 270–271.

⁶³ In the East Chrysostom was one of the first to preach Ascension sermons. His *Hom. in Ascens.* (PG 50, 441–452) given in Antioch is dated around 386.

⁶⁴ For Augustine as a preacher, see Frits van der Meer, *Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1957), II 122–179. Hans van Reisen, *Augustinus, bisschop van Hippo. Beknopt overzicht van zijn leven en werk* (Eindhoven: Augustijns Instituut, 1995), 10.

Augustine's popular style presumably reflects the taste of his audience. His sermons were often improvised, especially later in his career.⁶⁵ They often reflect interaction with his audience. Some repetitions and summaries were a response to an influx of latecomers. At times he had to cut his sermon short when the people (who had to stand during these long discourses in the African heat) became restless and noisy.⁶⁶ Augustine's sermons frequently contain word plays; given the acclamations that followed, the people greatly appreciated his puns.⁶⁷

In a lively interaction on Ascension day, we see the bishop in full action: "Tell me now, choose what you want! What do you want to be, a human who is blind or an animal that can see? You all applauded, you made your choice. Where did you see what you chose? What did I show you to make you applaud like that?"⁶⁸ At another Ascension service Augustine reminds his audience ironically about their behaviour: "For I know that particularly on these days the church is filled with such people who wish to depart more speedily than they came; they consider us a pain if we happen to talk a little longer. But if these people are held up at their dinner parties, to which they are in such a hurry, they do not suffer, nor do they refuse or are in any way ashamed and leave."⁶⁹ All of this gives the modern reader an idea of the contemporary reception of these sermons, and it was this ambiance that produced the African lamps with their popular Christian symbols and biblical allusions.⁷⁰

About fifteen of Augustine's Ascension sermons are known to us.⁷¹ Since there was no fixed lectionary yet, it was up to the bishop to choose the appropriate readings for the day. As for the Gospel readings, they were

⁶⁵ Improvisation was almost required if the lector happened to read the wrong passage, one other than the bishop had intended; see Martijn Schrama, *Aurelius Augustinus. Als licht in het hart. Preken voor het liturgisch jaar* (Baarn: Ambo, 1996), 13–14.

⁶⁶ It has been calculated that the average duration of Augustine's sermons must have been between half an hour and an hour and a half—but sermons of over two hours were also within range.

⁶⁷ See Christine Mohrmann, *Sint Augustinus. Preken voor het volk handelende over de Heilige Schrift en het eigen van den tijd* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1948), XLV.

⁶⁸ *Serm.* 265C; *Ibid.*, LXII.

⁶⁹ *Serm.* 264; van der Meer, *Augustinus*, I 166. These incidents and reactions were occasionally reported by the stenographers, the *notarii* who recorded Augustine's sermons.

⁷⁰ See Bejaoui, *Lampes*, 21–31; van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Thecla the Beast Fighter," 212–214 and above, 65–69.

⁷¹ The numbers vary; compare J.G. Davies, *He Ascended into Heaven* (New York: Association Press, 1958), 190–191; William H. Marreeve, *The Ascension of Christ in the Works of St. Augustine* (Ottawa: Saint Paul University, 1967), 21–22. Schrama, *Aurelius Augustinus*, 280–281.

never taken from the Gospel of Mark but rather from Luke 24:36–53 or Matt 28:16–20, sometimes in combination with the Gospel of John, either John 14:23–28 (esp. 28) or occasionally John 20:11–18 (esp. 17).⁷² The epistle reading was from the first chapter of Acts, just as the second chapter was read on Whitsunday. Augustine cites the beginning of Acts (Acts 1:1–11) frequently throughout his writings—having more quotations from those verses than any other Latin author of his time or earlier. *Sermo* 265, in particular, follows the text closely and consistently; the other sermons cite the passage without much further elaboration. Acts 1:11 often occurs in combination with Zech 12:10/John 19:37.⁷³

There are a number of other favorites as well in this context: Augustine is fond of citing Phil 2:6–11 and John 3:13.⁷⁴ When he quotes from the Psalms, he tends to select verses that have a particular “upward” resonance; they contain verbs, such as to be “lifted up,” to be “exalted,” or to “rise up” (Ps 56:12; 67:19; 96:9; 107:6).⁷⁵ Along the same line he borrows words from the eucharistic *sursum corda*, “lift up your hearts,” combining these words almost seamlessly with a quotation from Col 3:1–2.⁷⁶

There is great variety in the themes of the Ascension sermons, supposedly due to what was on the bishop’s mind at the time. His emphasis changed, but the themes were always embedded in a vast repertory of biblical texts. If Augustine was dealing with the number forty, he would track down all the famous examples in scripture where this number surfaced.⁷⁷ If the Arians were on his mind, he would focus on the divinity of Christ and the unity of Father and Son.⁷⁸ Other writings and other sermons of the liturgical year contain Ascension motifs as well; of particular interest are his expositions on the *Symbolum*, in which the bishop expounds on the formulation of the Creed.

⁷² John 14:28: “vado ad patrem meum quia pater maior me est”; John 20:17: “ascendam ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum”; see also G.G. Willis, *St. Augustine’s Lectionary* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), 28.

⁷³ “videbunt in quem pupugerunt,” see *Serm.* 127, 10; 265, 2; *Tract. in Ioh.* 21, 13; 36, 12; *Enarrat. Ps.* 85, 21.

⁷⁴ John 3:13: “nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit.”

⁷⁵ Ps 56:12 (107:6): “exaltare super caelos, deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua” (*Serm.* 262; 263A; 265). Ps 67:19 (Eph 4:8): “(qui) ascendit in altum” (*Serm.* 261). Ps 96:9: “tu es dominus altissimus super omnem terram. nimis exaltatus es super omnes deos” (*Serm.* 265E).

⁷⁶ Col 3:1–2: “si resurrexistis cum Christo quae sursum sunt quaerite ubi Christus est in dextera dei sedens” (*Serm.* 263A).

⁷⁷ *Serm.* 264.

⁷⁸ *Serm.* 265A.

THE ASCENSION AND THE SECOND COMING

In Augustine's hermeneutics there is a close link between the Ascension and the Second Coming, a link that is firmly based on the text of Acts and the *Symbolum*. Augustine gives a good example of this in *Serm.* 265, in which he gives full weight to both parts of Acts 1:11, the Ascension and Christ's return. The bishop also brings out the implication that humans will participate in the Ascension,⁷⁹ emphasizing the idea that God will come as a man in order for humans to become gods:

Serm. 265, 2. Tunc ergo posteaquam id quod videbant ascendere mirabantur, sursum tamen ire gaudebant; capitis enim praecessio, spes membrorum est; audierunt et angelicam vocem, *vir Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in coelum? Hic Jesus sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in coelum.*⁸⁰ Quid est, *sic veniet?* In ea forma veniet: ut impleatur quod scriptum est, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt.*⁸¹ *Sic veniet.* Ad homines veniet, homo veniet; sed Deus homo veniet. Veniet verus homo et Deus, ut faciat homines deos. Ascendit iudex coeli, sonuit praeco coeli.⁸²

(At that time then they were astonished at what they saw ascend but yet they rejoiced to see him go up. For the head that precedes is the hope for the members. They also heard an angelic voice: *Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.* What does it mean: *he will come in the same way?* He will come in the same form, in order that scripture may be fulfilled: *They will see the one whom they pierced. Thus he will come.* He will come to men; he will come as a man, but God will come as a man. He will come as true man and God, in order to make men into gods. The judge of heaven has ascended, the herald of heaven has sounded.)

A major theme in Augustine's thought on the Ascension and Christ's return is glory and majesty,⁸³ since the full glory is particularly manifest in Christ's

⁷⁹ The glorification of Christ supports the glorification of humans as a promise. In *Serm.* 261 on the Ascension, Augustine explains that the proper celebration of Christ's ascension would result in human ascension.

⁸⁰ Acts 1:11.

⁸¹ Zech 12:10; John 19:37.

⁸² See also *Serm.* 265, 8. *duae sunt glorificationes secundum suscepti hominis formam: una, qua surrexit a mortuis tertio die; alia, qua ascendit in coelum ante oculos discipulorum suorum. duae sunt istae, quae commendantur, glorificationes eius iam factae. Restat una et ipsa in conspectu hominum, cum se iudicio praesentabit ... 12. Hoc resurrectione glorificatus. Quid ascensione glorificandus? quod audistis, eritis mihi testes in Ierusalem, et in tota Iudaea et Samaria, et usque in fines terrae* (Acts 1:8).

⁸³ The terminology in Latin varies but conveys the same idea: *maiestas, potestas, gloria, claritas*.

second coming. The textual substratum for his treatment goes well beyond the first chapter of Acts and has a broad biblical base, as the passage from *Ep.* 199 below shows. Describing the Second Coming of Christ in majesty and power, Augustine refers in a complex way to other gospel texts, such as Luke 21:27 (and par.), concerning the parousia of the Son of man, and Matt 26:64 (and par.) on Jesus before the Sanhedrin. According to Augustine, the Lukan text can be understood in two ways: either through Christ's presence in the church or through his glorified body:

Ep. 199, 41: *Et tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et maiestate.*⁸⁴ quod video duobus modis accipi posse sive in ecclesia tanquam in nube venientem, sicut etiam nunc venire non cessat secundum id, quod ait: *amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem a dextris virtutis et venientem in nubibus coeli;*⁸⁵ sed ideo tunc cum potestate magna et maiestate,⁸⁶ quia maior potestas et maiestas illius apparebit sanctis, quibus magnam virtutem dabit, ne tanta persecutione vincantur, sive in corpore suo, in quo sedet ad dexteram Patris, in quo etiam mortuus est et resurrexit et ascendit in coelum, secundum quod scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, *His dictis nubes suscepit eum, et sublatus est ab eis.*⁸⁷ Et quia illic etiam dictum est ab angelis, *Sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in coelum,*⁸⁸ merito credendus est non solum in eodem corpore verum etiam in nube venturus, quoniam sic veniet, sicut abiit et nubes eum suscepit abeuntem.

(and then they will see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great power and majesty; this, as I see it, can be understood in two ways, either that he is coming in the church as it were in a cloud, since even now he does not stop coming, according to what he said: *hereafter you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven*— but therefore then with great power and majesty, because his greater power and majesty will appear to the saints, to whom he will give great strength, so that they not be overcome by such a great persecution; or (that he is coming) in his own body, in which he sits at the right hand of the Father, in which he also died, rose again, and ascended to heaven, according to what has been written in the Acts of the Apostles: *after these words a cloud supported him and he was taken up away from them*; and because there the angels even said: *he will come in the same way as you saw him going into heaven*, one should believe with good reason that he is not only going to come in the same body but also in a cloud, since he will come as he left, and a cloud supported him when he went away.)

⁸⁴ Luke 21:27 (parousia of the son of man; cf. Matt 24:30; Mark 13:26 [nubibus]).

⁸⁵ Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62 (Jesus before the Sanhedrin).

⁸⁶ Cf. Luke 21:27; Matt 24:30; Mark 13:26.

⁸⁷ Acts 1:9.

⁸⁸ Acts 1:11.

Another prominent source for Augustine's characterization of the glory of Christ's reappearance and the last judgement is the text of Matt 25:31–46. In this pericope the Son of man comes in glory before all nations. They will be gathered, and he will separate them as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.⁸⁹ This text, however, has no specific link to the Ascension for Augustine.

The same constellation of thoughts (Ascension, second coming, glory) with a greater stress on the last judgement emerges in a section of the *Serm. de Symbolo*. This sermon, transmitted under Augustine's name, has been attributed to Quodvultdeus, a student, friend, and admirer of Augustine, who became the bishop of Carthage in 437.

De Symbolo 2, 8, 1–4 Inde enim venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. Adventum eius liber indicat Actuum Apostolorum. Postea enim quam a mortuis resurrexit, conversatus est cum discipulis suis quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, intrans et exiens, manducans et bibens, non quod haberet infirmitatem, sed ut doceret veritatem. Quadagesimo die, ipsis videntibus et quodam modo in coelum oculis deducantibus, astiterunt illis duo viri in veste alba, qui dixerunt eis: *Viri Galilaei, quid statis intuentes in coelum? Iste Jesus qui assumptus est in coelum a vobis, sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in coelum.*⁹⁰ Veniet ergo, fratres mei, veniet: ille qui prius venit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus; ille qui iudicatus est, veniet iudicaturus; ille qui stetit ante hominem, iudicaturus est omnem hominem. *Deus manifestus veniet.*⁹¹ Quid est, *Deus manifestus veniet?* Non sicut prius, homo humilis; sed sicut Deus homo, maiestate sublimis.

(For thereafter he is going to come to judge the living and the dead. The book of the Acts of the Apostles gives information about his coming. For after he had risen from the dead, he lived with his disciples for forty days and forty nights, going in and going out, eating and drinking, not because he was weak but in order to teach the truth. On the fortieth day while they were looking and while somehow their eyes turned away to heaven, two men in white clothing stood by them, who said to them: *men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? That Jesus who has been taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.* Therefore, he will come, my brothers, he will come. He who came before secretly, will come openly with power. He who has been judged, will come in order to judge. He who stood before a man is going to judge all man. *God will come openly.* What does this mean: *God will come openly?* Not as before as a lowly man, but as a God man, exalted in majesty.)

⁸⁹ See *Serm.* 18; 60; 137; 251; 351; 353; *Civit.* 20, 5; *Trinit.* 1, 13; *De gest. Pel.* 1, 3.

⁹⁰ Acts 1:11.

⁹¹ Ps 49:3.

While the text may be post-Augustinian, the content is a continuation and development of Augustine's interest in and treatment of the Ascension.⁹² The same themes of second coming, glory, and judgement, moreover, are implicit in the iconography of the Ascension lamps, which of course present differences in treatment; in the compressed scenes on the lamps, majesty is reinforced through the imagery of the tetramorph/evangelist symbols of biblical visions. Augustine does not connect these images with the Ascension, although he does associate these apparitions with the last judgement, citing the texts of Rev 4:6–8, and Ezek 1:5–10.⁹³

Augustine's retelling of the Ascension in *Serm.* 265 and *Ep.* 199, moreover, provides additional detail that parallels most visual representations of the Ascension. The apostles are said to react with astonishment and joy. Angels are also present, taking the place of the mysterious men in white who interpret the event for the apostles. In the works of art the angels go on to become the agents of Christ's elevation to the skies.

CONCLUSION

The North African lamps present the Ascension in terms that differ greatly from earlier Ascensions. The principal distinguishing feature is that Christ is shown in majesty, enclosed in an oval of radiance and surrounded by the evangelist symbols. In the latter respect the imagery draws on the visions of Ezekiel and the book of Revelation. The only specifically Lukan feature remaining (or newly introduced) are the two men in white below the apparition.

The presentation of the Ascension in this way (as Christ in majesty) has long been considered a distinctly Eastern type. The North African lamps, however, show the limitations of this geographical perspective. Not only were the lamps produced in the Latin-speaking western part of the Empire (modern Tunisia), but they are also earlier than any of the (surviving) Eastern examples of the imagery. It is clear, however, that the elements for this presentation of the Ascension were available in the artistic traditions of Rome and southern Gaul in the second quarter of the fifth century. There

⁹² For the connection between the Ascension and the last judgment in Augustine, see *C. Faustum* 4; *Tract. in Ioh.* 21,13; 22,11; 36,12; *Serm.* 127,10; 214,9; 265,2; 277,17; 328,5. Augustine, of course, does not always link the last judgement to the Ascension.

⁹³ See his *Tract. in Ioh.* 36.

is ample reason to believe that the synthesis of iconographic and textual elements could have been made in the Latin-speaking area.

From a literary and cultural point of view, the synthesis of Ascension narrative and glory imagery on the North African lamps finds a supportive matrix not only in the Latin west but specifically in the area around modern Tunisia, where the lamps were produced. Theological writings of the first half of the fifth century—those of St. Augustine and his circle—were very attentive to the newly defined feast of the Ascension. Some details of earlier Ascension iconography that have been difficult to explain (the agitation of the apostles, the presence of angels) find good parallels in Augustine's writings. The North African texts, moreover, bring together the concepts of the Ascension and the majesty or glory of Christ. Much stress is laid on the idea that Christ's Second Coming is linked to his departure from the earth. The glory of his departure is like that of his return. The basis for this idea, of course, lies in the texts of Acts and the *Symbolum*. While Augustine did not cite the texts with the tetramorphs of Revelation and Ezekiel in connection with the Ascension, he did on occasion cite them as a way of visualizing the glory of Christ, the judge.

These fifth-century theological writings do not offer an exact description of the iconography of the fifth-century North African Ascension lamps, but they virtually offer a prescription for it. Artists—presumably those who were creating wall mosaics for churches—could fill out the implied new program by recombining pre-existing visual sources, conveniently available in the Latin west. From there the designs could have passed to the humble local ceramists.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANICIUS AUCHENIUS BASSUS, AFRICAN RED SLIP WARE, AND THE CHURCH*

Annewies van den Hoek

THE OBJECT

Some years ago a remarkable rectangular ceramic panel of North-African type appeared at auction in London.¹ The object made its way to Boston (pl. 15a, figs. 1–2), where it was in the collection of Cornelius C. Vermeule III, who placed it on loan at the Museum of Fine Arts.² The technical term in English to describe the fabric of this kind of ceramic is “African Red Slip Ware”—abbreviated ARS.³ The term was coined by John Hayes, a scholar who has made the basic classification of these wares. In Italian this ceramic is termed “terra sigillata chiara” or “light terra sigillata,” to distinguish it from “terra sigillata,” its counterpart in Italy and Gaul. The latter has a deep-red color and a high-gloss surface, while the African variety is less shiny and light orange in color.⁴

The object has the rectilinear shape of a *lanx*, which is a large-size rectangular platter commonly produced in ARS, but this object does not show

* The first version of this article was published in *HTR* 98/2 (2005): 171–185.

¹ See Bonhams, *Antiquities*, 7 November 2002, lot 413. According to the auction house it came from El Djem (ancient Thysdrus), Tunisia, where it had been acquired in the late 1970s.

² After the death of Dr. Vermeule, the object was sold at auction and thus has passed to another private collection in the area. See Northeast Auctions, Portsmouth, NH, 13 March 2010, lot 374.

³ For an introduction see John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa* (2nd ed.; Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins of the University of Texas at Austin, 2003); see also <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/join-us/past-events/2004/exhibit-ancient-art.html> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁴ John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972). A. Carandini, L. Sagui, S. Tortorella, and E. Tortorici, “Ceramica africana,” *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche, 1: Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 9–227, pls. 13–109.

other characteristics of a lanx: a deep floor, elevated borders, and a low foot. At first glance the unusual object, whose dimensions are 43.5 × 31.5 × 7.5 cm., looks like a large tile. It is mold-made and shows three figures on its front side. In the center stands a Roman consul, identified by his senatorial costume (toga worn over a tunic and boots tied with long straps) and his consular attributes (the *mappa* and the scepter). The *mappa* was a piece of cloth wrapped into a ball. The emperor or magistrate would drop the cloth as a signal to start the games, and in late Roman iconography it became one of the principal consular attributes. The consul appears in a rectangular frame, in whose upper part are curtains that have been pulled aside. He is flanked by the apostles Peter and Paul who are seated on thrones or high-backed chairs with footstools. The apostles wear the mantle (*pallium*) and tunic of Greek philosophers and sandals rather than boots. Peter has a short beard and holds a book. Paul is balding and has a long beard. Both gesture with their right hands in a manner suggesting speech. A rectangular frame of vine tendrils encloses the three figures. These images were made from stamps pressed into the mold that was used to cast the rectangular object. Rectangular indentations around the figures probably reflect the outer contour of the stamps. The figures were then touched up with a pointed tool such as a knife or stick.

The clay of the object (henceforth “cover”) has the typical red-orange color of ARS but is rather coarse and loose in texture. The lower right side shows a crack and substantial restoration. A picture provided by a previous owner shows that two sections are missing: the lower right corner, including the left leg and the right foot of the apostle Paul, and a small section of the upper-right corner (fig. 3). In spite of its matte texture, the cover should be considered African Red Slip Ware, since all three figures and the vine frame are known from other works in ARS.⁵

The underside of the object is closed on three sides by broad flanges (fig. 2). One side is left open—the one above the heads of the figures—but a pair of low ridges separated by a groove run along this edge. Part of the

⁵ See Jan Willem Salomonson, “Late Roman Earthenware with Relief Decoration Found in Northern Africa and Egypt,” *OMRL* 43 (1962): 53–95, esp. 62 and Pls. XVII–XVIII. See also Idem, “Spätromische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara ‘C,’” *BABesch* 44 (1969): 4–109. Idem, “Römische Tonformen mit Inschriften, ein Beitrag zum Problem der sogenannten ‘Kuchenformen’ aus Ostia,” *BABesch* 47 (1972): 88–113. Idem, “Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen,” *BABesch* 48 (1973): 5–82.



Fig. 1. African Red Slip Ware cover, ca. 408 CE, before restoration. From Tunisia. Private collection.



Fig. 2. Underside of African Red Slip Ware cover, ca. 408 CE. From Tunisia. Private collection.

ridges at the right have been broken away. At the left there is an indentation in the flange that corresponds to the groove between the ridges. The flanges and the ridges suggest a practical function for the object. It could have been employed to cover another rectangular object such as a box. The flanges would have overlapped the sides of the box. The ridges on the open side suggest a kind of hinge arrangement so that the lid could have been rotated open; a wooden dowel could have been placed in the groove between the ridges and anchored in the indentation on the left side. Rectangular boxes of this general size were used since the time of the early Roman Empire to store documents and eventually precious items such as relics.⁶ These *scrinia*, which were usually made of metal, ivory, and probably wood, usually had attached hinges, but because of the different nature of the material a terracotta lid would require a different hinge arrangement.

While the figures may be known individually, this particular composition—two apostles flanking a consul—has not been recognized until now.⁷ On ARS the apostles Peter and Paul customarily flank a monogrammatic cross or Christ himself, but not a secular figure (fig. 3).⁸ Peter and Paul are primarily used on lanxes, but they also appear on bowls and lamps.⁹ It comes therefore as a surprise to see a contemporary civic official placed between these two biblical saints. The consul in the center is slightly larger

⁶ See Helmut Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau in Komm, 1971).

⁷ Hardly any image in ARS exists that is not duplicated in one way or another.

⁸ The usual composition with a cross in the middle is called “guarding the cross,” after the German “Kreuzwache.” For the reconstruction see Salomonson, “Sammlung Benaki,” 19, fig. 11. On page 19, note 53, the author discusses the possible origins of such plates as covers for small boxes; their original models could have been made of ivory or silver, like the Pola casket now in Venice. On page 21, notes 57 and 58, the author reviews the iconography of the juxtaposition of Peter and Paul. He points out that the *Concordia Apostolorum* reflects the polemical situation between Catholics and Donatists at that time. The Catholics underwrote the idea of the universality of the (Roman) church, represented here by the images of the two apostles. Thus the iconography of Peter and Paul would have played out as a propagandistic tool for the Catholics against their Donatist adversaries. In a similar way, other reminiscences of the city of Rome were present on ARS lanxes. For example, high officials presiding over the games are shown in their official boxes. Ivory models circulated with similar representations in Italy, but the production of such images in ARS was primarily an African affair produced for local markets. Salomonson also points out the strong connections of some senatorial families, for instance the Anicii, Valerii, Symmachi, and Ceionii, with the African provinces because of their land ownings; see page 17, note 50.

⁹ See, for example, a lamp in the Benaki Museum in Athens, inv. 11864. An unpublished bowl (Hayes form 53A) with the two apostles is on display in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentral Museum in Mainz, inv. O 41460. In this instance the bowl, which is reconstructed from large fragments, shows the two apostles without a cross in the center.

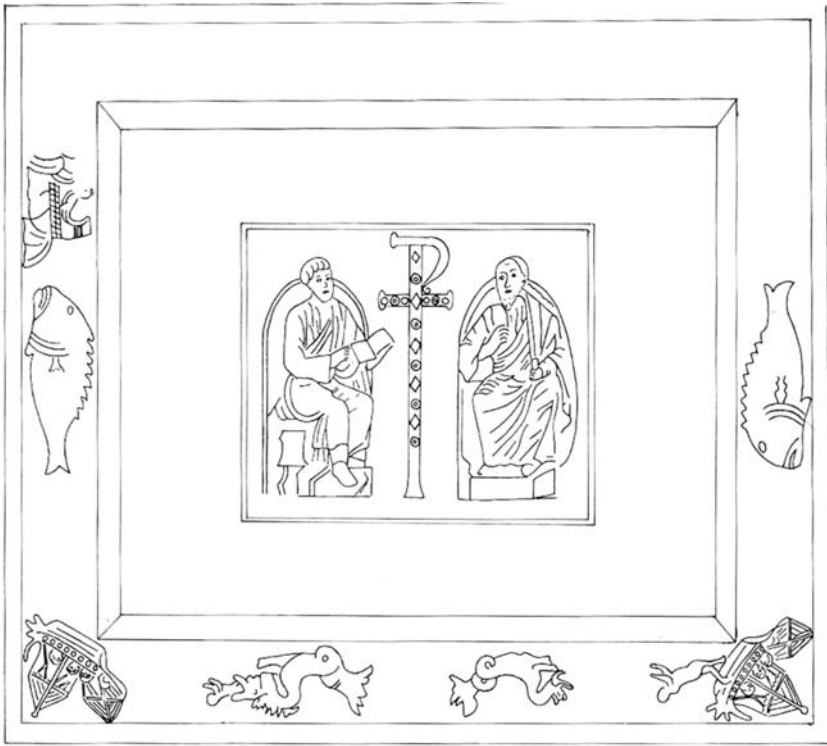


Fig. 3. ARS lanx with Peter and Paul, as reconstructed by J.W. Salomonson.

in size than the two flanking apostles (consul: 14×8.5 cm.; Peter: 12.5×6 cm.; Paul: 12.5×6 cm.). At first glance this might suggest a hierarchy of importance, but in all likelihood the discrepancy in size is a result of using pre-existing molds or stamps.

Less well-known on ARS than the princes of the apostles is the portrait of the consul on the Vermeule cover. Two identical images of this consul occur on ARS fragments in collections in Carthage (fig. 4 a–b)¹⁰ and Holland (fig. 5).¹¹ Both fragments also show parts of the rectangular vine frame. The

¹⁰ See Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 65–66, figs. 19, 3 a–b; Idem, "Spätrömische rote Tonware," 9, fig. 7; Idem, "Sammlung Benaki," 11 and 13, fig. 2; and Jochen Garbsch, "Spätantike Sigillata-Tablets," *BVL* 45 (1980): 182, and fig. 25.

¹¹ The present location of this object is unknown; see J.W. Salomonson, ed., *Het verhaal bij het materiaal. Een kennismaking met de archeologische studieverzameling van de Utrechtse universiteit* (Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1980), 30, fig. 5b.

Dutch fragment reveals another detail that was hard to interpret at the time of its first publication, but it can now be understood by comparison with the Vermeule cover: a curving line on the Dutch fragment must be the left side of the throne of the apostle Paul. In addition to the contour of the throne, the details of the fold of the apostle's sleeve and the lower part of his *pallium* leave no doubt that Paul was present, and it seems certain that he would have been balanced by Peter on the other side of the consul. The composition of the Vermeule cover is therefore repeated on the Dutch fragment. Details of the main figure, the consul, furthermore make it clear that the same mold was used for both. Unfortunately, the present location of the Dutch fragment is unknown and it is therefore impossible to verify the details. In spite of much effort and good will, the search for the fragment in the Carthage Museum was likewise unsuccessful.¹² Jan Willem Salomonson, however, published a photograph showing both front and profile views (fig. 4 a–b). Since the profile does not show a foot or a sloping wall, it is likely that it too was a cover. First-hand inspection would be necessary to determine whether the texture of the clay was coarse or fine.¹³

Recently another fragment showing the vine border and lower part of the throne of Peter turned up on the art market in Germany (fig. 6). In spite of the basic similarities, there are subtle differences between the two: in the form of the panther legs, the folds of cloth, and the distance between St. Peter and the border. These differences make it clear that the fragment comes from a mold similar—but not identical—to that of the Vermeule cover. Since the object's cross-section does not show a foot, it is clear that again in this case the fragment was not part of a *lanx*. The texture of the clay is coarser than that of ARS bowls and thus compares well with the Vermeule cover.¹⁴

¹² I am grateful to the director and conservator of the Carthage Museum for opening the storage area during renovation work in January 2004.

¹³ Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 65–66; Pl. XIX 3a–b. In a letter dated March 29, 2005 Jan Willem Salomonson wrote that in his recollection both the Dutch and the Cathaginian fragments were of fine quality.

¹⁴ Another fragment in the Carthage Museum (without inventory number) shows the lower part of the chair of Peter and part of the elevated vine border, see Salomonson "Samm-lung Benaki" 18, fig. 10d. Upon inspection it was clear that this fragment, which appeared to be made of rather coarse material, does not have traces of a foot. It too must have been part of a cover. The distances between figures and borders again are different and indicate that the piece is from yet another mold.



Fig. 4a, b. ARS fragment with consul and ivy vine. Carthage Museum, Carthage, 47-31.

IDENTIFYING THE CONSUL

The consul on the ARS cover seems to represent the same person shown on a consular plaque and mold published by Jeffrey Spier (pl. 15c, d).¹⁵ These two pieces were also acquired by Cornelius C. Vermeule III and, like the cover, have passed to another private collection in the Boston area since his death. In addition to a close visual resemblance, the consul has dimensions that are similar, though not identical, to those of the consul on the Vermeule

¹⁵ Jeffrey Spier, "A lost consular diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (A.D. 408) on the mould for an ARS plaque," *JRA* 16 (2003): 251–254. Sold at Northeast Auctions, Portsmouth, NH, 13 March 2010, lot 373.



Fig. 5. ARS fragment with consul and ivy vine. Formerly Dutch private collection.

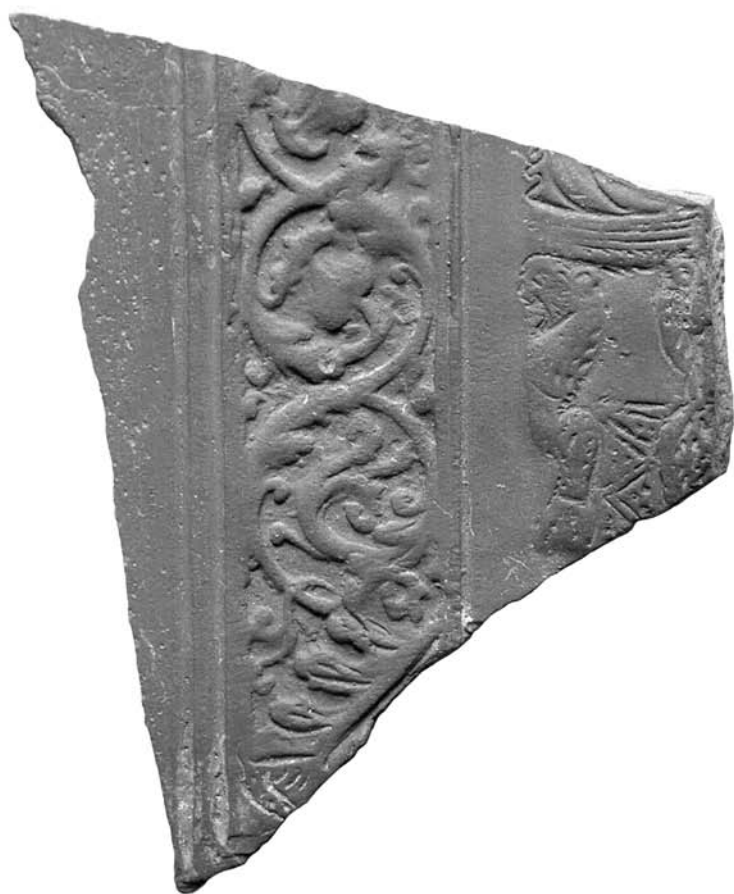


Fig. 6a, b. ARS fragment with part of Peter's seat and ivy vine. Numisart GmbH Munich.

cover. As will be seen, however, the discrepancy can be explained through shrinkage in the process of manufacturing. There is also a difference in size between the consular mold and the impression, also due to shrinkage. This is hard to measure since the two pieces are complementary parts: the mold shows the upper part and the impression the lower part of the consul, with only a small area of overlap. An additional impression, apparently taken from the same mold, shows the upper part of the consul's body. This second impression, which does not join the Vermeule impression (pl. 15c), is in the collection of the Archäologische Staatssammlung in Munich (pl. 15b).¹⁶

Although the image of the consul on the mold is visibly the same as the one on the Vermeule cover, there are differences in execution as well as size. The workmanship of the mold and plaque is of high quality and the material consists of very fine clay. Spier argued, as Salomonson before him in other cases, that the original consular plaque, presumably made of ivory or bone, was directly impressed in the clay.¹⁷ It should be noted that it is exceptional to find a mold made out of the same orange-red material as the impression. Most of the surviving molds of lanxes and lamps are made of white substance: stucco or plaster. Only a few other ARS molds are known to consist of the same material as the final products they produced.¹⁸

The more refined ARS pieces (pl. 15b, d) show the consul in an architectural setting, a feature that has been largely eliminated on the cover. In the mold, the lintel above the consul's head shows an inscription, which Spier read as: Anici(us) Auchenius Bassus, v(ir) c(larissimus).¹⁹ On the Munich piece, which was published some decades ago, the inscription is less clear and had been read differently, but Spier undoubtedly gave the correct reading. Three men of this name are known from inscriptions and literary documents: the first was prefect of the city of Rome in 382 and the latter two were both consuls in the west—one in 408 and the other in 431. The

¹⁶ See Jochen Garbsch, "Zwei Model und eine Patrizier für Mittelfelder spätantiker nordafrikanischer Tontabletts," *BVBl* 54 (1989): 243–249, figs. 21–24. Additional research and clay analysis by Michael Mackensen and Gerwulf Schneider have shown that the fragment originally came from a production center in central Tunisia, known by the modern name of Sidi Marzouk Tounsi. It can be postulated that all other pieces with this imagery were produced at the same site. See Michael Mackensen and Gerwulf Schneider, "Production centres of African red slip ware (3rd–7th c.) in northern and central Tunisia: archaeological provenance and reference groups based on chemical analysis," *JRA* 15/1 (2002): 121–158.

¹⁷ Spier, "A lost consular diptych," 251–253.

¹⁸ See, for example, Peter La Baume and Jan Willem Salomonson, *Römische Kleinkunst. Sammlung Karl Löffler* (Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln, Bd. III; Köln: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1976), no. 608, fig. 62, 1.

¹⁹ Spier, "A lost consular diptych," 253.

names and dates indicate that they were closely related and probably represent three generations: grandfather, father, and son.²⁰

Spier identified the image on the mold as the western consul of 408. His argument is based on an interesting detail that appears not only on the Vermeule mold and the impression in Munich, but also on the Vermeule cover. In his left hand the consul holds a scepter, the symbol of imperial power, which is topped by three busts. They represent three emperors or caesars who ruled jointly. During the consulship of the later Bassus there were only two emperors, Valentinian III in the west and Theodosius II in the east. But in the first part of the year 408 there was a period of three rulers: Honorius was emperor in the west, and in the east both Arcadius and his young son Theodosius II had the title of Augustus; Arcadius died on the first of May 408. Thus the consular plaque was made in the beginning of 408, presumably, as Alan Cameron and Jeffrey Spier pointed out, on the occasion of the games that inaugurated Bassus's consulship.²¹

As noted above, the consular image on the Vermeule cover is very similar to that in the high-quality mold, but it is smaller and more roughly executed. The fabric of the cover may have contributed to the coarser effect. The detail of the three busts on the scepter, however, appears on both pieces but is more blurred on the cover. Salomonson only distinguished two busts of emperors when he published the fragment in Carthage (fig. 4), but a close examination of the identical consul on the Vermeule cover favors three.²²

To investigate the hypothesis that the difference in size between the consular images reflects shrinkage of the clay in the process of recasting and remolding the same image, a comparison was made between the measurements of several details of the figures on the mold, the plaque, and the cover. First the consul of the mold was compared to the consul on the cover. The measurements were taken from the same points on the two objects, such as from the left to the right side of the outer border, from the two sides within the filets, from the emperors heads to the curtain, from curtain to curtain, from the top of the consul's head to his chin, from the consul's head to his shoulder, etc. The twelve measurements showed that the dimensions of the two images are consistent on both objects, but that the cover has a high ratio of shrinkage. The second comparison between the mold and the impression

²⁰ See David M. Novak, *A Late Roman Aristocratic Family: The Anicii in the Third and Fourth Centuries* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Chicago 1976).

²¹ Spier, "A lost consular diptych," 253 and note 14.

²² See Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 66.

shows a lesser ratio, and the third comparison between the impression and the cover reveals the least amount of shrinkage.

Mold → cover:	11 %
Mold → impression:	6.5 %
Impression → cover:	4.5 %

As discussed above, the details of the images on the cover lack the precision found in those on the consular plaques, which also supports the idea that the cover was the result of a second (or third generation) of molds. Shrinkage and loss of detail occurred in every phase (fig. 7).

DATING THE COVER

While it can be established that the consular plaque was issued in the first months of Bassus's consulship in 408, it is more difficult to know the exact date of the Vermeule cover. It is conceivable that the molds could have lingered in the workshop for several years. There is another argument, however, that can be used for dating the cover, which is linked to the specific composition of the three figures. As pointed out above, ARS images of Peter and Paul tend to flank a monogrammatic cross. Placing the consul in a central position between the two major saints of Rome and Christianity is a remarkable intertwining of religious and secular imagery.²³ This deviation from standard iconographic practice and the involvement of Anicius Auchenius Bassus makes sense in a particular political and ideological context, one that was of relatively short duration.

From the early fourth century onwards the Roman provinces of Africa had been involved in a violent conflict between two Christian factions: the Catholics and Donatists.²⁴ The factors underlying this schism, in which national and social elements played a role, are complex and still debated.

²³ Salomonson made the argument that the imagery of Peter and Paul flanking the cross could be viewed as a polemical tool, see above note 8 and "Sammlung Benaki," 21, note 58. The Vermeule cover only strengthens this argument since the consul replaces the cross and *a fortiori* represents the Roman authority. For a more extensive study of the political and theological implications of the imagery, see Anniewies van den Hoek, "Peter, Paul, and a Consul," *ZAC* 9/2 (2006): 197–246.

²⁴ William H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 60–75. For a comprehensive survey of the schism, a chronological appendix, and additional bibliography, see the very helpful article by Anthony R. Birley, "Some Notes on the Donatist Schism," *Libyan Studies* 18 (1987): 29–41.



Fig. 7. Comparison of consular mold and impressions: pl. 15d (reversed horizontally), 15b, 15a.

In general, the Donatist churches were more strongly represented in rural areas and the Catholics were more identified with the upper classes that dominated the cities and owned wealthy estates. Occasionally the imperial authorities tried to resolve the conflicts but their half-hearted measures were only sporadically enforced. Governors and local magistrates (many of them still pagan) seemed unwilling to impose unpopular rulings, and landowners were reluctant to have their Donatist peasants (and their crops) disturbed by punitive measures.

It is estimated that for most of the fourth century the Donatists, who considered themselves the legitimate church of the martyrs, outnumbered the Catholics. This situation began to change in the late 390s, largely through the activities of Augustine and his circle. In spite of being outnumbered, they were able to coordinate the Catholic cause effectively. Moreover the political situation in North Africa had become more alarming from a Roman point of view, and the Catholics were capable of taking advantage of the crisis. Local militia commanders had revolted against Roman rule and received support from peasants allied with the Donatist cause and from some of the Donatist leaders. Gildo, a rich landowner with vast estates and military forces at his disposition, led a particularly dangerous uprising in 397/398, which, if successful, could have led to the secession of North Africa from the western Empire. His revolt managed to obstruct the *annona*, the grain shipments to Rome in that year.²⁵ Because of the invasion of the western provinces by

²⁵ See Frend, *Donatist Church*, 224–225, 245.

German tribes, Italy had become increasingly dependent on Africa, both as a source of food and as a place of refuge. These factors led the Roman administration to take the ecclesiastical struggle in Africa more seriously and deal with the situation more decisively.

A program of mediation and intervention culminated in the formation of an imperial commission, which summoned a conference (*collatio*) at Carthage in 411 to establish religious unity. As a result, the Donatist cause was condemned and the subsequent laws were more strictly enforced. These policies broke the powerful movement and brought the schism to a virtual end. The outcome of the conference was a personal victory for Augustine and his friends.

Augustine may have had a personal connection to Anicius Auchenius Bassus, the consul of 408. The latter wrote an epitaph for the tomb of Monica, Augustine's mother who died in Ostia, where the Anicii had estates.²⁶ In addition, four edicts from the period of Bassus's consulship show how the imperial administration tried to inject its authority into the Donatist conflict.²⁷

The composition of the Vermeule cover, blending so visibly Roman ecclesiastical and secular authority, reflects this intervention by high officials of the state into the affairs of the African churches. The cover is a vivid piece of propaganda in which the apostles Peter and Paul appear as magistrates, upholding contemporary Roman order just as Anicius Auchenius Bassus does. Although the function of the Vermeule cover is unknown, its imagery has an evident historical and political context. Whether or not the Vermeule cover dates from precisely the year 408, it is clear that it could not be much later than the year 411, when the Donatist conflict, which had divided the African churches for almost a century, fell into the background.²⁸ The

²⁶ Augustine stayed at Ostia in 387, but, as it appears from his account in *Conf.* 9.12.31, he and his mother did not stay at an inn. Meiggs speculated that they may have stayed with senatorial friends, such as the Anicii, who had African connections; see R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 213. The text of Monica's epitaph has long been known through a number of medieval manuscripts, see F. Bücheler and A. Riese, eds., *Anthologia latina sive poesis latinae supplementum* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1894–1926), part 1, fasc. 2, p. 140, C. 670. See also De Rossi in *ICUR* II/1, 252–253. In 1945 a physical part of the Bassus epitaph was found, now on display in the church of St. Aurea; see *AE* 44 (1948); and A. Casamassa, "Ritrovamento di parte dell'elogio di S. Monica," *RPAA* 27 (1952–1954), 271–273.

²⁷ *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 42 (Nov. 14, 408); *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 43 (Nov. 15, 408); *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 44 (Nov. 24, 408); *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 45 (Nov. 27, 408).

²⁸ Donatists continued to surface, probably as late as the eighth century; as refugees in Gaul and Italy they were of particular concern: see the Appendix in Birley, "Some Notes," 40.

conference at Carthage in 411 resulted in harsh anti-Donatist legislation, which banned the church's meetings and ordered confiscation of its property. The legislation was confirmed by subsequent imperial edicts and was vigorously implemented by the authorities, bringing the conflict to a virtual end in political terms.²⁹

²⁹ I am grateful to Cornelius C. Vermeule III for his generosity in letting me publish these objects and for keeping them in the public domain through display at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Thanks go to Jan Willem Salomonson for sharing his experience with me and providing photographs from his archive. I am grateful to John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Anthony R. Birley for their advice on many details of this project. A final thanks goes to the anonymous reader of *HTR* for his or her comments.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPHINX: AN EGYPTIAN THEOLOGICAL SYMBOL IN PLUTARCH AND CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA*

John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek

INTRODUCTION

Recent times have produced impressive studies on the sphinx. The two most prominent have reached a considerable degree of consensus on this mythological monster's origins, development, and meaning. While there may be some disagreement about the anatomy of the monster, most other issues are regarded as non-controversial. Yet in spite of these admirable explorations of texts and monuments, not all roles for the sphinx have been fully explored, and there are still texts from Christian as well as pagan writers that can be brought to bear to illuminate her multiple meanings.

The eighth volume of the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* has an extensive entry on the sphinx in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art.¹ For our purposes, the most relevant of the group of authors responsible for this entry are Nota Kourou, the leader of the team on Greek art, and Stylianos Katakas, who reports on the Roman sphinx. In the catalogue of the recent exhibition on early Greek monsters organized at Princeton University, Despoina Tsiafakis has written another comprehensive study

* The first version of this paper appeared in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian and Gnostic*. Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen (ed. Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 285–310. Since then our understanding of the sphinx in Roman times has expanded, as reflected in the text and illustrations of this version. We also acknowledge Bernard Holtzmann's ingenious explanation of the sphinx at Delphi and other Greek temple sites. Our thanks go to Lawrence Berman, Beat Brenk, Mary Comstock, Ariel Hamill Herrmann, Eric Junod, Alan Walker, and Bonna Wescoat, who kindly provided information and assistance.

¹ N. Kourou, M. Komvrou, S. Raftopoulou, I. Krauskopf, and S. Katakis, "Sphinx," *LIMC* 7:1149–174.

of the sphinx.² These studies reach a considerable degree of unanimity on the monster's pedigree and use. The composite creature originated in Old Kingdom Egypt, where it was a lion-bodied creature with the head of the pharaoh, identifiable by the pharaoh's *nemes* headcloth and often by inscriptions. Sphinxes could also have the heads of rams. By the Early Bronze Age the sphinx had migrated to Mesopotamia, where it acquired wings and with these attributes passed on to Late Bronze Age (Mycenaean) Greece. In Greece the creature, which had previously been basically male, had a sex change, becoming predominantly female. The rare male sphinxes of Greece and Italy probably reflect renewed influence from Egypt. In Greek, Etruscan, and Roman contexts, the sphinx's anatomy becomes problematic: Does she have the body of a dog or a lion? Should she have the breasts of a woman or the udders of a female animal? Roman artists frequently resolved the latter anatomical problem by giving her both animal and human breasts.

THE INTERPRETATIVE PROBLEM

Current scholarship has addressed the issue of the meaning or meanings this composite creature had (or did not have) in ancient culture: Why does she appear in ancient art and literature? Answers to this question have become brief, restricting the sphinx to a relatively small number of clear-cut roles. In the most succinct formulation, Katakis has classified these roles under three headings. The sphinx appears in the Oedipus story, in the realm of death and the underworld, and in decorative and apotropaic functions.³

The Oedipus story dominates both the ancient literary tradition and current studies of the sphinx. As Kourou tells it, citing numerous sources, the sphinx was sent by Hera (or various other gods) to Thebes to punish king Laios for his illicit love for Chrysippos. Every day the sphinx asked men of Thebes who passed by a riddle suggested by the Muses: What walks on four legs in the morning, two legs at midday, and three legs at night? The answer was a human being, developing metaphorically from babyhood, through maturity, to old age. When a man of Thebes failed to answer correctly, the sphinx devoured him. After Laios' death, the regent Kreon offered the

² Despoina Tsiafakis, "ΤΙΕΛΩΠΑ: Fabulous Creatures and/or Demons of Death?" in *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (ed. M. Padgett; Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum and Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 78–83.

³ Katakis is speaking of the sphinx in Roman art, but his basic organization appears in other writers as well: Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174.

kingdom and the hand of the royal widow Jocasta to whomever could remove this affliction from the city. Oedipus answered the riddle, and the sphinx committed suicide.⁴ Although the sphinx is not directly involved, it is perhaps not without significance for the artistic usage of this monster that by his success Oedipus fulfilled a double prediction of the Delphic oracle. Although he had done his best to avoid fulfilling the prophecy, he had married his mother and killed his father. In this story, the sphinx is portrayed as a murderous monster that eventually reveals a self-destructive streak.⁵ Clear-cut examples of the Oedipus story form a minority of the ancient representations of the sphinx.

Death and the underworld represent a major realm for the sphinx, as the compilations in the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* show. The murderous Theban sphinx was said by Euripides to have been sent by Hades.⁶ In Greek vase painting sphinxes flank scenes of battle as an allusion to the fatal outcome.⁷ Sphinxes appear on countless funerary monuments, where they seem to function as tomb guardians. This benevolent role is articulated in a fifth-century BCE tombstone from Pagasai, Thessaly addressed to a sphinx: "Sphinx, dog of Hades, whom do you ... watch over, sitting over the dead?"⁸ This role as funerary guardian was shared with

⁴ Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1150.

⁵ Oedipus is frequently involved in psychiatric discussions, but the sphinx seems to have displayed more severe emotional problems.

⁶ Euripides, *Phoen.* 810–811, 1019–1020: "and would that the Sphinx, that winged maid, monster from the hills, had never come as a grief to our land with her inharmonious songs, she that once drew near our walls and snatched the sons of Cadmus away in her taloned feet to the untrodden light of heaven, [810] sent by Hades from hell to plague the men of Thebes; once more unhappy strife is coming into bloom between the sons of Oedipus in home and city. For never can wrong be right, [815] nor can there be good in unlawful children, their mother's birth pangs, their father's pollution; she came to the bed of her son" ... 1019–1020: "You came, you came, O winged creature, born of earth [1020] and hellish viper, to prey upon the sons of Cadmus, full of death, full of sorrow, half a maiden, a murderous monster, with roving wings [1025] and ravening claws; you once caught up youths from the haunts of Dirce, with discordant song, [1030] and you brought a murderous grief, a deadly curse to our native land. A deadly god he was who brought all this to pass. Mourning of mothers, mourning of maidens, [1035] filled the houses with groans; a lamenting cry, a lamenting song, one after another wailed out, in turn throughout the city. The roar of the groaning [1040] was like thunder, whenever the winged maiden bore a man out of sight from the city." (trans. E.P. Coleridge). Passage cited in Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1150.

⁷ Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1161, cat. nos. 189–192, pl. 805; Tsiafakis, "ΤΙΕΛΩΠΑ," 80–81, 100 note 66.

⁸ σφιξ, χαῖδαο [κ]ύον, τῖν' ἔ[χοσ']

ῥπιν [ἀέ φυ]λάσεις ἡμέιν[α ἡέ]-

ροφ[ῖλο καὶ]δο[ς ἀπ]οφθιμ[ένο];

See W. Peek, *GVI*, no. 1831; P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (Berlin: de Gruyter,

the Egyptian sphinx. Tsiafakis cites a funerary inscription from the Saite Dynasty (663–525 BCE) that echoes the words of an Egyptian sphinx: “I protect the chapel of the tomb. I guard thy sepulchral chamber. I ward off the intruding stranger. I hurl thy foes to the ground.”⁹ Analogous pharaonic texts of earlier date show that the sphinx had a long-established role as a protector of cemeteries.¹⁰

While these first two realms (Theban and funerary) are clear-cut and well documented, the third major category, defined by Kourou, Katakis, and Tsiafakis as “decorative,”¹¹ is rather shapeless and ambiguous—especially from an interpretive point of view. The term decorative implies something that is drained of meaning and used purely as ornament. This is surely a valid interpretation in some, if not many, cases. A sphinx might simply be a conventional artistic subject or appreciated as a precious object. A case in point is Cicero’s witticism about a certain Hortensius: Hortensius owned an ivory sphinx, but it did not give him the ability to solve riddles.¹² The object apparently signified little more than an attractive and valuable piece of craftsmanship.

Modern writers also suggest that the decorative use of the sphinx had an apotropaic function. That is, the sphinx would frighten off the “evil eye” or other demons.¹³ The decorative category encompasses a great range of objects, from votive sphinxes in temple precincts to architectural decoration, furniture, and attachments to vessels, personal emblems on ringstones,

1983), I 66, no. 120; and G. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London: Phaidon, 1961), 6. For a mid-fifth century date, see L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 97–98; D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 239; Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1150; and Tsiafakis, “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ,” 82. It is hard to find any sphinx on a tomb monument in the passage of Diogenes Laertius (1.89) cited by Tsiafakis (“ΠΕΛΩΠΑ,” 82).

⁹ G. Hanfmann, “Ionia, Leader or Follower?” *HSCP* 16 (1953): 230; Tsiafakis, “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ,” 82.

¹⁰ A. Dessenne, *Le sphinx: étude iconographique, I. Des origines à la fin du second millénaire* (Paris: De Boccard, 1957), 176.

¹¹ Tsiafakis, “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ,” 81–83; N. Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1165; Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174.

¹² Plutarch, *Cicero*, 7, 8 (Ziegler): τοῦ δὲ ῥήτορος Ὁρτησίου τὴν μὲν εὐθείαν τῷ Βέρρῃ συνεπιτεῖν μὴ θελήσαντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμῆματι πεισθέντος παραγενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντος ἐλεφαντίνην Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἰπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, “καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας” ἔφη “τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις”. “When the orator Hortensius did not wish to advocate the cause of Verres directly but was persuaded to stand by when the penalty was given and received an ivory sphinx as reward, Cicero spoke to him in a somewhat oblique way; when Hortensius said that he was unused to solving riddles, Cicero said ‘but you have the sphinx at home.’”

¹³ Formulated explicitly by Tsiafakis, “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ,” 82–83.

and civic emblems on coinage. At times sphinxes seem (loosely) associated with specific gods, such as Athena, Artemis, Hera, Dionysos, and Salus.¹⁴ They may also evoke Egypt, the land of their first origin.¹⁵

This “decorative” category is to some degree unsatisfying because of its intellectual looseness, its excessive reliance on primitive and unarticulated forms of belief applied to highly articulate societies, the great number of highly disparate objects that it brings together, and the absence of meaning imputed to them. An inclination to see no significance in works of art has long been a preference in archaeological circles,¹⁶ but this “no-nonsense” approach may in some cases underestimate ancient observers. Not only is the category deficient as presently defined, but some pronouncements of ancient authors make it clear that the sphinx was viewed as meaningful in ways not taken into consideration in current surveys.

A common shortcoming of current and past rounds of studies on the sphinx may be to neglect the role of the sphinx as a member of a species.¹⁷ The murderous Theban sphinx and her riddle, indeed, formed the only true narrative the creature was involved in. Illustrations of this story, however, form a minority of the preserved representations of sphinxes, and the brutal Theban sphinx was only one manifestation of this kind of monster. For the ancient imagination there was no difficulty in seeing her as a member of a larger group. Some ancient writers accepted sphinxes as a breed akin to minotaurs, pans, and centaurs. Like the Minotaur and Pan, they might have started or have been represented by an individual case (the Cretan Minotaur, the god Pan, the Theban sphinx), but, like centaurs, they were also recognized as categories with multiple members. Dio Chrysostomos explicitly called them entirely imaginary artistic creations,¹⁸ but Plutarch speculated on the sexual relations between humans and animals that could

¹⁴ Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1165; Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174.

¹⁵ Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174.

¹⁶ For a repentant former adherent of this positivistic position, see H. Hoffmann, “Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (1989): 131.

¹⁷ Especially Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1149–150.

¹⁸ Dio Chrysostomos, *Discourses* 32, 28 (von Arnim): ὥστε πάνυ ποικίλον τε καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι θηρίον, οἷα ποιηταὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ πλάττουσι Κενταύρους τε καὶ Σφίγγας καὶ Χιμαιράς, ἐκ παντοδαπῶν φύσεων [εἰς] μίαν μορφήν εἰδώλου ξυντιθέντες. “so that it (sc. democracy) is a very changeable and dreadful beast, just as those which poets and sculptors create, Centaurs, Sphinxes, and Chimairas, put together from all kinds of natural forms into one fantastic image.”

have produced them.¹⁹ As a group, sphinxes were thought to have notable talents. They were of an artistic temper. Already Euripides evokes “sphinxes, carrying in their talons quarry won by song.”²⁰

SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATIONS IN ANCIENT WRITERS

Not only could there be multiple sphinxes, but multiple and clear-cut meanings can also be identified within the amorphous group of decorative and apotropaic sphinxes. Sphinxes came to be seen by ancient writers as having symbolic significance. The symbolism was in great part derived from aspects of the Oedipus story. The Theban sphinx's riddle came to loom larger than her murders, and she became an emblem for riddles. The human and animal components of the monster were also the basis for symbolic elaboration.

A related symbolic meaning of the sphinx was as an emblem of theological ambiguity and mystery. This interpretation appears in Plutarch:

The (Egyptian) kings were appointed from the priests or from the military class, since the military class had eminence and honor because of valor, and the priests because of wisdom. But the king who was appointed from the military was at once made one of the priests and participated in their philosophy, which is mostly concealed in myths and words containing faint hints and glimpses of the truth, as they themselves (the Egyptians) actually indicate by their custom of placing sphinxes in front of their holy places, suggesting that their theology contains wisdom full of riddles.²¹

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Do brute animals use brains?*, Mor. 991A (Hubert): καὶ γὰρ αἰγῶν ἐπειράθησαν ἄνδρες καὶ ὕων καὶ ἵππων μιγνύμενοι καὶ γυναῖκες ἄρρεσι θηρίοις ἐπεμάνησαν· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων γάμων ὑμῖν Μινώταυροι καὶ Αἰγίπανεσ, ὡς δ' ἐγῶμαι καὶ Σφίγγες ἀναβλαστάνουσι καὶ Κένταυροι. “For men tried to have intercourse with goats, pigs, and horses, and women went mad for male animals. From such matings spring forth your Minotaurs and goat-footed Pans and, as seems to me, also your Sphinxes and Centaurs.”

²⁰ Euripides, *Electra*, 464–472 (Diggle): ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων κύκλος ἄλιος ἵπποις ἂμ περοέσσαις ἄστρων τ' αἰθέριοι χοροί, Πλειάδες Ὑάδες, Ἕκτορος ὄμμασι τροπαῖοι· ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοτύπῳ κράνει Σφίγγες ὄνουξιν αἰδοῖμον ἄγραν φέρουσαι. “In the middle of the shield the sun disk shone brightly upon winged horses, and choirs of heavenly stars, the Pleiades and Hyades, were appalling to the eyes of Hector; on his helmet wrought of gold were sphinxes carrying in their talons quarry won by song.”

²¹ Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 345bc (Sieveking): Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ τῶν μαχίμων, τοῦ μὲν δι' ἀνδρείαν τοῦ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος. ὁ δ' ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεδειγμένος εὐθὺς ἐγένετο τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μετεῖχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπικεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδράς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παραδηλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἱερέων τὰς σφίγγας ἐπιεικῶς ἰστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδῃ σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης. This passage was quoted centuries later by Joannes Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, IV 2, section 27.

This symbolism is fleshed out more fully by Clement of Alexandria. Not only does the sphinx represent theological ambiguity, but she also stands for divine retribution:

Therefore also the Egyptians place sphinxes in front of their temples to indicate that the discourse about god is enigmatic and obscure. Perhaps one should both love and fear the divine: love it as gentle and kind to the pious and fear it as implacably just to the impious. For the sphinx shows enigmatically at the same time the image of a wild beast and of a human being.²²

Clement at no point appears to be quoting Plutarch; apparently there was an independent tradition of interpretation to which both writers referred. Only indirectly was the tradition pharaonic.

In a native Egyptian context, as Jean Hani has pointed out, the sphinx was associated with the pharaoh and the sun god, and the image expressed their combined power to defend Egypt and destroy its enemies.²³ The sphinx thereby became a guardian of both temples and tombs, and rows of sphinxes were placed before temple entrances.²⁴ The three-kilometer avenue of sphinxes that originally linked the temples of Karnak and Luxor is the most conspicuous example. Closer to Alexandria, at Memphis an avenue of sphinxes led up to the Serapeion.²⁵ In the late pharaonic period and in Ptolemaic and Roman times the sphinx took on a new meaning in Egypt, as a manifestation of the protective divinity Tutu (in Greek, *Tithōes*).²⁶

²² Clement, *Stromateis* V 31,5 (Stählin): Διὰ τοῦτό τοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἰδρύνονται, ὡς αἰνιγματώδους τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀσαφούς ὄντος, τάχα δὲ καὶ ὅτι φιλεῖν τε δεῖν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ὡς προσηγνές καὶ εὐμενές τοῖς ὁσίοις, δεδιέναι δὲ ὡς ἀπαραιτήτως δίκαιον τοῖς ἀνοσίοις. θηρίου γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἡ σφίγξ αἰνίσσεται τὴν εἰκόνα; see also A. van den Hoek's translation in Padgett, *Centaur's Smile*, 283.

²³ In pharaonic relief sculpture the sphinx was shown trampling foreign enemies. See, for example, the armrest of a wooden throne from the tomb of Thutmose IV, showing the king as a victorious sphinx trampling Asians: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.1131; gift of Theodore M. Davis; see also J. Sliwa, "Some Remarks concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art," *Fortschritt und Berichte* 16 (1974): 106, fig. 9; *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, Catalogue of Hildesheim, Exhibition, Aug. 3–Nov. 29, 1987 (Mainz am Rhein: Zabern), 362–363, no. 314.

²⁴ J. Hani, *La religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 262.

²⁵ Avenue of the Sphinxes at the Serapeion of Memphis had no less than 370 to 380 sphinxes of Egyptian type; they dated from the time of Nectanebo I (378–360 BCE) and Nectanebo II (359–341 BCE). The exedra in front of the temple had sphinxes of Greek type: see J.P. Lauer and C. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Serapieion de Memphis* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), 3, 12, 15–21, 24–27, 210–215, pl. 1, figs. 2, 13–14, 113–116. Many of the sphinxes had been buried by wind-blown sand by the first century BCE: see Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.32.

²⁶ Tutu was a lion-bodied, human-headed monster that could have a tail in the form of

Riddles and ambiguity, however, were not the stock-in-trade of pharaohs or their emblematic monsters and probably not of the ferocious Tithōes either. As Hani rightly saw, the interpretation of the sphinx as theological ambiguity is much more at home in the Hellenic tradition.²⁷ The symbolism must have developed in Greece from speculation on the Theban story. The sphinx's riddle appeared comparable in some respects to puzzling theological doctrines and to mysterious religious rituals. She could therefore symbolize cryptic theology. The sphinx, moreover, was not a horror that afflicted Thebes arbitrarily, but she was the instrument through which a divinity exacted retribution for a crime committed by the Theban king Laios. She could therefore represent divine retribution in a more general sense.

Clement could well have learned not only of the Egyptian use of sphinxes in temples but also of their theological symbolism in his adopted city of Alexandria rather than elsewhere in Egypt. Large numbers of older sphinxes had been moved there from Ptolemaic times onwards. Many stone sphinxes have recently been retrieved from the harbor,²⁸ and others have been excavated at the Serapeum (pl. 16)²⁹ and at other sites. Alexandria, however, was a city in which the Greek component was dominant, and its cults were usually Greek in origin or, as in the case of the cult of Serapis, highly interwoven with Hellenic elements.³⁰ While these sphinxes probably preserved their millennial meanings, it is possible that they also could have been interpreted symbolically in the Clementine sense.

a cobra. The cobra as well as the human head could wear divine crowns. See R. Bianchi, "Pharoanic Egyptian Elements in the Decorative Arts of Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Held at the Museum, April 22–23, 1993 (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996), 197, 202 note 53, fig. 3; D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 115–116.

²⁷ Hani, *La religion égyptienne*, 262. The same observation was already made in the sixteenth century by Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, s. v. σφιγξ, column 1617C.

²⁸ Twenty-five from the waters around Fort Qait Bey, the site of the pharos: J.-Y. Empereur, photographs by S. Compont/Sygma, *Alexandria Rediscovered* (trans. M. Maehler; New York: Braziller, 1998), 71–75.

²⁹ P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972), 1:27–28; 2: 83–92, notes 190–202; G. Grimm, "City Planning?" in Bianchi, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, 63–65, figs. 11–15; Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered*, 105, 108–109; G. Grimm and J.-Y. Empereur, *La gloire d'Alexandrie*. Exhibition catalogue, Musée du Petit Palais (Paris: Paris-musées AFAA [Arles], 1998), 94–95.

³⁰ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:190, 246–261; Grimm, *La gloire d'Alexandrie*, 94. The cult of Serapis was redefined by a Graeco-Egyptian theological commission under the first

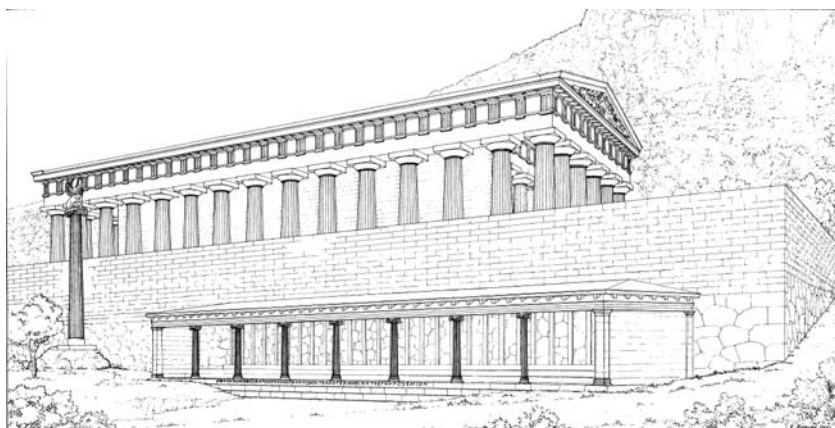


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the monuments below the temple of Apollo, Delphi by D. Laroche. At left: the column and sphinx of the Naxians. At right: portico of the Athenians.

GREEK SPHINXES IN RELIGIOUS SETTINGS

The sphinx's role as guardian of temples as well as tombs passed from Egypt to the Aegean at an early date—according to Jean Hani possibly as early as the Bronze Age.³¹ In the Archaic period Greeks frequently set up marble and stone sphinxes in front of their temples. During the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, splendid sculptures, often mounted on columns, were erected in temple precincts at Delphi (fig. 1), Cyrene, Delos, Athens, and possibly on Aegina, Naxos, Paros, and Thasos. Most if not all of these monuments were gifts to the sanctuaries made by various individuals or communities in gratitude for perceived acts of divine favor. Commentators have long considered such votive monuments under the heading of decorative,³² but it is highly likely that there was a fairly specific reason for choosing the sphinx as the subject for these sculptures in prominent public places. It is possible that they were set up to some degree in imitation of Egyptian sanctuaries—a decorative intention—but it seems likely that articulate reasoning would

Ptolemy. Isis and Demeter were also transformed in this process: see J. Herrmann, "Demeter-Isis or the Egyptian Demeter? A Graeco-Roman Sculpture from an Egyptian Workshop in Boston," *Jdl* 114 (1999): 65–123.

³¹ Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1153, cat. nos. 31–32, with bibliography.

³² In addition to the recent studies, see, for example, F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (trans. G.C. Richards; London: Gyldendal, 1920), 97–100, figs. 29–30.

also have been necessary to make these monsters appropriate in a sacred setting in Greece. The Theban tale, in which the sphinx was a serial killer, would not in itself have provided an adequate motivation for her prominent display. On the other hand, Greek travelers to Egypt would not only have observed the array of sphinxes before temples, but also they could easily have found out from Greek residents of Egypt—presumably in the Greek enclave of Naukratis—the meaning of the practice: namely, that the sphinxes served as emblems of divine protection and divine vengeance. In all probability Greek artists and patrons not only took over this sculptural theme but also its content from Egypt.

A protective message would also have been embodied by sphinxes carved onto temples themselves. Pairs of reclining sphinxes confronting one another on either side of a diminutive Aeolic column were carved on the entablature of the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Assos in the Troad about 550–525 BCE (pl. 17a).³³ Reconstructions place these pairs of sphinxes in a conspicuous position on the main axis of the temple (fig. 2).³⁴ Other Archaic temples had sphinxes carved beside doorways and used as acroteria or antefixes on their roofs.³⁵ Bonna Wescoat has pointed out that paired sphinxes took on great importance in the architecture of the Ionian coastlands in the second half of the sixth century BCE, appearing on temples, accessory religious buildings, and altars.³⁶ Sphinxes were also shown

³³ J.T. Clarke, F.H. Bacon, and R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, Henry Sotheran & Co.; Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America; Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann 1902), 147–153; M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), cat. no. 20; A. Carandini, L. Sagui, S. Tortorella, and E. Tortorici *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica ed orientale. Atlante dei complessi figurati e degli ordini architettonici* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973), pls. 13, 15; U. Finster-Hotz, *Der Bauschmuck des Athenatempels von Assos* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1984), 90, 135, no. 8b, fig. 22–23; M. Hamiaux, *Les sculptures grecques, 1. Des origines à la fin du IV^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), cat. no. 67; B. Wescoat, *The Temple of Assos* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), reliefs A1 and A2.

³⁴ J.T. Clarke, F.H. Bacon, and R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, Henry Sotheran & Co.; Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America; Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann 1902), 147, 153. Other pairs of sphinxes appeared in the temple's metopes.

³⁵ Kourou, 'Sphinx', 1165, citing cat. nos. 26, 33, 41, and 49.

³⁶ Wescoat, *Temple of Assos*, Reliefs A1 and A2. In addition to the temple of Assos, Wescoat observes that "on Samos, fragments of sphinxes in relief have been restored to the upper antae of the Rhoikos Altar (c. 550–540), the South Building (c. 530–520), and the Polykratean Heraion (c. 520–510). If the Roman archaistic altar at Samos mirrored its archaic predecessor, then the frieze on the Rhoikos Altar also included recumbent sphinxes set around a rosette

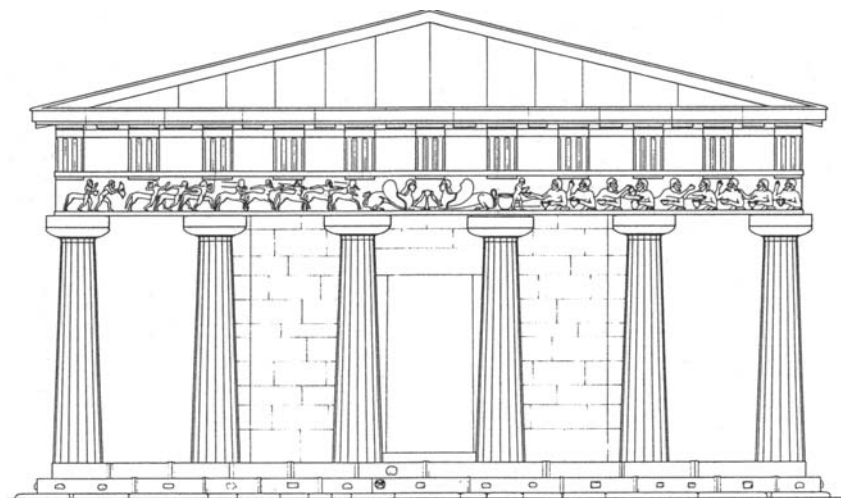


Fig. 2. East front of the temple of Athena, Assos, Turkey. The sphinxes are located on the main axis. Reconstruction by Bonna Wescoat.

flanking or carved on the thrones of divinities; most conspicuous must have been the sphinxes carrying off Thebans on the throne of the gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia.³⁷ These cultic associations reinforced the sphinx's their role as projections of divine power, wisdom, and inscrutability.

Bernard Holtzmann has focused on the inadequacy of prevailing interpretations (or non-interpretations) of the most prominent of the sphinxes in Greek sanctuaries: those mounted on columns.³⁸ In his view, a mere decorative or apotropaic value would have been inadequate either to explain the sphinxes' prominence or to do justice to their connection with the realm of the dead. Instead he has proposed that sphinxes on columns in sanctuaries were intended as guardians of tombs of heroes. His evidence in some cases is quite strong and in others very thin and speculative.

upon which they rest the inner forepaw. Sphinxes decorate the inner and outer side walls of an altar from Miletos (end of the sixth century) and an altar (or building for a sacred spring) from Didyma (early fifth century), where they raise a paw heraldically onto a floral motif." She further notes that the sphinx's "repeated appearance on antae and built altars in Asia Minor, on antefixes and as akroteria, (not to mention independent votive dedications) indicates a significance beyond the appropriate but essentially decorative."

³⁷ Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1162, 1165; Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* v. 11, 1.

³⁸ B. Holtzmann, "Une sphinge archaïque de Thasos," *BCH* 115 (1991): 159–165.

Tsiafakis, however, has pointed out that the votive character of these columns conflicts with a funerary interpretation.³⁹ Furthermore, the sphinx was at home within sanctuaries in a multitude of situations unconnected with tombs. Since other beasts and monsters, such as the lion or the griffin, were not chosen for this highly prominent role, it seems likely that the sphinx was deemed particularly suitable for these cultic contexts. An interpretation along the lines formulated by Plutarch and Clement seems to fit this situation well; the sphinx represented a projection of divine power—both intelligent and powerful—that was kind to the pious and ruthless to the impious.

The sphinx soon came to symbolize protection of religious places in a general sense. The monster was used to decorate religious gear in the private realm. During the Classical period, terracotta household altars in southern Italy gained magical or metaphorical protection from sphinxes. On a fragmentary altar dated 480–460 BCE in Boston (pl. 17b),⁴⁰ the sphinx perches on a column, much as she did on the monument at Delphi (fig. 1). A tripod of the late seventh century BCE in New York is topped by three sphinxes and three horses' heads (fig. 3).⁴¹ The tripod, which presumably was preserved in the tomb of a private individual, would have carried a cauldron for burning sacrifices. Sphinxes return on basins and candelabra during the Roman Imperial period.⁴²

EARLY METAPHORICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SPHINX: SPHINX AND SIBYL

The question remains: When did the sphinx take on the full symbolic role outlined by Plutarch and Clement? When did she come to stand for or allude to theological obscurity as well as the projection of divine power? Hani saw this as a typically Hellenistic approach.⁴³ Metaphorical interpretation

³⁹ Tsiafakis, “ΤΙΕΛΩΠΑ,” 82.

⁴⁰ J. Herrmann in Padgett, *Centaur's Smile*, cat. no. 67. For other southern Italian altars with sphinxes, see *Un'arula tra Heidelberg e Naxos: Arule di Sicilia e di Magna Grecia* (ed. M.C. Lentini: Soprintendenza per i beni culturali e ambientali di Messina, Giunti, 1993); H. van der Meijden, *Terrakotta-arulæ aus Sizilien und Unteritalien* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1993), 63–64, 282–289, pls. 49–50.

⁴¹ C. Picon in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 1997): 10; C. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry* (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2000), 127–142, figs. 85, 88.

⁴² Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1170, cat. nos. 271–273, 329, pls. 811, 817.

⁴³ Hani, *La religion égyptienne*, 262.



Fig. 3. Bronze tripod with sphinxes and horse's heads. Greek, ca. 600 BC. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls, 1997.145.1.

of the sphinx, however, clearly dates to even earlier times. In addition to her other roles, the sphinx had an association with sibyls, an association that had no overt basis in the Oedipus story or elsewhere in mythology. As early as the late Classical period of the first half of the fourth century BCE, coins of Gergis in the Troad display on one side a sphinx and on the other a female head crowned with laurel leaves, who must be the sibyl of Marpessos (pl. 18b, c). She was known variably as the Gergithian, Trojan, Hellespontic, or Phrygian Sibyl, and her tomb lay near the temple of Apollo Gergithius.⁴⁴ Phlegon of Tralles, a writer of the second century CE, provides this interpretation of the coins,⁴⁵ which has been accepted by a long line of modern commentators.⁴⁶ It has been suggested that a Greek ring of the late fifth century BCE, showing the sphinx crouching on a tripod and facing a seated woman, reflects the connection between sphinx and sibyl (fig. 4).⁴⁷ Should this be so, a metaphoric or symbolic interpretation of the sphinx would have been current in the High Classical period. In such cases, the riddles of the sphinx (or sphinxes) were already considered metaphors for the obscure but divinely inspired pronouncements of sibyls. As Katakis put it, sphinxes are emblems of sibyls because of their “enigmatic significance.”⁴⁸ The early sixth-century sphinx at Delphi may have already alluded to a sibyl; in the time of Pausanias (2nd century CE) the rock on which the Delphic sibyl sat was a tourist attraction near the temple of Apollo, and the location of the marble sphinx was not far away.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ M. Caccamo Caltabiano, *LIMC* 7:753, cat. no. 1. She dates the issue to early Hellenistic times. Alan Walker of *Leu Numismatics* assures us, however, that the issue belongs to the preceding period.

⁴⁵ *FGrH* 257 F 2: (Steph. Byz. s. Γέργις: πόλις Τροίας ...) Γεργιθία ἡ χρησμολόγος Σιβύλλα, ἣ τις καὶ ἐτετύπωτο ἐν τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Γεργιθίων αὐτὴ τε καὶ σφίγξ, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων (α). ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Γεργιθίου Ἀπόλλωνος Σιβύλλης φασὶν εἶναι τάφον. (“Gergis, city of the Troad ...) Gergithia, the divining sibyl, who is also stamped on the coin of the Gergithians, she and a sphinx, according to Phlegon in the first book of the Olympians. Reportedly there is a tomb of a Sibyl in the temple of Apollo of Gergis.”)

⁴⁶ For example, B. Head, *Historia Nummorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911; reprinted S. Durst 1983), 545–546; M. Caccamo Caltabiano in *LIMC* 7:753.

⁴⁷ Paris, Cabinet des Medailles Bj 1084. The interpretation originated with E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les bijoux antiques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 84, 120, pl. 39, 1. See also *DACL* 5:767, fig. 929; H. Hoffmann and P. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Brooklyn Museum; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1965), cat. no. 108, J. Boardman, photographs by R. Wilkins, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970), 221, pl. 707; Kourou, *LIMC* 7:1163, cat. no. 9.

⁴⁸ “... ihrer rätselhaften Bedeutung”: Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1174.

⁴⁹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* x. 10, 12. For rejection of an association between sibyl and sphinx at Delphi, see F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (trans. G.C. Richards; London: Gyldendal, 1920), 97–99.



Fig. 4. Gold ring with a sibyl facing a sphinx on a tripod. Greek, late 5th century BCE. Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, Bj 1084.

Sphinxes were associated with sibyls in Roman contexts as well. A denarius of T. Carisius issued in 46 BCE displays the head of a sibyl on the obverse and a sphinx on the reverse (fig. 5b). This pairing of images echoes and was perhaps inspired by the coins of Gergis (pl. 18b, c).⁵⁰ Sphinxes had a special connection with Octavian/Augustus. Early in his career he used two identical gemstones with a sphinx inherited from his mother as his personal seal.⁵¹

⁵⁰ M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols. London/New York: Cambridge University Press, ca. 1974) 464/1, pl. 54; M. Caccamo Caltabiano *LIMC* 7:755, cat. no. 9, pl. 548; Katakis, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 316, pl. 815.

⁵¹ Pliny the Elder, *Hist. nat.*, 37.4.10: divus Augustus inter initia sphinge signavit. duas in matris anulis eas indiscretas similitudinis invenerat. altera per bella civilia absente ipso signavere amici epistulas et edicta quae ratio temporum nomine eius reddi postulabat, non inficeto lepore accipientium, aenigmata adferre eam sphingem. quippe etiam Maece-natis rana per collationes pecuniarum in magno terrore erat. Augustus postea ad evitanda



Fig. 5a, b. Silver denarius of T. Carisius. Obverse: head of sibyl. Reverse: sphinx. Mint of Rome, 46 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catharine Page Perkins Fund, 95.165.

A sphinx appeared on the Augustan coinage of Pergamon, on the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima porta, and in other media of the time.⁵² Paul Zanker has pointed out how these Augustan sphinxes alluded to the sibyl and her prophecies of a brighter future, which—along with other portents of a new age—were widely believed to refer to Octavian even before he achieved supreme power.⁵³ While Zanker's reconstruction must capture the official thinking of the time, the symbolism was ambiguous enough to

convicia sphingis Alexandri Magni imagine signavit. "At the beginning the divinized Augustus used the sphinx as a seal. Among his mother's rings he had found these two that were of indistinguishable similarity. During the civil wars whenever he himself was absent counselors used one of them to seal letters and proclamations that the circumstances required to be issued in his name. The recipients made the not unwitty joke that the sphinx brought riddles. In fact the frog (signet) of Maecenas was also greatly feared because of its solicitations of money. Later Augustus used the image of Alexander the Great as seal to avoid insults about the sphinx."

Suetonius, *Augustus* 50: in diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, nouissime sua, Dioscuridis manu scalpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseuerarunt. "At first he used the sphinx to seal letters of recommendation, responses to petitions, and private letters, then the image of Alexander the Great, and finally his own, which was engraved by the hand of Dioscurides; also the succeeding emperors continued to use this as their seal."

⁵² P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (trans. A. Shapiro; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 48–49, 192, 199, figs. 36, 38, 148, 155a; Katakis, *LIMC* 7:1170, 1174, cat. No. 278–280, pls. 811–812.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 48–49. Zanker may, however, overemphasize the connection of the sphinx with Apollo.

become a source of unwanted humor. Augustus's sealed dispatches were received as "riddles" (*aenigmata*), leading (according to Pliny and Suetonius) Augustus to replace the sphinx with an image of Alexander the Great as his seal. In any case, it is again clear that sphinxes had been identified with mysterious pronouncements in general rather than being tied specifically to the Theban tale.

SPHINXES IN ROMAN TEMPLES

In spite of the attractive "theological" interpretations offered by Plutarch and Clement, sphinxes in actual Roman temple settings are rare—except in Alexandria or in connection with the Alexandrian gods. As in the Alexandrian Serapeum, the sphinxes from temple sites elsewhere in the Roman world seem to be reused Egyptian carvings of much earlier times; they are wingless, male, and recline. Such is the case with the many sphinxes recovered from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli and the Iseum Campense at Rome.⁵⁴ They may have simply offered traditional geographic color.

Diocletian's Palace at Split presents a later instance of sphinxes in a possible religious context, in this case they are not overtly connected with Egyptian cultic tradition (pl. 18a, fig. 6). At current count, twelve Egyptian wingless, reclining male sphinxes stem from the palace.⁵⁵ They are a scavenged assemblage of different sizes and different Egyptian materials, including red Aswan granite, black granite, graywacke (*basanite*), possibly basalt, and white limestone. Hieroglyphic inscriptions date two of the sphinxes the New Kingdom (second millennium BCE),⁵⁶ but others appear to be from

⁵⁴ A. Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 23–35, 51, 132–140, cat. nos. 289–322, pls. 198–217.

⁵⁵ F. Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Spit* (Split, 1926), 46–49, figs. 33–37; J. Marasović and T. Marasović, photographs by N. Gattin, *Diocletian Palace* (Zagreb: Zora, 1970), pl. 92. On our visit in 2007 we noted a sphinx in black granite on the steps at the southern end of the peristyle; another in white limestone (or breccia according to Bulić) in the Archaeological Museum, Salona; the head of a sphinx in Aswan granite, excavated in Salona, in the Archaeological Museum; a sphinx in black stone (*basanite*?) on the podium of the temple/baptistery; two sphinxes in the substructures of the palace, one in black stone (*basalt*?) and the other in red Aswan granite. For the total of twelve, see J. Belamarić, "The Date of Foundation and Original Function of Diocletian's Palace at Split," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9 (2003): 173–185, esp. 173, figs. 2–4.

⁵⁶ Both were initially inscribed by Amenhotep III, and one was apparently reinscribed by Ramses II: see Bulić, *Diokletians Palast*, 46–49.

later periods. None of the sphinxes remain in their original position.⁵⁷ While some might have been placed in front of the octagonal mausoleum, others could have been placed in front of the palace's temple. Symmetry might have dictated that they be placed in front of both buildings. One of the sphinxes has, in fact, been placed on a modern base on the podium in front of the temple (fig. 6). The building's portal has a rather grand though entirely Hellenic mythological perspective, alluding to Jupiter, the Olympians, the Gigantomachy, and possibly the Titanomachy.⁵⁸ The sphinxes might have equated Jupiter with the cult of Jupiter-Serapis, also of Egyptian origin. It has been proposed that Diocletian had the sphinxes brought to Split to evoke Egypt and its tradition of divinized sovereigns.⁵⁹ These *spolia* would certainly have celebrated Diocletian's triumph there.⁶⁰ The Egyptian granite columns used extensively in the complex would have reinforced these associations. If sphinxes had been placed in front of the mausoleum, they would have served as traditional tomb guardians.⁶¹ Since it remains uncertain where the sphinxes originally stood, it is impossible to say whether or not they carried the Clementine message of divine mystery and retribution, but this should be considered among their possible meanings for contemporary observers.

CLEMENTINE SPHINXES IN ROMAN IMPERIAL TIMES

In spite of the rarity of sphinxes in Roman temples, there is evidence that the sphinx as a projection of divine power, mystery, and justice had a limited currency in Clement's own geographic and chronological environment. Coinage of Alexandria provides the evidence. Under Hadrian in 133–134 CE, the Alexandrian mint issued a series of drachms with a winged female

⁵⁷ S. Rinaldi Tufi, *Dalmazia*. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Le province dell'Impero I (Rome: Latium, 1989), 67–68, figs. 66–67. The sphinx on the temple podium is on a modern block designed for the damaged condition of the piece. The pedestal in the peristyle fills in an intercolumniation in an awkward way, and there appears to be no trace of a symmetrical pedestal on the other side of the grand staircase. Reconstructions of the palace eliminate this pedestal: Marasović and Marasović, *Diocletian Palace*, fig. 32.

⁵⁸ The consoles of the portal have (from right to left) Victoria, a bearded male head (Jupiter?), an eagle on a thunderbolt, a bust of Hercules, a bust of Bacchus, two snake-legged Giants, two heads whose beards and hair turn into foliage (Titans?), and another Victoria.

⁵⁹ Rinaldi Tufi, *Dalmazia*, 67–68, figs. 66–67.

⁶⁰ On the campaign, see Belamarić, "Date of Foundation," 173–175.

⁶¹ A local tradition places at least one of these sphinxes in front of the current cathedral: Bulić, *Diocletians Palast*, 46–49.



Fig. 6. Graywacke Egyptian sphinx, ca. 300 CE. Temple, Palace of Diocletian, Split, Croatia.



Fig. 7a, b. Sphinx with the wheel of Nemesis. Bronze drachm of Hadrian, minted at Alexandria 133–134 CE.

sphinx placing her paw on a wheel (fig. 7b).⁶² The wheel is the characteristic emblem of Nemesis, the goddess of divine justice and retribution. In Roman iconography, the wheel of Nemesis is usually supported by a seated griffin, but the coin makes it clear that the sphinx takes over the role of mediator of divine retribution. The sphinx is not, however, connected specifically with Nemesis herself; as her headdress she wears a slender, shapely flower-like object, which is probably a grain basket, the emblem of the goddess Demeter.⁶³ On coins of Antoninus Pius dating from 153–154 CE, the sphinx with wheel has a sun disk on her kalathos (fig. 8b).⁶⁴ This addition to the

⁶² EGYPT, Alexandria. Hadrian 117–138 CE. Æ Drachm (23.14 gm, 12h). Dated regnal year 18 (133/134 AD). AVT KAIC TPAIAN ADRIANOC CEB, laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust right, seen from behind / Sphinx-Nemesis seated left, holding wheel; LIH (date) across field. A. Geissen, *Katalog alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen*, Köln (5 vols.; Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1974–1983), 2:1134; cf. G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), cat. no. 1996; J.G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), 1427; R. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Alexandria and the Nomes* (London: British Museum, 1892), 847; K. Emmett, *Alexandrian Coins* (Lodi, 2001), 1053/18. Classical Numismatic Group, *Triton VIII*, 11 January 2005, lot 801. From the Garth R. Drewry Collection. Also viewable at <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁶³ On Demeter in Egypt and her kalathos, see Herrmann, “Demeter-Isis,” 73. In other Alexandrian coins the basket, modius, or city wall of Tyche can have the same flower-like form.

⁶⁴ Egypt, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, Æ Drachm (29.28 gm). Dated regnal year 17 (153/154 CE). Obverse: [...] EBEUS AUT K T AIL ADR, Laureate, bust right/ Sphinx-Nemesis



Fig. 8a, b. Sphinx with the wheel of Nemesis. Bronze drachm of Antoninus Pius, minted at Alexandria 153–154 CE.

kalathos is known on statuettes of Demeter from Egypt.⁶⁵ In these cases it is Demeter's power and justice that is projected, a power that guarantees the regularity and stability necessary for prosperity, most evidently symbolized by basic agricultural productivity. On slightly earlier coins of 144–145 CE, the sphinx/Nemesis has a different divine identification or allegiance (fig. 9b).⁶⁶ She wears the headdress of Isis: two tall feathers, a sun disc, and spreading cow's horns. Demeter and Isis were closely related and in Egypt often mutually identified.⁶⁷ In either case, the sphinx evidently symbolizes the mysterious doctrines and the implacable justice of divinities, just as Clement had explained.

The image of the winged female sphinx with wheel, representing puzzling theology and divine retribution, reappears in the area of Alexandria's direct influence. Coins of Sebaste in Samaria minted under Elagabalus (218–222 CE) again show the theological sphinx (fig. 10b).⁶⁸ Above the

holding wheel with left paw. Gorny and Mosch, Giessener Münzhandlung, *Auction 130*, 8 March 2004, lot 1929. G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, 3088.

⁶⁵ Herrmann, "Demeter-Isis," fig. 1, 7, 10.

⁶⁶ Egypt, Alexandria, Antoninus Pius, 138–161 CE, Æ Drachm (21.38 gm). Dated regnal year 8 (144/145 CE). Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust right, seen from behind / Sphinx-Nemesis seated right, holding wheel. Auktionshaus H.D. Rauch, *Mail Bid Sale 10*, 2 March 2006, lot 245. Viewable at <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted July 2013).

⁶⁷ See Herrmann, "Demeter-Isis," 73–74.

⁶⁸ Reverse: Sphinx crouching left, right paw on wheel; radiate head (of Helios?) facing



Fig. 9a, b. Sphinx with the wheel of Nemesis. Bronze drachm of Antoninus Pius, minted at Alexandria 144–145 CE.

monster with the wheel seems to be a small head of Helios, stressing perhaps the all-seeing aspect of divine justice. Kore was the divinity most prominently worshiped at Sebaste, but her mother Demeter and the goddess Isis would have been part of the syncretistic cult as well.⁶⁹ It is to this cult that the sphinx on the coinage probably refers.

Some images connected with Alexandrian religion show a sphinx on a pedestal in front of a god or goddess. A wingless female sphinx on a pedestal accompanies Serapis on a sard intaglio attributed to the late first century CE (pl. 19).⁷⁰ On a bronze coin of Alexandria, a wingless sphinx of uncertain gender reclines on a pedestal beside Isis nursing Harpokrates.⁷¹ It is likely

left above. Obverse: bust of Elagabalus or his wife Aquilia Severa. M. Rosenberger, *The Rosenberger Israel Collection* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: M. Rosenberger, 1972–1978), 3:38.

Both varieties of this type are also viewable at <http://pro.coinarchives.com/>.

⁶⁹ John Herrmann, "A Marble Maenad from the Holy Land," *The Cantor Arts Center Journal* 6 (2008–2009), 12–15.

⁷⁰ Robin F. Beningson and Joseph A. Coplin, *Ancient Treasures VI* (production Michael Binkley; New York: Antiquarium, Ltd., 2008), 33.

⁷¹ Egypt, Alexandria, Caracalla, 198–217 CE, Æ Drachm (31.61 gm). Dated regnal year 21 (212/213 CE). Laureate bust right/ Isis seated in throne right nursing Harpokrates, at right, sphinx left on garlanded pedestal. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, *Auction 124*, 16 March 2007, lot 8182. A. Savio, ed., *Catalogo completo della collezione Dattari Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Trieste: G. Bernardi, 1999), 4269 (this example); Geissen, *Katalog*, 2283. Viewable at <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 7 August 2013).



Fig. 10a, b. Sphinx with the wheel of Nemesis. Bronze coin of Elagabalus, minted at Sebaste, Samaria 218–222 CE.

that in both cases these sphinxes, placed before an image of the divinity, not only evoked the gods' Egyptian homeland but also symbolized theological mystery and divine retribution just as sphinxes placed before a temple did.

INTERPRETING A BEING WITH TWO NATURES

Clement offers another symbolic interpretation of the sphinx, and this too seems highly applicable to a great variety of artifacts in the private as well as public spheres. In this second passage, he interprets the sphinx as a symbol of protection and sagacity. He writes “in addition, the lion is for them (sc. the Egyptians) a symbol of might and vigor, just as the ox is clearly a symbol of earth itself, of farming and food, the horse of courage and confidence, and the sphinx of protective strength with intelligence. Her entire body is that of a lion, but her face that of a human. Likewise hinting enigmatically at intelligence, memory, strength and skill, a human is carved by them for their holy places.”⁷² Some two centuries later Synesius of Cyrene (ca. 370–414)

⁷² Clement, *Stromateis* V 42, 3: πρὸς τοῖσδε ἀλκῆς μὲν καὶ ῥώμης σύμβολον αὐτοῖς ὁ λέων· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει γῆς τε αὐτῆς καὶ γεωργίας καὶ τροφῆς ὁ βοῦς, ἀνδρείας τε καὶ παρρησίας ὁ ἵππος, ἀλκῆς τε αὐτὴ μετὰ συνέσεως ἢ σφίγξ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα πᾶν λέοντος, τὸ πρόσωπον δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσα. ὁμοίως τε τοῦτοις σύνεσιν καὶ μνήμην καὶ κράτος καὶ τέχνην ὁ ἄνθρωπος αἰνισσόμενος τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐγγλύφεται.

seems to reaffirm Clement's interpretation: "as it seems also the sphinx is set up for them in the precincts of their temples as a sacred symbol of the coupling of virtues, animal with regard to strength, human being with regard to wisdom."⁷³ While the sphinx may at times have been used in primitive fashion as a magical protector against hostile magic (the evil eye), the protective function is here formulated in terms of rather rational symbolism acceptable in more cultivated circles, where patrons capable of commissioning or buying attractive works of art were more likely to have been found. This rationalization of the sphinx in terms of the best qualities of her human and animal components could well have played a role in the popularity of the monster for many apparently decorative roles, as personal emblems on intaglios or as civic emblems on coinage.

It is striking that Clement, a Christian writer of the late second and early third century, had no reservations about citing these uses of a mythological creature. Apparently the sphinx was worthy of inclusion in his *Stromateis*, first because she was not an object of cult and, second, because her symbolism dignified theology in general. This was to some degree characteristic of Clement, who went as far as any ancient Christian theologian in incorporating aspects of the surrounding non-Christian world into his writing.

Conceptualized interpretations of the sphinx continued to develop in the literary tradition. Early Christian and Byzantine authors commented on sphinxes and other such creatures in discussions about the difference between "image" and "likeness." They distinguished between an image of unsubstantiated form (εἰδωλον) and a likeness reflecting real substance (ὁμοίωμα). Sphinxes, tritons, and centaurs belonged to the former, while sun, moon, stars, humans, animals and the like were part of the latter category.⁷⁴ Applying the anatomical dichotomy of the sphinx to the division of body and soul was another staple of later theological speculation. In this context the sphinx was viewed as nothing other than a human being composed of unequal parts, which reflected both rational and irrational human capabilities. The rational part belonged to the realm of the mind and the divine while the irrational drew heavily on the material world. In this way the

⁷³ Synesius of Cyrene (c. 373–c. 414), *On the kingdom*, 7 (Terzaghi): ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἡ Σφίγξ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προτεμενισμάτων ἰδρύεται, τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἱερὸν σύμβολον, τὴν μὲν ἰσχὺν θηρίον, τὴν δὲ φρόνησιν ἄνθρωπος. See also *On providence*, 1, 11.

⁷⁴ See Theodoretus of Cyrhus (4–5c.), *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, 127 (N. Fernández Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos). The same thoughts resurface in Georgius Monachus (9c.), *Chronicon*, 65 (de Boor); Suda (10c.), *Lexicon*, epsilon iota, 45 (Adler); Georgius Cedrenus

figure of the sphinx was adapted to an anthropological scheme that was largely Platonic in nature.⁷⁵

SPHINXES AFTER CLEMENT

In spite of the attractive theological symbolism developed for the sphinx throughout antiquity, the monster had only a minor role in Early Christian or Early Medieval art. In the eighth and ninth centuries, goldsmiths mounted Roman intaglios with sphinxes on precious liturgical objects,⁷⁶ and other craftsmen produced glass cameos with sphinxes for the same purposes.⁷⁷ In all cases, the gems apparently had only a decorative function, and the imagery had no programmatic importance. Not until the thirteenth century does anything like a Clementine symbolic sphinx seem to have appeared. The Cosmati, a group of marble workers who were active in and around Rome, revived Egyptian-style lions and sphinxes in their ecclesiastical decorations. Lions and sphinxes, which often wear *nemes* headcloths, provided visual protection for church furniture, including choir screens, paschal candlesticks, pulpits, and sacristy doors.⁷⁸ The Cosmatesque pulpit in the church of S. Cesareo provides a particularly resonant example; small sphinxes are carved under the bases of the pulpit's colonnettes (pls. 20–21a).⁷⁹ As part of the setting for reading and interpreting holy Scripture, the sphinxes are perfectly suited to represent the mysteries of thinking about God and the retribution that evil-doers should fear. Regrettably, the symbolic interpretation of the monster present in Plutarch, Clement,

(11–12c.), *Compendium Historiarum* I, 570 (Bekker); *Etymologium Gudianum* (11c.), omicron, 482 (Sturz).

⁷⁵ See, for example, Michael Psellus (11c.), *Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia*, *Opusculum* 44, ll. 24–89 (Duffy).

⁷⁶ E. Poletti Ecclesia, “‘L’incanto delle pietre multicolori’: gemme antiche su reliquiari altomedievali,” in *Gemme dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste* (ed. G. Senna Chiesa, G. Buccellati, and A. Marchi; Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano and Hoepli, 2002), 57–58. Top right: Oedipus and the Sphinx, mounted upside down (Purse of Enger, ca. 780); E. Galletti, “‘Gemmam lucidulam, raram, caram ... Ooliab sculpsit quam Beseleelque notavit.’ Il reimpiego glittico sull’altare,” in Senna Chiesa, Buccellati, and Marchi, *Gemme*, 82, no. 1 (altar of Vulvius, S. Ambrogio, Milan, ca. 840).

⁷⁷ E. Galletti, “Intagli e cammei. Catalogo topografico della Croce di Desiderio,” in Chiesa, Buccellati, and Marchi, *Gemme*, 196–197, 200, nos. 20–22, 25–26. The sphinxes are interpreted as birds or fantastic animals.

⁷⁸ Roulet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments*, 7–9, figs. 1–6.

⁷⁹ H. Decker, *Romanesque Art in Italy* (trans. J. Cleugh; Thames and Hudson, 1958), 61, cat. no. 116.

and Synesius seems to have left no trace in the Latin church fathers, and it remains impossible to prove that the inspiration for the Cosmatesque sphinxes at Rome was literary as well as artistic and decorative.

In summation then, current presentations of the sphinx fail to reflect the full range of meaning that the sphinx had for ancient writers. The roles for the sphinx in ancient art should be expanded beyond those of Theban killer, tomb guardian, and decorative motif. The sphinx also served as temple guardian, and she (or he) had a series of symbolic roles, representing riddles, prophetic utterance, theological ambiguity, divine mystery, divine retribution, and protection with intelligence. Drawing on his Hellenized Egyptian environment, Clement of Alexandria gave the fullest formulations of these rich interpretations.

CHAPTER SIX

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ACROBATS, AND THE ELITE*†

Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.

For Clement of Alexandria the true gnostic was a virtual saint, whose search for perfection can be compared to the efforts of a vigorous athlete. The soul of a gnostic, according to Clement, is comparable to the body of the athlete in its strength and health.¹ The search for perfection also requires another worldly virtue: that of courage, which, in the case of the true gnostic, is based on spiritual knowledge. This knowledge gives brave gnostics the strength and the ability to face the dangerous seductions of evil, to which the ignorant succumb. Thus in Clement's view all bravery is rooted in intellectual virtuosity, and no one can be called brave who ministers to the powers of irrational impulses. In drawing a distinction between real courage—as he sees it—and mundane acts of bravery, he turns to the realm of sport for examples. Bravery can be based on ignorance, on irrational instinct, or the skills of physical training. As he puts it: “For then one also should call children brave who out of ignorance of dangers expose themselves to frightful situations—they even touch fire; and one should call wild animals valiant who in an irrational way rush out to [meet] the point of spears. Perhaps in this way one should even call acrobats brave who turn somersaults into swords, using their base art with some skill for a miserable pay.”²

* This article was originally published in *Scrivere per governare. Le forme della comunicazione nel cristianesimo antico* (*Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 3/1 [2006]: 83–97).

† Many thanks go to Paul Roberts for his help with the photograph of the BM acrobat and, to Michael Padgett for calling to our attention an unpublished Gnathian kalix-kraater and providing us with a picture of it. We are grateful to Dorris Kuyken-Schneider and John Gomperts for their assistance. A final thanks go to Marinella Lista for showing us the vases in the National Archeological Museum in Naples.

¹ *Strom.* VII 64,4.

² *Ibid.*, VII 66,3: ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας λεγέτω τις ἀνδρείους ἀγνοῖα τῶν δεινῶν ὑφισταμένους τὰ φοβερά (ἄπτονται γοῦν οὗτοι καὶ πυρός), καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ ὁμόσε ταῖς λόγχαῖς πορευόμενα ἀλόγως ὄντα ἀνδρεία ἐνάρετα λεγόντων. τάχα δ' οὕτως καὶ τοὺς θαυματοποιοὺς ἀνδρείους φήσουσιν εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας κυβιστῶντας ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τινὸς κακοτεχνούντας ἐπὶ λυπρῷ τῷ μισθῷ.

The brute courage of beasts and the physical braveries of the poor acrobats who have to work for a living are contrasted with the more noble exertions of the gnostic who labors in the spiritual vineyard. There is an evident contempt for these lower orders, and a hierarchy is established that is at once spiritual and social. Spiritual achievement is elevated above the achievements of the lower orders. The Christian gnostic is associated by implication with those who command in society, while physical action or daring is connected with subordinate orders, whether immature humans, animals, or lower-class entertainers. It should be noted that in the athletic realm, Clement does not cite, in this case at least, the upper-class ephebes who trained in gymnasia but the subaltern group of lower-class entertainers.

As we will see, other ancient writers refer to acrobats as examples of bravery. One could therefore argue that Clement's pronouncement about lowly acrobats is commonplace, drawn from his knowledge of earlier literature.³ The question therefore arises whether this passage is purely a literary maneuver, a technical exercise with which the author tries to attract the attention of his audience, or whether it derives from the author's experienced reality? In more general terms, the question is: how do we know that texts of primarily literary, religious or philosophical character correspond to any sort of historical reality? The minimalist answer is: "We don't know, and there is very little to go on," which, if true, would then be the end of the discussion and perhaps the end of this article. We tend to believe, however, that some kind of social or historical reality usually lies behind the written word, whether ancient or modern, although it may not always be the reality the author wishes to convey.⁴ So if we allow openness in the interplay between literature and historical reality, we may continue to search for this substrate. In the meantime, of course, we are fully aware that the difficult transition between literary value and historical reality is not the only obstacle confronting our understanding of the textual and historical past. It is equally problematic that we come to this literature with our own set of ideas and

³ For various other parallels to Clement's examples see Alain Le Boulluec, *Stromate VII. Clément d'Alexandrie, Les Stromates* (SC 428; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), 208–209, notes 2–4. To these could be added: Athenaeus 4, 129D; Aelian, *Epistula* 16 (ed. Hercher); Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1, 76; Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 3, 29, 75; Tacitus, *Germania* 24; and Lucian, *De Saltatione* 83. Material is also collected by J. Jüthner, PW 11/2 (1922), 2299–300, s. v. Κυβιστητής; and W. Kroll, PWSup 6 (1935), 1278–1282, s. v. Θαυματοποιοί (Kroll lists a wide variety of entertainment artists).

⁴ For a study of such questions, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

practices, values and prejudices. Perhaps it might help our assessment if we are merely cognizant of these limitations, and it might firm up the methodological quality of our inquiry if we make our approach from multiple points of view, not only studying the formal or literary value of the readings, such as structure, style and vocabulary, but also incorporating insights derived from other disciplines. In this presentation, we will make particular reference to the discipline of the history of ancient art.

CLEMENT'S HISTORICITY: INFORMATION ON HIS LIFE

The first historical element to be considered is the author himself. Very little is known about Clement of Alexandria, but enough survives to make it clear he was an individual who actually existed and who is properly associated with a substantial number of writings. Something is also known of his social status. His full name, Titus Flavius Clemens, is attested by Eusebius in the title of the *Stromateis* as the author of this work.⁵ It is striking that someone of Greek descent had such a resonant sequence of Latin names, the full *tria nomina*. These names may give us some clues to his family history. The name Flavius is probably derived from the Flavian dynasty, implying that Roman citizenship was acquired by one of Clement's ancestors after the year 69, when the rule of the first Flavian emperor, Vespasian, began.⁶ A Flavius Clemens, whose *praenomen* was very likely Titus was consul in 95; he shared his consulship with the emperor Domitian; he also happened to be part of the extended imperial family.⁷ Flavius Clemens perished at Domitian's command in the same consular year; there is some speculation that he might have been killed because of atheism, which meant that in the eyes of his accusers his religious sympathies were not in line with the gods of the state.⁸ George Synkellos, a ninth-century monk in Constantinople interprets

⁵ Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* VI 13: Τίτου Φλαυίου Κλήμεντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς; see also Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* III.

⁶ See P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); and K.R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁷ See Kroll, PWSup 6: 2536–2539, s. v. Flavius 62.

⁸ For an extensive description of Flavius Clemens' relationships within the imperial family, see Wolfgang Kuhoff, "FLAVIUS CLEMENS, T(itus)," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, Band XX (Herzberg: T. Bautz, 2001), 503–519.

this to mean that Flavius and his wife Domitilla were Christians.⁹ Cassius Dio views the accusation differently and interprets it as sympathy for the Jewish faith.¹⁰ Be that as it may, the assumption is that one of Clement's forebears was a *libertus* of the household of this ill-fated consul Flavius Clemens. If this is correct, Clement himself was at least indirectly connected with the elite.

Freed people were often successful in their entrepreneurial lives—there are many examples of the phenomenon of social climbing—and whether or not they were connected with the consul of 95, Clement's family appears to have done reasonably well. His own writings make it clear that he lived the mobile life of a person of leisure, an aspiring philosopher who was able to travel to various places in the Graeco-Roman world. He mentioned a number of teachers, although not by name, and settled for a while in Alexandria, a great Greek city at that time under Roman rule. There he met a teacher whom he greatly admired. Clement called him metaphorically “the Sicilian bee,”¹¹ and elsewhere referred to him as a presbyter and “our Pantaenus.”¹² Although Clement transmits some of his teachings, he also reports that presbyters did not engage in writing.¹³ This is intriguing, since Clement himself—eventually a presbyter—left behind a considerable amount of written work, not all of which has survived. His oeuvre reveals,

⁹ Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica* (ed. A.A. Mosshammer; Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), 419: πολλοὶ δὲ Χριστιανῶν ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ Δομετιανόν, ὡς ὁ Βρέττιος ἱστορεῖ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Φλαυία Δομετίλλα ἐξαδελφὴ Κλήμεντος Φλαυίου ὑπατικοῦ ὡς Χριστιανὴ εἰς νήσον Ποντίαν φυγαδεύεται· αὐτὸς τε Κλήμης ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀναιρεῖται.

¹⁰ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae* 67, 14, 1: καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον (τὸν) Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαουίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. ἐπὶ τῇ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὅφ' ἦς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦθ' ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν' οὐσίῳ ἐστερήθησαν· ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερῶρισθ' ἰκόνον ἐς Πανδατερίαν.

¹¹ *Strom.* I 11, 2: ὑστάτω δὲ περιτυχὼν (δυνάμει δὲ οὕτως πρῶτος ἦν) ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. Σικελικῇ τῷ ὄντι ἦν μέλιττα προφητικοῦ τε καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος ἀκήρατόν τι γνώσεως χρῆμα ταῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἐνεγέννησε ψυχαῖς. Pantaenus was clearly a Christian, and honey from Sicily was widely acclaimed.

¹² *Ecl.* 56, 2. *Strom.* I 14, 1; II 67, 4; 68, 1; *Protr.* 113, 1; *Ecl.* 11, 1; 50, 1; *Fragm.* (*Hypot.*) 8; *Fragm.* (*Hypot.*) 22; *Adumbr. In 1 John* 1, 1; *Fragm.* 25 (II. Πασχά); Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* V 11, 2; VI 13, 2. For these possible references to Pantaenus, see André Méhat, *Étude sur les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 45; Pierre Nautin, “Pantène,” in *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* (T.D. Mosconas, ed.; Alexandria: Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie, 1953), 145–152; André Méhat, art. “Pantène,” *DSP* 12 (1983), 159–161. For a review of the sources on Pantaenus, see A. von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896–1904), 1.291–296.

¹³ *Ecl.* 27. See also R.B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Liberalism* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1914), 179.

moreover, a keen interest in literature, whether Greek, Jewish or Christian. He offers a virtually inexhaustible supply of quotations, which are sometimes fragments of otherwise lost works.¹⁴ It is clear from his elegant style and the content of his discourses that both he and his readers must have been members of a highly literate elite.¹⁵

Julius Africanus dates Clement's stay in Alexandria to the rule of the emperor Commodus.¹⁶ Clement himself uses the emperor's death in 192 CE as the final point of a long and elaborate chronology.¹⁷ There are a few other internal references to possible historical events, such as a fire in Alexandria and persecutions.¹⁸ In 202/203 Clement left Alexandria, perhaps to avoid persecution. He may have gone to Palestine (as Pierre Nautin argued) or to Cappadocia (as tradition has it).¹⁹ His lifespan is tentatively dated about 150 to 215 CE.

ACROBATS IN ANCIENT SOURCES

After this brief review of methodological issues and the scanty historical and social data on Clement, it becomes more possible to assess the literary and historical value of Clement's passage about the acrobats. Other texts about acrobats and their skills should also be reviewed in order to determine to what extent Clement's treatment of the acrobats represents a literary *topos* and to what extent it reflects his own sentiments.

¹⁴ See Anniewies van den Hoek, "Techniques of Quotation in Clement of Alexandria. A View of Ancient Literary Techniques," *VChr* L/3, (1996): 223–243.

¹⁵ William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

¹⁶ Sextus Julius Africanus, *Chronographiae, Fragm.* 52, in Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum* (ed. Bekker; 2 vols.; Bonnae: Weberi, 1838–1839), I: 441.

¹⁷ The chronology begins with the creation of the world and ends with contemporary events. Clement is particularly meticulous when he arrives at Roman imperial times, which are important for his calculations because of the birth of Christ. As on a Roman epitaph, he not only indicates the years but also months and days of these imperial reigns, which range from Augustus to Commodus. Eventually this will earn Clement the title of "Clemens Historicus" in medieval lexica; see Suda, *Lexicon*, kappa 1778: Κ λ ή μ η ς, ἱστορικός· ἔγραψε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτοκράτορας· Commodus, who, according to Clement, reigns 12 years, 9 months and 5 days, represents the end of world history, which began with Adam and Eve. This chronology appears in the first book of his *Stromateis* (I 144–147), which indicates that the book must date at or slightly after that time (192 CE).

¹⁸ *Paed.* II 73, 3; *Strom.* II 125, 2–3; IV 28, 5; 78, 1–2; VI 1, 4; 167, 4; VII 1, 1; VII 74, 3. See Méhat, *Étude*, 46–47.

¹⁹ Pierre Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des IIe et IIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961); Méhat, *Étude*, 47–49.



Fig. 1a. Attic red-figure hydria by Polygnotos (detail), ca. 450–440 BCE. From Nola. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 81398.

In Classical times, acrobats appeared at Greek symposia, along with many other kinds of entertainers. Xenophon, who like Plato was a pupil of Socrates, reports such amusements in his *Symposium*. After the tables of the party had been removed, a troupe of performers enters. First a girl plays the flute beautifully; then another girl both dances and performs astonishing feats of agility. As Xenophon tells it: “after this a ring was brought in with upright swords all around; the dancer turned somersaults into the swords and out over them again continuously, so that the onlookers feared that she might suffer something, but she accomplished these things confidently and safely.”²⁰

²⁰ Xenophon, *Symposium* 2, 11: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κύκλος εἰσηγέχθη περίμεστος ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν. εἰς οὖν ταῦτα ἡ ὀρχηστρίς ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὥστε οἱ μὲν θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τι πάθῃ, ἡ δὲ θαρρύντως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ταῦτα διεπράττετο.

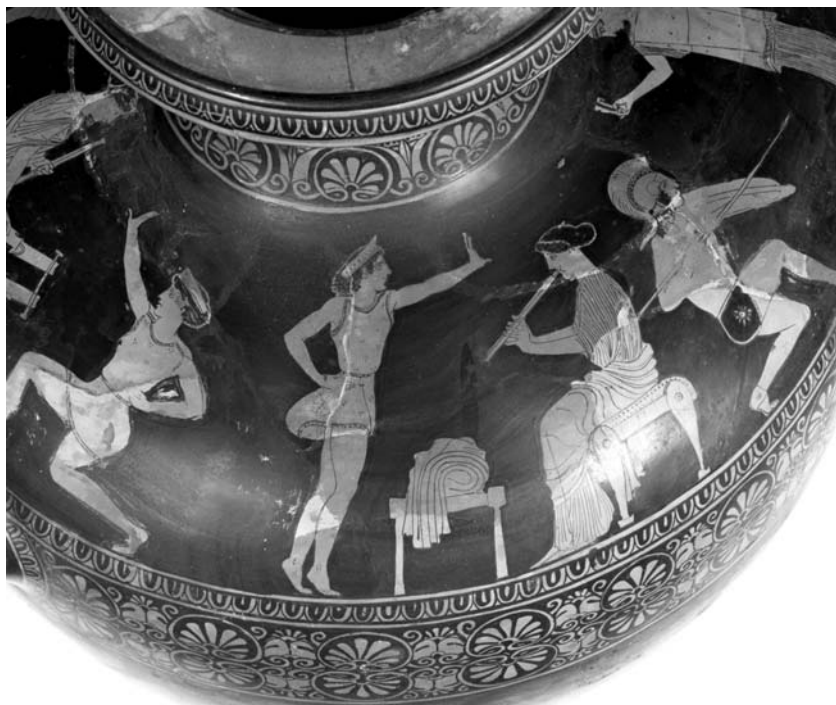


Fig. 1b. Attic red-figure hydria by Polygnotos (detail), ca. 450–440 BCE. From Nola. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 81398.

These entertainments, complete to the swordplay, are depicted on vases and terracottas made in Greece and southern Italy from the fifth to the third centuries BCE.²¹ Representations of female flutists are too frequent to merit discussion. Female acrobats diving over swords are more rare but clearly had a historical reality. They evidently were a staple of the ancient entertainment industry (figs. 1–3, pls. 22–23). A mid-fifth-century Athenian water jar

²¹ Dwora Gilula, "Entertainment at Xenophon's *Symposium*," *Athenaeum* 90 (2002): 207–213. C.W. Dearden, "Pots, Tumblers, and Phlyax Vases," in A. Griffiths, ed., *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama (in honour of E.W. Handley)* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 1995), 81–86. Alfred Schäfer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposium* (Mainz: Zabern, 1997). Mark I. Davies, "The Suicide of Ajax: A Bronze Etruscan Statuette from the Käppeli Collection," *Antike Kunst* 14 (1971): 148–157. Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, "Convivial Spaces: Dining and Entertainment in the Roman Villa," *JRA* 9 (1996): 66–80. Anneliese Kossatz-Deißmann, "Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel," *Jdl* 97 (1982): 65–90.



Fig. 1c. Attic red-figure hydria by Polygnotos (detail), ca. 450–440 BCE. From Nola. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 81398.

depicts a female flutist and a dancer who is about to leap over the swords, which are planted on the ground (fig. 1a). The setting is a dancing school, where such entertainers were trained for performances at symposia. The scene also includes a contortionist performing on a table with a wine cup. On the vase are also a second flute player, a castanet player, and a female dancer in armor. At the side, a man, presumably a prospective employer of the entertainers, leans on a stick and watches a *kythara* player and a girl who does a squatting dance.²² Another view of such a dancing school

²² S. Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1995), 23–25, 286, cat. P67, pl. 14A–D; Alfred Schäfer, *Unterhaltung*, 77, pls. 42–43.

appears on an Athenian phiale in Boston (pl. 23a).²³ In this case, several men are observing the various skills available. The tradition continues on vases and terracotta figurines of the fourth century BCE. On an Apulian plate, a dancer encumbered by a long dress somersaults over a sword (pl. 22).²⁴ The vegetation might suggest an outdoor setting. A dancer wearing only trunks performs the same trick on a Campanian lekythos (pl. 23b).²⁵ A terracotta dancer from the Greek island of Evvia somersaults into a half-circle of swords, recalling the portable ring of swords mentioned by Xenophon (fig. 2).²⁶ An Apulian lekythos shows the dancer in action within a group of swords (fig. 3).²⁷ As a variation on the theme, an acrobat turns her somersaults between the vessels of a symposium on an Apulian kalyx krater (pl. 24a).²⁸

Two terracottas from a tomb in Apollonia Pontike (Sozopolis, Bulgaria) add another hazard: they seem to somersault over ovens.²⁹ A nude terracotta contortionist performs on a potter's wheel.³⁰ An artist from Paestum puts a nude female acrobat on the comic stage, where she performs for Dionysus, who holds a *thyrsus* and a double flute (fig. 4). A pair of men wearing grotesque masks stare stupidly at her, as if to learn her tricks.³¹ A bronze statuette shows an acrobat doing the same kind of handstand.³² On a red-figure Campanian vase, a female acrobat is depicted standing on her hands next to a turntable; she seems to be about to somersault herself onto a stool in front of her (pl. 24b). On a pelike in Berlin, a female

²³ Schäfer, *Unterhaltung*, 78, pl. 44, 1.

²⁴ A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon/NY: Oxford University Press, 1978–1982), 2: 609, 21/46, pl. 234,1. Dearden, "Pots," 82, note 7.

²⁵ Davies, "The Suicide," 151, pl. 47,4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 151, pl. 47,6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 151, pl. 47,5.

²⁸ Unpublished. Generously called to our attention by Michael Padgett.

²⁹ Tomb 278: <http://records-of-fortune.tumblr.com/post/42397492863/thracian-tomb-objects-small-terracotta> (consulted 7 August 2013).

³⁰ Louvre, CA 459, from Greece. Available online: see http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=8327&langue=en; also <http://www.lessingimages.com/viewimage.asp?i=10010422+&cr=11&cl=1> (consulted 30 June 2013).

³¹ For the interpretation, see Dearden, "Pots," 83, pl. 1b. For the attribution, see Arthur Dale Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 198–199, fig. 340.

³² Private collection: Illustrated in connection with Noga Arikha, "Just Life in a Nut-shell: Humor as Common Sense," *The Philosophical Forum* 39/3 (Fall 2008): 303–314. Available online: see <http://www.nogaarikha.com/nogaarikha/page.php?l=en&p=article&c=arc&work=23> (consulted 8 April 2011).



Fig. 2. Greek terracotta statuette of a sword acrobat, 320–280 BCE. From Chalkis. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 13605.



Fig. 3. Apulian gnathian squat lekythos, 340–330 BCE.
From Ruvo. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, F3489.



Fig. 4. Paestan red-figure krater from the group of Louvre K240, c. 360 BCE. Museo Archeologico di Lipari 92.

contortionist balances herself on her forearms and shoots a bow and arrow with her feet (pl. 25a). The feat is performed rather frequently in modern times.³³ In Taranto, terracotta statuettes of female acrobats have been excavated in tombs of girls (figs. 5–6, pl. 25b).³⁴ Female acrobats, musicians, and dancers had a well-demarcated social role, subordinate to the party-givers and their guests. In most, if not all cases, they would have been slaves or perhaps courtesans.³⁵ Xenophon does not, however, draw any social distinctions in his description of the scene, and the acrobatics of the dancing girl initiate a discussion on courage. Socrates uses her as evidence that courage can be taught and practiced. He also points out that in spite of her sex, it is a *girl* who performs these bold and risky feats. The tone of the conversation is not only light and jesting but also positive; Socrates reminds his audience that the acrobatic performance shows that the female nature is in no way inferior to that of a man. He also suggests that the whole event may set an example of courage to the Athenians in general.³⁶ It might be noted that the tombs in Taranto with statuettes of acrobats belonged to high-status, probably unmarried girls. The statuettes probably evoked the realm of Dionysos, the symposium, and the theatre, but they may also have carried the connotations of female prowess and bravery.

A second passage comparable to Clement's comes from the Stoic philosopher Musonius Rufus, who worked in the second half of the first century CE.³⁷ Rufus was an inspiration for the Alexandrian, particularly in the *Pedagogue*, a work that gives much attention to behavior in daily life. Writers such as Musonius Rufus and Plutarch on one hand and Clement on the other

³³ More than one modern contorsionist has achieved this feat: Lila Stepanova: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FkxMM9mc1k>; http://www.gigsalad.com/brittany_walsh_portland; <http://ive-got-the-time.blogspot.com/2012/01/piano-juggler.html> (all consulted 30 June 2013).

³⁴ Daniel Graepler, *Tonfiguren im Grab. Fundkontexte hellenistischer Terrakotten aus der Nekropole von Tarent* (Biering & Brinkmann: Munich, 1997) 234–235, 256 (tomb 10), 265 (tomb 64), fig. 288–289. Female jewelry was found in both tombs. With thanks to Mary Jane Cryan who alerted us to the statuettes and to Francesco Pignatale who took the photographs.

³⁵ Gilula ("Entertainment," 209–210) points out that in contrast to the guests at the party the performers are nameless and are even called "puppets" or "marionettes" (literally "drawn by strings," *Symp.* 4, 54) by the Syracusan master of the troupe.

³⁶ At a later point (*Symp.* 7), Socrates says that such entertainments are not worthy of a *symposium*; see also Gilula, "Entertainment," 211. This does not, however, alter the admiration expressed by Xenophon's Socrates for the dancer's courage.

³⁷ Gaius Musonius Rufus, ca. 30–101 CE, from Volsinii (modern Bolsena).



Fig. 5–6. Terracotta statuettes of female acrobats from three tombs at Taranto, 4th century BCE. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Taranto.

had much in common in their philosophical exhortations addressed to the lettered elite. In describing his own moral code Clement is, in fact, dependent on Rufus' work, although he does not acknowledge his source.³⁸

Rufus brings up acrobats in a passage that concerns disdaining hardships for the sake of virtue and goodness. He claims that people will endure hardships for all sorts of reasons, good and bad. The trouble is justified in good causes, such as helping a friend, benefiting one's city, or defending women and children; best of all, however, is simply to achieve a state of personal goodness and self-control, which no one could attain without hardship. Acrobats represent those who undergo hardship and danger in pursuit of lesser goals. In contrast to Xenophon, the performers are male, and no dancers are included. Rufus calls them θαυματοποιοί, literally "wonder-workers," and speaks of their performances with admiration: "but acrobats submit themselves to such difficult situations and put their very lives at risk; some turn somersaults into swords, others walk ropes at great height, and others fly through the air like birds; one misstep means their death, and all these things they do for a small pay; shall we then not bear to suffer hardship for the sake of complete happiness?"³⁹

Basically the argument is the same as in Xenophon's passage: in their risky activities the acrobats set examples for others to follow, not literally so much as metaphorically or morally, in acts of courage (for Xenophon) or self discipline (for Rufus). As in the passage of Xenophon, Rufus' tone is positive; there seem to be no denigrating comments about the status of the performers. There are some variants as well: in Rufus' description the acrobats receive a sex change; the female acrobat-dancer at the Greek symposium becomes a multitude of male performers.⁴⁰ A new feature in

³⁸ See Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Le Pédagogue [par] Clément d'Alexandrie* (3 vols; SC I [70], II [108], III [158]; Paris: Éditions du Cerf), I [70]: 83.

³⁹ Musonius Rufus, *Dissertationum a Lucio digestarum reliquiae*, Discourse 7: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρα θαυματοποιοὶ δύσκολα οὕτως ὑφίστανται πράγματα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν παραβάλλονται τὴν ἑαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστῶντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κάλων μετέωροι βαδίζοντες, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ὄρνεα πετόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὧν τὸ σφάλμα θάνατός ἐστιν· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα δρῶσι μικροῦ χάριν μισθοῦ, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἀνεξέμεθα ταλαιπωρεῖν ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας ὅλης;

⁴⁰ The gender of the acrobats can be either male or female in Roman times. Athenaeus, who is contemporary with Clement, writes about male ithyphallic dancers and naked female acrobats, who perform tumbling acts and blow fire from their mouths; see *Deipnosophistae* IV 129: μεθ' οὓς εἰσῆλθον ἰθύφαλλοι καὶ σκληροπαῖνται καὶ τινες καὶ θαυματουργοὶ γυναῖκες εἰς ξίφη κυβιστῶσαι καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκρίπτεν γυναικί.

Rufus' account is mention of the small remuneration that the acrobats receive. This may be a Stoic element, since Seneca also mentions low pay in a reference to tightrope walkers and others trained to perform difficult physical feats.⁴¹

Acrobats continued to be subjects for artists as well as writers in Roman times. A rather rare type of bronze statuette presents a slender but muscular young man doing handstands. These small figures, which probably began to be produced in Hellenistic times, hold their legs in a vertical position, rather than bent, as did the earlier female acrobats. They wear shorts and a close-fitting cap, somewhat like those worn by Greek athletes.⁴² Examples are known from Erment, Egypt,⁴³ the Roman city of Volubilis, Morocco (figs. 7–8),⁴⁴ as well as from several museums and collections in Europe.⁴⁵ No setting is evident for these displays of agility. A marble sculpture of the first century BCE or CE in the British Museum, however, shows a male African acrobat in a somewhat similar vertical position, and in this case the context is evident since the figure is poised on a crocodile (fig. 9). This improbable kind of acrobatic entertainment was believed to take place on the Nile. Pliny records that the Tentyritae, a tribe of people living on that river, were adept at diving onto the backs of crocodiles.⁴⁶ Another marble sculpture with the acrobatic African in the Museo Nazionale Romano was made as a fountain

⁴¹ Seneca, *De Ira* II 12, 5: Mille sunt alia in quibus pertinacia impedimentum omne transcendit ostenditque nihil esse difficile cuius sibi ipsa mens patientiam indiceret. Istis quos paulo ante rettuli aut nulla tam pertinacis studii aut non digna merces fuit—quid enim magnificum consequitur ille qui meditatus est per intentos funes ire, qui sarcinae ingenti ceruices supponere, qui somno non summittere oculos, qui penetrare in imum mare?—et tamen ad finem operis non magno auctoramento labor peruenit. The context here is endurance.

⁴² *Le sport dans la Grèce antique*, (ed. D. Vanhove; Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts Bruxelles, 1992), cat. nos. 67, 140, 252, 281.

⁴³ Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1949), cat. no. 144.

⁴⁴ The portrayal is negative; their faces look barbaric, and their caps are like those of nurses or Hermaphrodites: Archaeological Museum, Rabat, Morocco, H: 10,5 and 8,8 cm. Inv. Vol. 186 and Vol. 198 (new inv. nos: 99.1.15.1132 and 99.1.12.1323).

⁴⁵ Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, vol. 2 (Paris: Leroux, 1908), 404, numbers 4–7. For an example on the art market: Christie's New York, *Antiquities*, 12 June 2002, lot 124. <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-roman-bronze-acrobat-circa-1st-century-3923797-details.aspx?pos=82&intObjectID=3923797&sid=> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁴⁶ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, 8, 38, 92–93; cited in P. Higgs in S. Walker and P. Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth* (London: British Museum, 2001), cat. No. 360.

with a spout coming out of the acrobat's mouth (fig. 10).⁴⁷ The spout evokes the idea that the African is spitting out a mouthful of Nile water after his dive onto the crocodile.

Exemplary acrobats appear in another Stoic author, Epictetus, who studied with Musonius Rufus.⁴⁸ Speaking about moral practice and exercise, Epictetus emphasizes that training should be natural and should suit its purpose: "We should not do our exercises through things that are unnatural and unbelievable, for then we who proclaim to be philosophers will not differ in any way from acrobats. For it is difficult to walk on a rope, and not only difficult but also dangerous! Should we for this reason also dare to practice walking on a rope or setting up palm trees or embracing statues? By no means! Not everything difficult and dangerous is suitable for exercise, but only that which is serviceable to accomplish our task successfully."⁴⁹ For Epictetus excessive hardships serve no purpose in a training directed toward achieving useful objectives. The purpose is to achieve what we desire and escape what we seek to avoid. In this practical, balanced approach, exhibitionistic, risky, or difficult training, such as acrobatics or climbing palm trees, need play no part. The idea of embracing a statue is a reference to Diogenes, who reportedly engaged in this activity in the nude while the weather was cold as an exercise to harden himself.⁵⁰ Some cautionary though not overtly negative overtones about acrobats emerge in Epictetus' passage; philosophers should avoid putting themselves in a position to be compared to acrobats. The issue may not, however, be necessarily one of social status but rather avoidance of unnecessary and exhibitionistic activities. This practical attitude is a virtual rejection of Xenophon and Musonius Rufus, who admired the misplaced risk-taking of acrobats and saw them as essentially positive models.

The last author to mention in this context is Artemidorus, an older contemporary of Clement. It is always entertaining to read through his

⁴⁷ M. Barbera and R. Paris, in *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme* (ed. A. La Regina; Milan: Electa, 1998), 116.

⁴⁸ Epictetus lived 55–135 CE.

⁴⁹ Epictetus, *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* III 12, 2 (Περὶ ἀσκήσεως): Τὰς ἀσκήσεις οὐ δεῖ διὰ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καὶ παραδόξων ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοι τῶν θαυματοποιῶν οὐδὲν διοίσομεν οἱ λέγοντες φιλοσοφεῖν. δύσκολον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν καὶ οὐ μόνον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον. τοῦτου ἕνεκα δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς μελετᾶν ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν ἢ φοίνικα ἰστάνειν ἢ ἀνδριάντας περιλαμβάνειν; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἔστι τὸ δύσκολον πᾶν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ἀσκήσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσφορον τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐκπονηθῆναι.

⁵⁰ See W.A. Oldfather, *Epictetus: The Discourses as Reported by Arrian* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), II: 80–81, note 2, referring to Diogenes Laertius 6, 23.



Fig. 7–8. Roman bronze acrobats, possibly used as furniture ornaments, 1st to 3rd century CE. From Volubilis. Archaeological Museum, Rabat, Morocco, 99.1.15.1132 and 99.1.12.1323.



Fig. 9. Marble sculpture of an African acrobat, 1st century BCE or CE. British Museum, London, GR 1805.7–3.6.



Fig. 10. Marble sculpture of an African acrobat, 1st century CE. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome, I1 109; 40809.

interpretation of dreams (*Oneirocritica*) for both ancient approaches to unconscious phenomena and for a record of ancient manners and concerns. At times his dreams reflect surprisingly concrete situations of ordinary life. Artemidorus brings up dreams about tumbling over swords and provides very specific interpretations of them: “playing with hoops, dancing a sword-dance, or doing somersaults do not portend harm for those accustomed to such activities, but for others they signify that they will endure extreme danger. Seeing a trapeze artist also has the same meaning.”⁵¹ He then goes on to give other examples of the performing arts that have similar implications. Artemidorus’ comments show that entertainers with swords were still alive and well in the later second century, if not in reality then at least in dreams.

CLEMENT’S TREATMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL THEME

By now it is evident that there was a long literary background for Clement’s evocation of acrobats vaulting over swords, and his treatment of the theme can to a considerable degree be considered a *topos*. The subject was proverbial from classical Greek times onward and was incorporated in the Stoic ethos of the Roman period. Ancient art, however, confirms that acrobats were a real and evolving form of performance. The historical substrate for comments about acrobats still seems to have existed in his time. Clement, moreover, puts his own personal spin on the traditional theme of the acrobats. Earlier writers had viewed the image of the acrobat from different perspectives than he did. By and large earlier presentations were relatively positive. They implied admiration for the hard-won, if misplaced skill of these performers. Epictetus is less positive—he saw no need to engage in unnecessary efforts or risks as did acrobats—but his aversion seems to be toward philosophical acrobatics rather than physical performances per se. It comes therefore as a surprise that Clement takes such a scornful tone when he speaks about acrobats. He uses their low economic standing against them rather cruelly, at least viewed from a modern perspective. Musonius Rufus had previously referred to their low pay, but Clement turns it into “miserable pay,” as if low pay was related to low human value.⁵² His verbiage is

⁵¹ Translation Robert J. White. Artemidorus, *Oneirocriticon* I, 76: τροχοπαικτεῖν δὲ ἢ μαχαίραις περιδινεῖσθαι ἢ ἐκκυβιστᾶν τοῖς μὲν ἔθος ἔχουσιν οὐ πονηρόν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλάσαι κίνδυνον προσημαίνει. Robert J. White, *Artemidorus: The Interpretation of Dreams* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975), 56.

⁵² Musonius Rufus: μικροῦ χάριν μισθοῦ. Clement: ἐπὶ λυπρῷ τῷ μισθῷ.

negative throughout. Clement grants the acrobats some skill, but he considers it fraudulent; the verb *κακοτεχνέω* has strong negative overtones: to use base arts, deal fraudulently, or to falsify. Thus in spite of its stereotypical elements, Clement's passage reveals a personal perspective. He may take the traditional components of the acrobat example, but he gives them his own social imprint.⁵³

How should we view Clement's seemingly arrogant attitude toward the underprivileged performers and their low wages? Was he a snob? Did he pander to the rich? Was it the low social status of the performers themselves that aroused such negativity? Or was it perhaps their engagement in the entertainment business, of which Clement as a Christian philosopher did not approve? To gain some insight into these matters we will review Clement's attitude toward wealth and poverty and his relationship with the elite from a broader perspective than this single passage offers. Two works are especially relevant in this context; the *Pedagogue* (in particular, books II and III) and another short treatise that discusses the role of wealthy Christians, entitled *Quis Dives Salvetur*. Both of these works touch in different ways on the social and cultural habits of the wealthy and reveal Clement's own position on these issues.

WEALTH AND POVERTY IN OTHER WORKS OF CLEMENT

Although it is only possible to sketch a few broad outlines in the time available, a little-known study by the Dutch scholar P.J.G. Gussen offers an important guide to Clement's attitude.⁵⁴ Gussen approached "Life in Alexandria, according to the cultural and historical data in the *Pedagogue*," the title of his book. The method that he used to extract historical information is relevant

⁵³ For the concept of work in Roman times, see Francesco M. de Robertis, *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano* (Bari: Adriatica editrice, 1963). J. Macqueron, *Le travail des hommes libres dans l'antiquité romaine* (Aix-en-Provence: Centre régional de documentation pédagogique, 1964). Paul Veyne, "Work and Leisure," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 1: *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (ed. Paul Veyne; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 117–137.

⁵⁴ P.J.G. Gussen, *Het leven in Alexandrië volgens de cultuurhistorische gegevens in de Paedagogus (Boek II en III) van Clemens van Alexandrië* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955). This study was mentioned favorably by H.-I. Marrou in his edition of the *Pedagogue* in *Sources Chrétiennes* but has been seldom quoted thereafter, probably because of the inconvenience of being written in Dutch.

for our inquiry at present, since the problems the author faced on a large scale are comparable to the questions that come up in the single passage about the acrobats.

In the *Pedagogue* Clement shows in rather concrete terms how Christians should conduct their lives and what they should avoid. For contrast, Clement takes on the role of a social critic familiar with the lifestyles of the rich and famous in contemporary Alexandria; in highly literary style he ridicules excesses, such as lavish dinner parties, immoderate eating and drinking habits, luxurious furnishings, extravagant clothing, and ostentatious jewelry. Following the style of the diatribe, Clement often exaggerates his observations for dramatic effect; he pokes fun at local customs and makes use of irony and sarcasm. As Gussen has shown, these descriptions, which can rise to the level of caricature, are comparable to the rhetoric of other ancient writers, such as Musonius Rufus, Plutarch or Athenaeus, just to name a few, and Clement shares many quotations with them. Gussen's analysis offers an impressive effort to identify not only the traditional but also the original elements in Clement's descriptions. These more authentic personal observations by Clement offer a significant view into daily life in Alexandria.

Although scholars at present might assess some of the materials differently, in general Gussen's approach seems sound, since he was fully aware of the potential traps of literary *topoi* and other rhetorical tools. He also draws archeological material into the equation, comparing Clement's descriptions of artifacts, such as table ware and drinking vessels with objects known to have come from Alexandria or otherwise known to have existed in Clement's time. We should keep in mind, of course, that the *Pedagogue* was no road map or guidebook to cultural and social customs of Roman Alexandria. It was meant to be a course on morality,⁵⁵ which also happened to give (at times colorful) information about daily life. After all, the aim of the *Pedagogue* was to have its readers *not* practice the behavior so eloquently described. The content of the *Pedagogue* again shows clearly that its intended audience was highly literate and of considerable wealth. Who else would have appreciated the many cultured quotes not only from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but also from less famous poets, such as Semonides, Teleclides, Cephisodorus, Nicostratus, or Alexis? Who else would have been amused by all the literary intricacies and puns, for which modern readers

⁵⁵ See Marrou, *Pédagogue*, I [70]: 86–89.

have to use large dictionaries or electronic tools to extract their meaning? It could only be an elite public with refined taste for the *belles lettres*.

The discussion of wealth in the *Pedagogue* is mainly in the context of its abuse. Clement applies his full rhetorical talent to fulminate against the abuse of resources for the wrong purpose—as he sees it. The issue of wealth and poverty comes up, for example, when Clement describes the ostentatious display of goods in the baths by rich women who bring their gold-plated chairs and precious vessels to show off their prosperity. He almost incidentally remarks that “poor women who do not take part in such pomp still share the same baths.”⁵⁶ This contrast prompts him to render the harsh critique that the filth of wealth provides cover for a bad reputation.

In his critique, however, Clement is not condemning from the outside; he is speaking as an insider providing advice to the wealthy. He stresses the point that wealth is given to the rich for the sake of sharing, as when he writes: “One should engage in wealth in a dignified way and share humanely, not in bad taste or boastfully ...”⁵⁷ The focus here is clearly not on the poor but on the rich and their social obligations; it is not coincidental that Clement uses the Greek word φιλανθρωπῶς in this context.⁵⁸ What shines through is the idea that sharing is part of a social system, in which the rich and the poor are players; they both have their established positions and need one another in a system of social patronage.⁵⁹ This becomes even clearer in another passage, in which Clement speaks about poverty as “thrifty” or “miserly.” He quotes a text from Proverbs (Prov 10:4), which says that “poverty humiliates a person,” and interprets it as follows: “the biblical text means thrifty poverty, which makes the rich poor in sharing, as if they did not possess anything.”⁶⁰

It is hard for a modern reader to assess the reality behind such a pronouncement, since it seems far removed from modern ideas of social justice and solidarity. In her book about poverty in the works of the Cappadocians, Susan Holman discusses recent scholarship on the cultural contextualization of early Christian poverty language. She points out that the under-

⁵⁶ *Paed.* III 31, 2–3: καὶ γὰρ αἱ πενόμεναι τῆς πομπῆς μὴ μεταλαμβάνουσαι τῶν ἴσων κοινωνοῦσι λουτρῶν. Ἐχει δὲ ἄρα ὁ ῥύπος τῆς περιουσίας βλασφημίας περιβολὴν πολλήν.

⁵⁷ *Paed.* III 34, 1: Πλούτου τοίνυν μεταληπτέον ἀξιολόγως καὶ μεταδοτέον φιλανθρωπῶς, οὐ βαναύσως οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικῶς, ... See also *Paed.* II 14, 6; II 120, 5–6; III 35, 5.

⁵⁸ See also *Strom.* II 82, 3 (in a quotation from Philo) and *Strom.* II 86, 3.

⁵⁹ See Susan R. Holman, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 11.

⁶⁰ *Paed.* III 30, 4: «Πενία δέ», φησὶν, «ἄνδρα ταπεινοί» τὴν φειδωλίαν πενίαν λέγει, καθ' ἣν οἱ πλούσιοι πένονται μετὰδόσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες.

standing and identification of ancient views of poverty largely depend on vocabulary and categorization. Some form of social assistance did in fact exist, but, as Holman indicates, this was primarily understood in terms of civic identity and civic order.⁶¹ The language in the passage above may be a case in point, since Clement views the sharing of wealth as a civic if not religious duty. He clearly does not reflect on charity from the viewpoint of the recipients but of the donors.

Clement's most extensive discussion of the wealthy occurs in his *Quis Dives Salvetur*. This is a small treatise, possibly a stylized homily on Mark 10:17–31, in which Clement addresses the difficulties in interpreting the gospel command: "Go, sell whatever you have, and give to the poor!" His interpretations mark a notable landmark in reconciling an economic elite with a Christian community. As Elizabeth Clark remarks: "Clement gladly widens the needle's eye to welcome the rich who generously give ..."⁶² Clement is quick to point out that Mark 10 should not be understood in too literal a sense, but according to its hidden meaning. In this view the exhortation to liquidate one's assets refers allegorically not so much to actual money as to the desire for money and immoderate attachment to it. Clement, who is always eager to suppress desires of any kind, argues that the inner workings of the soul are more important than the human condition of poverty or wealth.

In Clement's view, there is no benefit to being poor. He challenges the idea that the poor will be blessed solely because of their poverty. As he puts it: "It is not great or enviable to be without wealth except on account of life. In this way those who have nothing at all but are destitute and beggars for their daily needs, the poor who are cast out on the streets though they are ignorant of God and God's justice would be most blessed and most dear to God and the sole possessors of eternal life, simply because they are utterly destitute and live without necessities of life and lack even the most minimal means."⁶³ He goes on to argue that there is nothing new in renouncing one's wealth and giving freely to the poor; Greek philosophers of earlier times

⁶¹ Holman, *Hungry Are Dying*, 10–12. Holman refers, in particular, to the study of Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (London: Penguin Press, 1990), 116.

⁶² Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, 173.

⁶³ *Quis div.* 11: οὕτε γὰρ μέγα καὶ ζηλωτὸν τὸ τηνάλλως ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς (οὕτω μὲν γ' ἂν ᾗσαν οἱ μὴδὲν ἔχοντες μηδαμῇ, ἀλλὰ ἔρημοι καὶ μεταίται τῶν ἐφ' ἡμέραν, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐρριμμένοι πτωχοί, «ἀγνοοῦντες» δὲ θεὸν καὶ «δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ», κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἄκρως ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀμνησθεῖν βίου καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων σπανίζειν μακαριώτατοι καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι καὶ μόνοι ζωὴν ἔχοντες αἰώνιον) οὕτε καινὸν τὸ ἀπείπασθαι πλοῦτον καὶ χαρίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ...

had done this as well. The biblical injunction, however, points to something new that has not been done before, something greater and more divine. The real intention of the Markan command is to strip the soul and the human condition of its underlying passions and root out all alien thoughts from the mind.

In practical terms Clement reminds the wealthy that they are not free merely to enjoy their wealth in private tranquility. As in the *Pedagogue* he points out that their prosperity should be used for the good of others. He maintains that rich people should set aside selfishness and spend freely on their poorer brothers, who in turn would intercede with God for their benefactors. Wealth in the hands of Christians has a societal benefit: if all Christians were to give up their possessions, they would not be able to support the poor.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION: BACK TO THE ACROBATS

Returning one last time to the acrobats with whom we began, it seems evident that Clement's scorn for them is not entirely directed against their poverty, although their low wages do them no credit in his eyes. Clement's negativity may reveal an element of snobbery; he may reflect the traditional preference for intellectual over physical activity. A reading of the *Pedagogue*, however, makes it clear that his scorn for the acrobats is primarily based on

⁶⁴ Two studies have made important contributions to the understanding of *Quis Dives Salvetur* and its social and cultural environment. Louis William Countryman's study of the rich Christian in the early church makes Clement's work the centerpiece; see L.W. Countryman *The Rich Christian in the Church of the Early Empire: Contradictions and Accommodations* (New York/Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1980). Countryman analyses early Christian attitudes toward wealth, almsgiving, the religious value of wealth, and the danger riches pose to their possessor and to the church. The author shows that although mixed emotions existed in early Christianity toward wealth, the abandonment of property never became a norm for Christians. Countryman points out the basic problem of the church assigning a central role to rich Christians in supporting its institutions and providing for its finances; at the same time, however, it denied rich Christians traditional rewards in return for their beneficences. The second study is an Oxford dissertation (still unpublished) by David O'Brien, who offers an extensive literary and rhetorical analysis of *Quis Dives Salvetur*, and approaches the subject matter from the viewpoint of patronage and friendship. The author makes considerable effort to place Clement's discourse within the ambience of other Graeco-Roman philosophical and cultural conventions. Particularly interesting in O'Brien's interpretation of Clement is the idea that the 'poor' have a privileged spiritual status on account of their *askesis* and *oikeiosis* and not because of the mere fact of their poverty. The notion that Clement's approach can be seen as a precursor of the later 'poor' holy man who acts as a spiritual patron is important from the point of view of the study of asceticism and spirituality.

the negative realm of society that they belonged to. Clement the ethicist was no friend of lavish banquets and elaborate entertainments, which he considered prodigal luxury, invented for those who waste their time and misuse their resources. In his view, these events are not only extravagant, disorderly, and lawless but even worse, hotbeds of desire and promiscuity.⁶⁵ Wealth should be directed wisely to the right causes and should be shared. The needy should be supported; not only biblical injunctions but also civic duty teaches this.

Clement's attitude toward wealth cannot be explained in simple terms, for it has many aspects, not only social and cultural, but also moral and biblical.⁶⁶ It was, however, ultimately the intellectual and economic elite with whom our Alexandrian identified himself. His elitist language combined with criticism of misused wealth was intended to induce the wealthy to accept his version of the new religion.

⁶⁵ *Paed.* III 75–77.

⁶⁶ Only a few generations after Clement the church clearly took a negative stance toward actors and theatrical performers, who were required to abandon their profession if they wished to be baptized; see Cyprian, *Ep.* 2 to Eucratius, quoted in Dorothea R. French, *Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382–525* (Ph.D. diss., The University of California at Berkeley, 1985), 182–184.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CELSUS' COMPETING HEROES: JONAH, DANIEL, AND THEIR RIVALS*

Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

In Origen's *Contra Celsum*, Celsus, the pagan critic of Christianity, displays his familiarity with a selection of biblical heroes who were to have durable popularity in Christian art. Since Celsus was writing around 170 CE, a decade or two before the birth of that art, it is worth investigating the sources in Jewish and Christian literary and worship traditions that could have called these heroes to his attention. Celsus also proposes alternative heroes from non-biblical traditions as subjects of worship, and some of these mythological or secular figures did, in fact, compete effectively for attention with biblical heroes before and long after Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire.

COMPETING HEROES IN A PASSAGE FROM CELSUS

In the later second century, when Celsus staged his attacks on Christian beliefs, he presented a well-reasoned defense of ancient Greco-Roman traditions.¹ His work the *Ἀληθὺς Λόγος* has been lost, but a large part of it was

* Originally published in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (ed. Albert Frey and Rémi Gounelle; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007), 307–339, pls. 1–19. The sections on the visual arts have been extensively revised.

¹ For general works on Celsus and *Contra Celsum* see: M. Edwards, M. Goodman, and S. Price, eds., *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); L. Perrone, ed., *Discorsi di verità: paganesimo, giudaismo e cristianesimo a confronto nel Contro Celso di Origene*. Atti del II Convegno del Gruppo italiano di ricerca su “Origene e la tradizione alessandrina” (Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1998); R. Goulet, “Celsus,” *DPhA*, 1994; M. Fédou, *Christianisme et religions*

preserved in Origen's rebuttal some seventy years later.² Celsus' words themselves, especially the longer quotations, although cut and pasted by Origen, provide substantial insight into his line of thought. Celsus enhanced his attacks with a variety of arguments that are religious, popular, and philosophical in nature.³ One of the main targets of his polemic was the Christian belief that Jesus was a god.⁴ Although Celsus might have agreed in principle with the idea that humans could reach divine status, he thought that Jesus's life as a low-grade magician and, particularly, his death as a criminal disqualified him from the start.⁵ In Celsus' view, divine qualification might have been better awarded to other, more dignified heroes, many of whose names were readily available in mythological stories and popular worship.

Viewed from a broader perspective, Celsus saw the Christians as fraudulent and their biblical stories as imitations, thus reversing the Christian apologetic argument of the "theft of the Greeks." In his opinion, many biblical stories had been previously and better expressed in ancient myths. Phaeton was the antecedent of Sodom and Gomorrah,⁶ Deucalion that of

païennes dans le Contre Celse d'Origène (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988); R.L. Wilken, *The Christians As the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); K. Pichler, *Streit um das Christentum: der Angriff des Kelsos und die Antwort des Origenes* (Frankfurt am Main/Bern: P. Lang, 1980); and C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos: die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1955). See further: J.G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); C. Schulze, *Celsus*, (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2001); and C. Reemts, *Vernunftgemässer Glaube: die Begründung des Christentums in der Schrift des Origenes gegen Celsus* (Bonn: Borengässer, 1998).

² For the Greek text of *Contra Celsum*, see M. Borret, *Origène. Contre Celse* (5 vols.; SC 132, 136, 147, 150, 227; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1:1967; 2:1968; 3–4:1969; 5:1976; rev. ed.; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2005–). For translations (with introductions and notes), see H. Chadwick, *Origen. Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953). H.E. Lona, *Die "Wahre Lehre" des Kelsos* (Freiburg: Herder, 2005); P. Ressa, *Origene. Contro Celso* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2000); and P. Koetschau, *Origen. Gegen Kelsos* (ausgewählt und bearbeitet von K. Pichler; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1986).

³ On Celsus and Greek philosophy see H. Dörrie, *Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes c. Celsum 7, 42ff.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967); H. Dörrie, "Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der Christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes c. Celsum 4, 42ff.," *NAWG Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1967/2): 19–55; reprinted in H. Dörrie, *Platonica minora* (München: W. Fink, 1976); and J. Rist, "The Importance of Stoic Logic in the *Contra Celsum*," in H.J. Blumenthal and R.A. Markus, eds., *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong* (London: Variorum, 1981).

⁴ Origen, *C. Celsum* II 9.

⁵ See Wilken, *Christians*, 120.

⁶ Origen, *C. Celsum* IV 21.

Noah.⁷ Moses misunderstood the stories of Bellerophon and Pegasus.⁸ The parable of the camel and the needle's eye was borrowed from Plato, who had said that it was impossible for a good man to be exceptionally rich.⁹ In their adaptations Christians had corrupted ancestral traditions and stories, but most of all they were wrong in their view of God and their excessive adoration of Jesus.¹⁰

In a passage of book seven, Celsus expressed his disdain for the Christian hero Jesus with great fervor and proposed some alternatives:

How much better would it have been for you, since you are eager to make innovations, to become partisans of someone else among those who died a noble death and succeeded in becoming legendary like gods. Well, if Herakles, Asklepios, and others held in honor long ago did not please you, you had Orpheus, a man, as all agree, with a divine spirit who also died a violent death *himself*; but perhaps he had already been chosen by others. You may then take Anaxarchos, who, when thrown into a mortar and most brutally beaten, showed a noble contempt for his punishment, saying "beat on, beat the pouch of Anaxarchos, for you don't beat Anaxarchos himself"; this is the voice of a truly divine spirit! But already some natural philosophers were ahead of you in following his guidance. Epiktetos then? When his master twisted his leg, he said smiling and undisturbed "you are breaking it" and after he broke it, he said "did I not say that you were breaking it"? What equivalent word did your God utter when he was punished? If you had put forward the Sibyl, whom some of you consult, as the child of God, it would have been more reasonable; but now you have dared to interpolate many blasphemous things into her verses randomly and regard someone as a god who lived a most infamous life and died a most miserable death. How much more suitable than him (Jesus) would Jonah have been for you with his gourd, or Daniel escaped from the beasts, or others whose stories are even more miraculous than these.¹¹

⁷ Ibid., IV 11; IV 41.

⁸ Ibid., VI 49.

⁹ Ibid., VI 16.

¹⁰ Ibid., VII 53.

¹¹ Ibid., VII 53: Μετά ταῦτα τοίνυν, πρὸς ἃ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπηγνήσαμεν, φησὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Πόσῳ δ' ἦν ὑμῖν ἄμεινον, ἐπειδὴ γε καινοτομήσαι τι ἐπεθυμήσατε, περὶ ἄλλων τινὰ τῶν γενναίως ἀποθανόντων καὶ θεῖον μῦθον δέξασθαι δυναμένων σπουδάσαι; Φέρε, εἰ μὴ ἦρεσκεν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ οἱ πάλαι δεδοξασμένοι, Ὅρφέα εἴχετε, ἄνδρα ὁμολογουμένως ὅσιω χρησάμενον πνεύματι καὶ αὐτὸν βιαίως ἀποθανόντα. Ἄλλ' ἴσως ὑπ' ἄλλων προεῖληπτο. Ἀνάξαρχον γοῦν, ὃς εἰς ὄλμον ἐμβληθεὶς καὶ παρὰνομώτατα συντριβόμενος εὖ μάλα κατεφρόνει τῆς κολάσεως λέγων· «Πτίσσε, πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐ πτίσεις»· θεοῦ τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς πνεύματος ἢ φωνῆ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὖ φθάσαντές τινες ἠκολούθησαν φυσικοί. Οὐκοῦν Ἐπίκτητον; Ὃς τοῦ δεσπότης στρεβλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σκέλος ὑπομειδίων ἀνεκπλήκτως ἔλεγε· «Κατάσσεις», καὶ κατὰξαντος «Οὐκ ἔλεγον», εἶπεν, «ὅτι κατάσσεις»; Τί τοιοῦτον ὁ ὑμέτερος θεὸς κολαζόμενος ἐφθέγγετο; Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ Σίβυλλαν, ἥ χρώνται τινες ὑμῶν, εἰκότως ἂν μάλλον προσστήσασθε ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα· νῦν δὲ παρεγγράφειν μὲν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα εἰχὴ δύνασθε, τὸν δὲ βίῳ μὲν ἐπιρρητοτάτῳ θανάτῳ δὲ οἰκτίστῳ

Celsus has here assembled an unusual cast of characters around the theme of heroic suffering. First he referred to a group of mythological figures with one mortal and one divine parent who had died but then gained immortality: "Herakles, Asklepios and others." This is a tactic he had employed elsewhere; he frequently draws comparisons between the Greco-Roman hero cult and the cult of Jesus.¹² In this Celsus not only refers to the hero cult in general but also ties his comparison to more specific topics, such as the resurrection from the dead and the corruptibility of the flesh.¹³ Although Celsus cautiously admits that the transformation of Jesus's mortal body and the putting off of the flesh might qualify him as a god, he asks his readers why they would not thus prefer Herakles, Asklepios, or Dionysos instead?¹⁴ Orpheus is another staple in discussions of the resurrection of the flesh, because of his legendary return from Hades. He is also famous as a sage and inspired poet who suffered a violent death.¹⁵ In this capacity he is included in the league of heroic sufferers.

The next group—Anaxarchos and Epiktetos—belongs to a different category, that of heroic tales of philosophers. In book four of the *Stromateis*, Clement of Alexandria devoted some chapters to the same subject.¹⁶ Clement wrote this work some twenty years after Celsus' *Ἀληθῆς Λόγος*, and his apologetic responses may well reflect some of Celsus' points. These heroic stories of suffering sages have surfaced throughout Greek literature and have presented themselves in many forms and variants. They belong to the realm of literary legends rather than cult stories.

After demi-gods and heroic philosophers, the Sibyl appears as an odd third. Celsus' accusation that Christians interpolated the Sibylline verses seems justified not only in light of modern research but also of other ancient critiques.¹⁷ Although no admirer of the Sibyl, Origen denies Celsus' charges

χρησάμενον θεὸν τίθεσθε. Πόσω τοῦδε ἐπιτηδειότερος ἦν ὑμῖν Ἰωάννης «ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύντῃ» ἢ Δανιὴλ ὁ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ἢ οἱ τῶνδε ἔτι τερατωδέστεροι;

¹² Origen, *C. Celsum* III 22. For a comprehensive presentation of parallels made by ancient and modern authors between hero cults, savior cults, magicians, and Jesus, see Morton Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels, and Jesus," *JBL* 90/2 (1971): 174–199. We thank Richard Brilliant for calling this article to our attention.

¹³ Origen, *C. Celsum* II 55; III 42; VIII 41.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III 42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II 55.

¹⁶ Clement, *Strom.* IV 56–58.

¹⁷ See H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (ed. B.C. McGing; London/New York: Routledge, 1988), 155; also Chadwick, *Origen. Contra Celsum*, 312, n. 3; 440, n. 2.

vehemently. It is, however, an innovative and perhaps ironic move by Celsus to present the Sibyl rather than Jesus as the “child of God.” Elsewhere he refers to a specific group of followers of the Sibyl, called the *Sibyllists*, but it is unclear whether they are simply interpreters of the Sibylline books or a specific sect that founded itself on the authority of the prophetess.¹⁸ The existence of such a cult could explain the odd simile Celsus proposed between Jesus and the Sibyl. The only other mention of the term *Sibyllists* in Greek literature is in Plutarch.¹⁹ There they appear in the company of Chaldaeans and sacrificers, and are usually understood as *interpreters* of the Sibyl's books.

Celsus closes his list of alternative heroes with two examples taken from the traditions of his Jewish and Christian opponents. It is a final salvo that hits home: “How much more suitable than him [Jesus] would Jonah have been for you with [ἐπί] his gourd, or Daniel escaped from the beasts.” From the phrasing it is clear that Celsus not only knew *of* the Jonah story but also that he was familiar with a written text. The preposition ἐπί is awkward in Celsus' sentence but makes perfect sense in the biblical passage of the Jonah story itself: “and Jonah rejoiced with great joy over (ἐπί) the gourd.”²⁰

JONAH AND DANIEL

The appearance of Jonah and Daniel in close company is a surprising feature of Celsus' argument and worth further investigation. As is well known, the two prophets become a common fixture in later times in Christian prayers of intercession and in the visual arts. They appear together among other biblical heroes or as a triad when they are in the company of the Three Youths in the Fire.²¹ There are, however, only a few other literary sources

¹⁸ Origen, *C. Celsum* V 61.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Marius* 42, 7 (ed. K. Ziegler; *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 3, 1 [2nd ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1971]): ὑπεξέσθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν πόλιν. Ὀκτάβιον δὲ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ θύται τινὲς καὶ σιβυλλισταὶ πείσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατέσχον, ὥς εὖ γενησομένων.

²⁰ Jonah 4:6: καὶ ἔχαρη Ἰωνᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύνθῃ χαρὰν μεγάλην. M. Borret in the SC edition translates the awkward ἐπί in Celsus' passage as “under,” which reads better but stretches the Greek.

²¹ For biblical themes in early Christian Art, see E. Dinkler et al., in K. Weitzmann, *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1979), 396–512; R. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), 64–93; P. Prigent, *L'art des premiers chrétiens. L'héritage culturel et la foi nouvelle* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1995), esp. 159–223.

before Celsus that juxtapose Jonah and Daniel, with or without the Three Youths; the passage of Celsus therefore represents an important testimony to this tradition. Jonah by himself, of course, is a familiar figure in various Jewish and Christian contexts.²² One may only recall the motif of the *sign* of Jonah or the emblematic story of Jonah and the Ninevites. Jonah also represents a prefiguration of Christ and especially of Christ's descent into the Underworld as attested in the Gospel of Matthew.²³

The *Sibylline Oracles* present a list of patriarchs and prophets that include the names of Jonah and Daniel.²⁴ This list is part of a larger passage that declaims in thundering hexameters the last judgment and the raising of the dead.²⁵ Biblical heroes such as Moses, Abraham, and other patriarchs and

²² For a study of Jonah from Jewish and Christian sources, see B.N. Beck, *"You lifted me up from the pit alive": Exegetical and Theological Trajectories from the Book of Jonah in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ThD dissertation, Cambridge, Harvard Divinity School, 2000). In addition to the biblical story itself, Beck examines Christian and Jewish interpretive traditions of Jonah under the rubrics of resurrection, deliverance, and repentance. He treats the materials from various angles, such as biblical exegesis, liturgical usage, and iconographic representation. It is to be hoped that this valuable dissertation will be published in order to reach a wider audience. For a recent study on Daniel, see L. Di Tommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), with thanks to Daniel Harrington for the reference.

²³ Matt 12:40: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. Except for Irenaeus, this text is not much discussed in the second century; see Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* V 31.

²⁴ *Oracula Sibyllina* II 238–251:

ἡνίκα δ' ἀνστήσῃ νέκυας μοῖραν καταλύσας
καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβασῶθ Ἀδωναῖος ὑψικέραυνος
(240) ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πῆξι,
ἥξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς ἀφθιτον ἀφθιτος αὐτός
ἐν δόξῃ Χριστὸς σὺν ἀμύμοσιν ἀγγελτῆρσιν
καὶ καθίσει Μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, βήματι κρίνων
εὐσεβέων βίοντα καὶ δυσσεβέων τρόπον ἀνδρῶν.
(245) ἥξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο
σάρκας δυσάμενος· Ἀβραάμ δ' αὐτὸς μέγας ἥξει,
Ἰσαὰκ ἡδ' Ἰακώβ, Ἰησοῦς Δανιήλ τ' Ἡλίας,
Ἀμβροσίῳ καὶ Ἰωνᾶς καὶ οὓς ἔκταν Ἑβραῖοι.
τοὺς δὲ μετ' Ἡρεμίαν ἐπὶ βήματι πάντας ὀλέσσει
(250) κρινομένους Ἑβραίους, ἵνα ἄξια ἔργα λάβωσιν
καὶ τίσωσ', ὅσα περ βροτῶ θνητῶ τις ἔπραξε.

²⁵ See Parke, *Sibyls*, 11–12. The *Sibylline Oracles* are notoriously difficult to sort out. We will take the passage above "at face value" and will not attempt to distinguish between Jewish and Christian layers—except for the obvious presence of the name of Christ.

prophets are evoked almost as bystanders; they play an exemplary role for the just who are going to be saved. As we will see below, other texts exist that link our biblical heroes to debates on bodily resurrection.

In a different context, the third book of Maccabees mentions Daniel, Jonah, and the three companions in the fiery furnace.²⁶ This passage has a liturgical background. Our biblical heroes are mentioned in a prayer of a certain Eleazar, a distinguished priest who had been arrested with fellow Jews and brought to the stadium in Alexandria, to be trampled by raging elephants. Eleazar directs his supplication to God on behalf of the Jews, asking mercy for them and punishment for their Egyptian oppressors. Daniel, Jonah, and the Three Youths function as emblems of the power of God, and the prayer implores similar deliverance for the people in times of oppression.

In an indirect way there is another early source where Daniel, Jonah, and the three Hebrew youths are invoked together. The *Apostolic Constitutions* is a compilation of treatises on Christian worship, practice, and doctrine, possibly originating in fourth century Syria. They include a prayer that enumerates the supplications of the righteous in Jewish history.²⁷ A sequence of biblical figures is invoked, beginning with Abel and ending with Matathias.²⁸ Daniel, Jonah and the Three Youths occur toward the end of the prayer. The implication again is that since the prayers of the biblical heroes were answered, those offered by other supplicants may be honored as well.

It has been shown that, in particular, books seven and eight of the *Apostolic Constitutions* contain remnants of Jewish synagogal prayers.²⁹ Sixteen such Greek prayers have been identified because of their distinctly Jewish content, disguised only by a superficial layer of Christian phrasing, usually explained as later Christian interpolation. The dates of these prayers are

²⁶ 3 Macc 6:6–8: σὺ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν τρεῖς ἑταίρους πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐθαίρετως δεδωκότας εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς κενοῖς διάπυρον δροσίσας κάμινον ἐρρύσω μέχρι τριχὸς ἀπημάντους φλόγα πᾶσιν ἐπιπέμψας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. σὺ τὸν διαβολαῖς φθόνου λέουσι κατὰ γῆς ῥιφέντα θηρσὶν βορὰν Δανιὴλ εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγες ἀσινὴ. τὸν τε βυθοτρεφοῦς ἐν γαστρὶ κήτους Ἰωαννὰν τηρόμενον ἀφιδὼν ἀπῆμanton πᾶσιν οἰκείοις ἀνέδειξας, πάτερ.

²⁷ *Const. Apost.* 7, 37, ll. 24–26 (ed. B.M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques* [3 vols.; SC 320, 329, 336; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1:1985; 2:1986; 3:1987]); Δανιὴλ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῶν λεόντων, Ἰωαννὰ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους, τῶν τριῶν παίδων ἐν καμίνῳ πυρός, ...

²⁸ The name Jael, which ends the sequence, seems to be out of chronological order; see the comment of Darnell in D.A. Fiensy and D.R. Darnell, "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers (Second to Third Century A.D.)," in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 2: 685, note j (see also note 29 below).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 671–697.

uncertain and still debated; speculation ranges from the first century CE to as late as the early fourth century. Some scholars have suggested the middle of the second century CE as the latest point but others as the earliest point in the time range; a mid-second-century date would conveniently place these prayers within Celsus' intellectual reach. Because of similarities in wording and thought with the works of Philo, scholars have suggested Alexandria as a possible place of origin.³⁰ All this, however, is speculative since both the place of origin and the dates remain controversial. In spite of these uncertainties it is important to acknowledge the existence of Jewish prayers in Greek and their subsequent Christian adaptation, especially since Celsus' heroic examples appear in one of them.

The prayer in *3 Maccabees* is embedded in a kind of historical romance and transmitted indirectly through the supplication of a priestly figure. The Jewish prayers in the *Apostolic Constitutions* seem more directly related to actual worship.³¹ There are other Jewish traditions of invoking these biblical heroes of the past as well. For example, in tractate *Y. Berakhot* of the Palestinian Talmud rabbinic discussions about the saving power of the Holy One bring up the exemplary roles of Jonah, Daniel, and the Three in the fiery furnace.³² Later occurrences show that these traditions continue to develop through the middle ages and into modern times.³³

In the Christian realm there are a few more writings from the time of Celsus or a generation thereafter that could provide information on the subject. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian all mention our biblical heroes either in a dyad or triad combination. Clement refers to the Three Hebrews, Daniel, and Jonah in a chronological framework, in

³⁰ Ibid., 673.

³¹ *Const. Apost.* 7, 37, ll. 1–5: 'Ο τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τὰς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν πληρώσας καὶ ἐλεήσας τὴν Σιών καὶ οἰκτειρήσας τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ τῷ τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου ἀνυψῶσαι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ κατὰσάρκα γεννηθέντος ἐκ μόνης παρθένου. For the interpolation at the very end of the prayer, see bold; *Const. Apost.* 7, 37, ll. 29–31: Καὶ νῦν οὖν πρόσδεξαι τὰς τοῦ λαοῦ σου προσευχὰς μετ' ἐπιγνώσεώς σοι διὰ Χριστοῦ προσφερομένας ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι.

³² See T. Zahavy (trans.), *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, vol. I: *Talmud Yerushalmi Berakhot* 9:1 (CSJH; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), VIII Z–oo (p. 312–313); X A–D (pp. 315–316). Many thanks to Aryay Finkelstein and Jonathan Lipnick for introducing us to the database of the Bar-Ilan Responsa Project, see <http://www.biu.ac.il/JH/Responsa/> (consulted 7 August 2013). They also helped identify and translate the materials.

³³ Other results from searching the Judaic Responsa database for the combination of Jonah and Daniel include: Midrash Abba Gurion (Buber edition) III; Mahzor Vitri, ch. 93; Psikta Zutrata (Lekach Tov) Gen. 3, 24. For more examples, see Prigent, *L'art*, 220–221. For the role of Jonah in Jewish prayers, see Beck, "You lifted me," 100–110.

which he tries to show that non-Greek thought is older than that of the Greeks; the passage deals in particular with the Babylonian captivity.³⁴ More significantly, in a passage of *Quis Dives Salvetur* at the end of the discourse and before the story of St. John and the robber, Clement recommends that wealthy people—wealth being the main subject of his discourse—take a spiritual consultant. This is a kind of holy person, who guides the soul of the “client” through the dangers of life and procures spiritual health. The concept is something between an ancient holy man and a modern-day spiritual father.³⁵ The holy man will intercede with God, who as the text says: “... does not give heed to empty phrases. For He alone examines the innermost parts of the heart and gives ear to those in the fire; from afar He hears the supplicants in the belly of the sea monster; he is close to all believers and far from the godless, unless they repent.”³⁶ Clement’s passage has the ring of an intercessory prayer, as we have seen above in the Greek Jewish traditions. Only the Three Youths and Jonah are cited here.

Irenaeus brings up the question of longevity in the Bible—some biblical figures reaching seven, eight, or even nine hundred years.³⁷ He reminds his audience that what is impossible for humans is possible for God. As an illustration of God’s power the stories of Elijah, Jonah, and the Three Youths are advanced to prove his point. Tertullian, in turn, uses the biblical paradigms in a discourse about the resurrection of the body. He uses the Three Brothers, Jonah, Enoch, and Elijah as examples to further his arguments about the future preservation of the body and the perfect resurrection.³⁸

From the Christian passages it becomes clear that the tendencies we saw already in the Jewish texts—insofar as these could be defined as Jewish³⁹—had taken root in Christianity by the beginning of the third century. We can distinguish two main strands for quoting the biblical heroes: one originates in prayer traditions (*3 Macc.*, *Apost. Const.*, Clement), another in debates on the resurrection of the body (*Sibylline Oracles*, Celsus, Tertullian).

³⁴ Clement, *Strom.* I 123, 3; see also I 125, 5; I 135, 4.

³⁵ For this charismatic figure in Orthodox Christianity, see the article by Bishop Kallistos Ware, retrieved from: <http://www.orthodoxinfo.com/praxis/spiritualfather.aspx> (consulted 7 August 2013).

³⁶ Clement, *Quis Dives* 41, 7: «θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται» οὐδὲ προσέχει κενοῖς ῥήμασι· μόνος γὰρ ἀνακρίνει μυελούς καὶ νεφροὺς καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ κατακοίει καὶ τῶν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κήτους ἱκετευόντων ἐξακούει καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγγύς ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν καὶ πόρρω τοῖς ἀθέοις, ἃν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν.

³⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* V 1–2.

³⁸ Tertullian, *Res.* LVIII.

³⁹ For the *Sibylline Oracles* see notes 24–25 above.

Although many more Christian sources could be cited,⁴⁰ for the moment we are interested in the immediate realm of Celsus, who was the point of departure for our investigation. Origen himself, however, should not be left out; he discusses Daniel, Jonah, and the Three Hebrews in the fire in his *De Oratone*, written in the 230s.⁴¹ Origen sees them as examples of those who benefited from prayer, which is the subject of his treatise. They also represent those whose prayers are answered. Origen construes them as models for the faithful, who should imitate them in their prayers, asking not so much for material goods as for spiritual blessings.

Christian traditions of invoking the biblical heroes continue throughout Late Antiquity and well into medieval times; many examples exist in Greek literary sources, such as Hippolytus' *Commentary on Daniel*⁴² and discussions of the resurrection, as in the *Apostolic Constitutions*.⁴³ In the West traditions of invocation developed as well, as in the prayers of the *Com-mendatio animae*⁴⁴ and the so-called *Cena Cypriani*, which included many popular biblical heroes.⁴⁵ The latter is a pseudonymous text thought to have

⁴⁰ For later examples (some of them not well-known), see Prigent, *L'art*, 210–223.

⁴¹ Origen, *Or.* 13, 2–4; 14, 4; 16, 3.

⁴² Hippolytus, *In Dan.* 2, 35–36.

⁴³ *Const. Apost.* 5, 7, ll. 55–64: Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πιστεύομεν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ Λάζαρον ἀναστήσας τετραήμερον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἰαείρου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας, καὶ ἑαυτὸν προστάγματι τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνεγείρας, ὁ ἀρραβὼν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμῶν. Ὁ τὸν Ἰωάνν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ζῶντα καὶ ἀπαθῆ ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς κοιτίας τοῦ κήτους καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας ἐκ καμίνου Βαβυλωνίας καὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ ἐκ στόματος λεόντων, οὐκ ἀπορήσει δυνάμεως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνεγείραι. See also Gregory of Nazianzen, *Carmina de se ipso*, (PG 37, p. 1396): Μωσῆς παιδοφόνου ποθ' ὑπέκφυγε δόγμα τυράννου, Κητείων λαγόνων σκότιον μόρον ἀγνὸς Ἰωνᾶς, καὶ θήρας Δανιὴλ, παῖδες φλόγας. Αὐτὰρ ἔμοιγε Τίς λύσις κακότητος; Ἄναξ, σὺ με, Χριστὲ, σῶσσον. They also appear as subjects of homilies at the beginning of the fast, see John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia* (hom. 1–9) (PG 49, p. 305): Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία περὶ νηστείας καὶ εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἰωάνν, καὶ Δανιὴλ, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας. Ἐλέχθη δὲ εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων νηστείων. For later Byzantine times, see Simeon the New Theologian, *Capita Theologica* I 76 (ed. J. Darrouzès, SC 51bis): "Ὅθεν φόβῳ ἀρρήτῳ καὶ τρόμῳ ἀνεκδιηγίτῳ συνεχόμενος, βοᾷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ὡς μὲν Ἰωνᾶς, ἐκ τοῦ κήτους καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ βίου, ὡς δὲ Δανιὴλ, ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τῶν ἀγρίων παθῶν καὶ λεόντων, ὡς δὲ οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες, ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ ἐμφύτου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης, ὡς δὲ Μανασσῆς, ἐκ τοῦ χαλκουργήματος τοῦ πηλίνου τούτου καὶ θνητοῦ σώματος.

⁴⁴ The *Ordo Commendationis Animae* contains a series of invocations that follow the formula: *Libera, Domine, animam ... sicut liberasti ...* after which a biblical name follows. The oldest preserved example of the use of this litany is the *Sacramentarium of Rheinau*, which dates to the eighth century. It contains the names of Enoch, Elijah, Noah, Abraham, Job, Isaac, Lot, Moses, Daniel, the Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Susanna, David, Peter and Paul, and Thecla. The names vary slightly in other similar texts. For a study, see L. Gougaud, "Étude sur les 'Ordines Commendationis Animae,'" *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 49 (1935): 3–27.

⁴⁵ For the tradition of the text, see E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (3rd. ed.; Steen-

come from northern Italy or Gaul and has been dated the fourth and fifth centuries. It contains a prayer that calls up various biblical heroes as examples of figures of deliverance.⁴⁶

The majority of literary sources thus suggest a liturgical background for the images of Daniel and Jonah with or without the Three Youths. These biblical paradigms have a particular resonance in the realm of prayers of intercession. The liturgical tradition seems to have migrated from Hellenistic Judaism (perhaps from Alexandria) and from Greek synagogue traditions to early Christianity. Clement and Origen are (to our knowledge) the first Christians to allude to this prayer tradition, of which the earlier testimonies could be found in *3 Maccabees* and in the indirectly-transmitted synagogal prayer of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Celsus could have known about the two biblical heroes through familiarity with either Jewish or Christian worship. He evidently followed up this introduction by using a biblical phrase.⁴⁷

A number of other literary sources suggest that the occurrence of the biblical figures was also linked to theological debates about the resurrection of the body. We know that Celsus was interested and, in fact, actively involved in polemics on the resurrection. He is himself an important witness to as well as a participant in this traditional evocation of the two prophets during the second century.

JONAH AND DANIEL IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART AND CERAMICS

Celsus' suggestions of alternative heroes for Christians to worship have a surprising resonance in the visual arts of early Christianity. As noted above, the biblical heroes named by Celsus—Jonah and Daniel—appeared early

brugge: In *Abbatia Sancti Petri*, 1995), 468 no. 1430; Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992).

⁴⁶ See, for example, the second *Oratio Pseudocypriana* (ed. G. Hartel; *CSEL* 3/3), 147–149. This prayer calls up various figures of deliverance as examples: ... exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Ionam** de ventre ceti exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **tres pueros** de camino ignis ardentis **Ananiam**, **Azarium** et **Misael** exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Danielem** de lacu leonum, et misisti **Abacuc** prophetam exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Tobiam** et **Sarram** dum orarent in atrio domus suae exaudi me orantem, exaudisti **Susannam** inter manus seniorum, sic et me liberes ab hoc saeculo mortali exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti **Ezechiam** regem Iudaeorum et doluisti ab eo infirmitatem carnis eius liberes sic et me de hoc saeculo sicut liberasti **Teclam** de medio amphitheatro, liberes me ab omni infirmitate carnis meae

⁴⁷ On Celsus' use of the wording of the Septuagint, see note 20 above.

and often in Christian art and proved to have great staying power as well. Some of his non-biblical heroes also resonated in the art of both the early Christians and their pagan rivals. His critique of the worship of Jesus, in fact, seems to present insight into discussions that lasted for centuries.

Parallels between texts and images of heroes, however, are less evident in the Jewish than the Christian realm. Even though the pairing of Jonah and Daniel can first be traced in the Jewish liturgical tradition, the two heroes seem to have had no role in early Jewish art. Daniel alone may appear, but only at a relatively late date (see below). In Christianity, on the other hand, the two prophets moved quickly to a central role in artistic expression. Around 190–210, approximately three decades after the time of Celsus, when Christian art first makes its appearance in the historical record,⁴⁸ Jonah and Daniel occupy a prominent place among the biblical stories illustrated. Jonah and Daniel are the only biblical figures depicted on the ceilings of the oldest section of the Callixtus catacomb in Rome, generally dated 203–222.⁴⁹ The two prophets singled out by Celsus thus do not reflect merely an intellectual's or an outsider's view of Judeo-Christian scripture, they also held a genuine attraction for the faithful on the popular level. To be sure, other biblical figures appear in the wall paintings (as opposed to the ceilings) of the same part of the Callixtus catacomb: Abraham leads Isaac to sacrifice, and Moses strikes water from the rock, but Jonah and Daniel are present in these decorations as well.⁵⁰ Jonah and Noah's ark flank the good shepherd on a ceramic lamp produced by Florentius in central Italy at about the same time.⁵¹ The prominence of Jonah and Daniel continued throughout pre-Constantinian times. According to Robin Jensen, the most popular biblical subjects in the third and early fourth centuries are (in descending order) Jonah, followed by Noah, Moses striking the rock, Abraham's sacrifice, Adam and Eve, and Daniel.⁵²

⁴⁸ E. Dinkler in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, 396; P. Finney, *The Invisible God* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 146; Jensen, *Understanding*, 9; J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 63–64.

⁴⁹ Finney, *Invisible God*, 187, figs. 6.8, 6.12, 6.16.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 198, figs. 6.32–33, 6.48–49, 6.54, 6.59–61.

⁵¹ Bode Museum, Berlin: O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1909), 224, no. 1224; Finney, *Invisible God*, 116–117, 126–130, figs. 5.4–5.6; J. Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007), cat. no. 2.

⁵² Jensen, *Understanding*, 25, 69. They were also popular on gems at this time: see Spier, *Late Antique*, 63–64, 66–71.

In his recommendation of Jonah and Daniel, Celsus passed over these other popular figures from the Hebrew Bible (Noah, Moses, Abraham, and Adam and Eve), perhaps because they appeared less suitable as candidates for cultic veneration than Jonah and Daniel. The latter two heroes underwent more dramatic physical suffering and their adventures were, as Celsus put it, more miraculous. Another factor may have been their prominence as emblems of the saving power of God in early liturgical and funerary prayers. The Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, who are usually mentioned together with Jonah and Daniel in such prayers, had an equally spectacular ordeal, but from Celsus' perspective their multiplicity may have created a problem for making them the focus of cult.

The important role that liturgical and funerary prayers played in the prominence of Jonah, Daniel, and their fellow-sufferers in the realm of art is made especially evident by an incised glass bowl of the fourth century from Doclea, near Podgoritsa, Montenegro (fig. 1).⁵³ Jonah and Daniel are joined by the Three Hebrews and Susannah around the perimeter of the bowl (or *patena*).⁵⁴ Their inscriptions read "DANIEL DE LACO LEONIS; TRIS PVERI DE ECNE CAMI(ni); SVSANA DE FALSO CRIMINE; DIUNAN DE VENTRE QVETI LIBERATVS EST." As Corby Finney and Pierre Prigent have observed, the phrasing "de ... liberatus" strongly echoes the language of the pseudo-Cyprianic prayer and the prayer of *Commendatio animae*, where all these sufferers are invoked.⁵⁵ In the center of the Podgoritsa bowl are Abraham and Isaac, who have no caption. Three other scenes join the sufferers around the perimeter: Adam and Eve, the raising of Lazarus, and Peter striking water from the rock, which in this case looks like a tree. The captions for these scenes do not follow the "de ... liberatus" formula, and they may have been inspired by a different liturgical source. It is perhaps relevant that most of these scenes are also named in the *Apostolic Constitutions* in a passage expounding God's power to resurrect. The creation of Adam and the

⁵³ H. Leclercq, "Coupe," *DACL* 3: fig. 3336; J. Salomonson, *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur l'Iconographie du martyre en Afrique Romaine* (Amsterdam/Oxford/New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 60–61, fig. 8; J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie (Ve–XVIe siècle)* (Bologna: Patron, 1970), 87–88, fig. 46; Finney, *Invisible God*, 284–285, fig. 7.4; Prigent, *L'art*, 208–213; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, 9–10, fig. 4.

⁵⁴ Term suggested on the basis of mention in the *Liber pontificalis* of glass vessels for serving bread for the Eucharist under Pope Zephyrinus (199–217): H. Leclercq, "Cologne," *DACL* 3/2: col. 2164; Prigent, *L'art*, 209.

⁵⁵ Finney, *Invisible God*, 284; Prigent, *L'art*, 210–223. For the texts see above, notes 44, 46.



Fig. 1. Glass bowl with incised drawing. From Doclea near Podgoritsa, Montenegro, 340–400 CE. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

raising of Lazarus are cited before Jonah, the Three Hebrews, and Daniel.⁵⁶ The kinds of liturgical prayer and arguments for the resurrection that apparently influenced Celsus' choice of heroes from the Hebrew Bible clearly remained influential in the artistic realm two centuries later.

Similar sequences of imagery appear on a shallow bowl of comparable shape in Boston (perhaps also to be considered a *patena*), this one not of glass but fine ceramic of a type known as African Red Slip Ware (hereafter ARS) (pls. 26–27). The bowl has two rings of subjects drawn from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Jonah's story is represented by a complete cycle circling the center of the bowl (pl. 27b).⁵⁷ Jonah is thrown overboard to a waiting *cetus*; he is regurgitated onto land; he rests in the shade of his gourd vine; and he sits on a heap of rocks, brooding unhappily at the failure

⁵⁶ *Apos. Con.* V, vii, 9–19. For the text, see above, note 43.

⁵⁷ MFA 2002.131; Harlan J. Berk, LTD, *85th Buy or Bid Sale*, Chicago, March 9, 1995, cat. no. 631A.



Fig. 2. ARS bowl (*patena*) with biblical subjects (a, Joseph and Potiphar's wife; b, Isaac going to sacrifice), 320–360 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Museum purchase with funds donated in memory of Emily Townsend Vermeule, 2002.¹³¹

of his prophecy. On the bowl's outer ring, Isaac accompanies Abraham to the place of sacrifice; Potiphar's wife pursues Joseph (figs. 2a–b); and Christ raises Lazarus (pl. 27a). Adam and Eve flanked the Tree of Knowledge, but only their feet and the base of the tree survive (fig. 2b). One or two other scenes, which could have included Daniel, are completely lost. The bowl is a rare and early form (Hayes form 39)⁵⁸ and probably dates between 320 and 360. Joseph here seems to replace the Susannah of the Podgoritsa bowl as someone “de falso crimine liberatus.”⁵⁹

The Boston patena is exceptional in its richness and quality, but both Jonah and Daniel continued to have major roles in imagery on ARS, the finest and most influential ceramics of Early Christian times.⁶⁰ In this kind of pottery, produced in the area of modern Tunisia and widely distributed throughout the Roman Empire, the two Hebrew prophets reached the apex of their popularity between 350 and 430. Jonah was extremely popular on bowls and rectangular platters,⁶¹ and at times full cycles continued to be represented.⁶² In ceramics as in funerary art, the scene under the gourd

⁵⁸ J. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972), 58–59. The form is archaeologically traceable in contexts datable before the middle of the third century. The figures and the fabric of the Boston bowl, however, are typical of what is seen on the main type of decorated bowl (Hayes form 53), which Hayes has dated 350–430: Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 81–82.

⁵⁹ At an earlier date in North Africa, Cyprian had paired Susannah and Joseph as examples of virtue: *De disciplina et bono pudicitiae* 4:19; H. Schlosser, “Die Daniel-Susanna-Erzählung in Bild und Literatur der christlichen Frühzeit,” in *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (ed. Walter Nikolaus Schumacher; *Römische Quartalschrift*, suppl. 30; Rom: Herder, 1966), 244.

⁶⁰ For ARS in general, see Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*; A. Carandini, L. Sagui, and E. Tortorici, “Ceramica africana,” in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1: *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981); J.J. Herrmann, Jr. and A. van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2002; 2nd ed., Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins, 2003). On Christian subject matter, see F. Bejaoui, *Céramique et religion chrétienne. Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997).

⁶¹ Salomonson, “Spätromische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara ‘C,’” *BABesch* 44 (1969): 57–58, figs. 80–83; J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Munich: Staatssammlung München, 1989), 129–133; cat. nos. 75–82; Armstrong, *A Thesaurus of Applied Motives on African Red Slip Ware* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1993), 217–219, pl. 47, 8.211–219; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 75–87, pls. 25–37; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. nos. 24, 26, 29–30, 33.

⁶² E. Lucchesi-Palli, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 384; R. Guéry, “Nouveaux fragments de plats rectangulaires de terre cuite,” *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 47 (1972): 119–121, figs. 18–22; J. Garbsch, “Spätantike

vine took on importance out of proportion to its role in the biblical narrative.⁶³ This may be due to the scene's value as a prefiguration of a blessed afterlife.⁶⁴ While this emblematic episode tends to disrupt fidelity to the biblical narrative, the disagreeable last episode seen in many pieces of ARS (pl. 27b)—Jonah unhappy at the failure of his prophecy—shows how strong the narrative intention remained in the realm of ceramics for everyday use.⁶⁵

In "classic" African lamps dated 430 to 530,⁶⁶ Jonah appears in a new composition. The gourd vine and the sea monster scenes are fused into a single emblematic image (pl. 28a).⁶⁷ This telescoping of two incidents into one goes back to third century sarcophagi and frescoes in which the monster vomits Jonah directly under his gourd vine.⁶⁸ The double scene on the lamps gives a new twist to the design. The monster now swims away from, rather than directly toward, the gourd vine and its tail passes under Jonah's feet. This composition is exaggerated in a surprising way in two luxurious ivory objects of the sixth century, a pyxis and a diptych panel (fig. 3).⁶⁹ In the ivories Jonah is fully extended not on the ground but on the *cetus*' back, and the gourd vine passes over both figures. The illogical stylization of the composition could have been inspired by the African lamps, where the

Sigillata-Tablets," *BVBI* 45 (1980):194, fig. 27; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. nos. 75–76; K. Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder des Heidentums und Christentums* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1990), pls. 2, 6; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 75–87, pls. 25–35.

⁶³ Prigent, *L'art*, 161–162.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 169–170.

⁶⁵ Unlike the non-narrative, funerary intention of sarcophagi: *Ibid.*, 171.

⁶⁶ For the dating of African lamps with flat shoulder (Hayes type II/Atlante form X); see Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 313–314; L. Anselmino and C. Pavolini in Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana," 207; Barbera and Petriaggi, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche*, 351–425; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 17–20; F. Bejaoui, "Iconografia delle lucerne a olio dell'Africa cristiana (IV secolo—inizio V secolo)," in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, 27–28; C. Martini in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, 263, 364, cat. no. 59.

⁶⁷ Lyon-Caen and Hoff, *Catalogue des lampes*, cat. no. 46; Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana," pl. 160, no. 2; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 126, fig. 65; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 31, fig. E. The dolphins on the shoulder of pl. 28a are like Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, stamp 179, style Aiii, 219, 255, 257 (410–480).

⁶⁸ Prigent, *L'art*, 165–166, figs. 74–76, pl. 9 (2b).

⁶⁹ Both connected with northern Italy: E. Lucchesi-Palli in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, 403, 427, fig. 59 (Ravenna), cat. no. 385 (Milan); Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 80–81, fig. 33c; T. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), fig. 38; the image is also available online: <http://www.atlantedellarteitaliana.it/artwork-1275.html> (consulted 7 August 2013). The ivories could provide evidence that the Jonah imagery on African lamps did not originate until the sixth century.



Fig. 3. Detail of an ivory diptych panel (the Murano Diptych) with Jonah, the cetus, and the gourd vine, 6th century. Museo Nazionale, Ravenna.

confined circular space of the central disk may well have led a designer to reorient the different elements. On the lamps realistic distinctions are observed more scrupulously than on the ivories.

Though less popular than Jonah, Daniel received considerable attention in imagery on ARS.⁷⁰ Like Jonah and as in the catacombs, Daniel can be shown nude, as on a bowl that depicts him praying as he runs from two lions (pl. 8a).⁷¹ Thomas Mathews has connected the nudity of Daniel and Jonah to their roles as symbols of the resurrected Christ.⁷² The resurrected Christ, however, was not shown nude in antiquity.⁷³ Mathews may come closer to the explanation when he points out the (often-noted) compositional relationship between representations of Endymion and Jonah. The ancient traditions of heroic nudity seem to have remained attached to these look-alike heroes of biblical art. The tradition of athletic nudity was also involved. As Jan Willem Salomonson has pointed out, from Paul onward (1Cor 9:24ff.) a Christian's effort to achieve salvation was compared to the

⁷⁰ Salomonson *Voluptatem*, 11–12, 55–64, 72–82, pls. 2, 45; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 127–129, cat. no. 71–72; Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 219–220, pl. 48, 8.220–222; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 71–74, 123–125, figs. 22–24, 63–64. For Daniel in other media, see H. Leclercq, “Daniel,” *DACL* 4/1: cols. 221–248.

⁷¹ J. Herrmann in *Romans and Barbarians* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), cat. no. 144; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 91; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 71; Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 220, cat. no. 8.222; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, cat. no. 23; A. van den Hoek and J. Herrmann, “Thecla the Beast Fighter. A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art,” above 71, pl. 8a; *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001): 215, fig. 10; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 26; F. Bejaoui, “Iconografia,” in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, 27–28, fig. 2.

⁷² T. Mathews, “La nudità nel cristianesimo,” in Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2000), 397.

⁷³ See, for example, J. Herrmann and A. van den Hoek, “Two Men in White: Observations on an Early Christian Lamp from North Africa with the Ascension of Christ,” in D. Warren, A. Brock, and D. Pao, eds., *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions, and Symbols: Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2003), 293–318; above, chapter 3.

disciplined efforts of an athlete, and representations of Daniel—in this case, on ARS—present him in athletic terms.⁷⁴ A fully clothed Daniel may also have been depicted as the just judge who saves Susannah.⁷⁵

After the fashion for relief figures on ARS bowls and platters ended around 430, Daniel continued to be popular on African lamps. In this later phase, he loses his athletic image. He habitually wears a short, belted, and pleated tunic and has a cape around his shoulders (pl. 28b).⁷⁶ The tunic is essentially what is worn by working men or men of authority, as on the biblical bowl (pl. 26), but Daniel's new symmetrical cape, the Eastern *mandye*,⁷⁷ projects him back into ancient Mesopotamia.

Celsus recommended our two biblical figures for veneration as noble souls who met a violent end, but Jonah and Daniel, in fact, did not fully fit these criteria. They did not actually die from their ordeals, but they were evidently the best biblical models Celsus could find under the circumstances. As pointed out above, his choice of the two probably stemmed from knowledge of liturgical and funerary prayers that spotlighted these figures. In the popular realm of ceramics, the theme of deliverance through the power of God underlying these prayers continued to be relevant. The very fact that made Jonah and Daniel a bad fit for inclusion in Celsus' list—that is, their survival through their perils—made them good candidates for survival in both prayers and the realm of ceramics. Spectacular success rather than defeat characterizes the imagery on ARS. Ceramics highlighted primarily the realm of entertainment, as witnessed by the popularity of animals and wild beast hunts, and in this context only pleasing messages seem to have been welcome.

While Celsus could have learned about Jonah and Daniel from either Jewish or Christian sources, the fate of the prophets differs in the art of the two religious traditions. For three centuries after Celsus it is difficult to find any representations of the two prophets in Jewish contexts. It may be that their popularity in early Christian art discouraged their use by Jews. The phenomenon of Jewish rejection of cultural material on the basis of appropriation by Christianity has been noted in other fields. The Greek translation of the Bible, the Septuagint, and the works of Philo of Alexandria

⁷⁴ Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 79–82; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 72.

⁷⁵ Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. nos. 24, 27.

⁷⁶ Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 11–12, pl. 12; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 123–125, fig. 63–64; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 25.

⁷⁷ Persian word, known in Greek as *μανδύα*, *μανδύη*, *μανδύας*, or *μανδύης*, see LSJ s.v. *μανδύα*. F. Kolb, "Römische Mäntel," *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973): 146 ff.; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 8.

have survived essentially through Christian transmission. The revision of the Septuagint text in the second century by Aquila seems to have been done for polemical reasons, to oppose the Christian take-over of the Septuagint with a more literal translation of the Hebrew text. It has been suggested that the works of Philo were rejected for similar reasons: that is, because they had been exploited by Christians.⁷⁸ The fate of Jonah and Daniel in Jewish art may in some respects be analogous.

Daniel eventually makes his appearance in synagogues of the late fifth and sixth centuries,⁷⁹ while Jonah seems to remain absent throughout antiquity. Stephen Fine sees representations of Daniel, at least in part, as the result of Christian influence, which he perceives as significant throughout Jewish art, architecture, and liturgical practice of early Byzantine times.⁸⁰ Daniel's introduction, however, may be less conditioned by Christian influence than might at first appear. By the late fifth or sixth century, Daniel may have appeared on Sasanian gems⁸¹ and the occasional processional cross,⁸² but he and Jonah had been reduced to minor roles in the decoration of churches in the Mediterranean area.⁸³ Daniel may have been singled out for representation in synagogues not only for his prototypical role as one saved through prayer but for liturgical reasons as well. As Fine points out, images of Daniel were placed in front of the Torah niche to reflect the position of the prayer leader during services. The orientation of the synagogues was, moreover, connected with Daniel. In Dan 6:10 it is written that Daniel "went to his house where he had windows in his upper chamber open toward Jerusalem ..." As Fine puts it, "this text was taken by the rabbis to be the biblical warrant for their own alignment toward Jerusalem in prayer."⁸⁴

⁷⁸ See D.T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey* (Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 15; M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: du Judaïsme hellénistique au Christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 122–125.

⁷⁹ P. Prigent, *L'image dans le Judaïsme: du IIe au VIe siècle* (Genève, Labor et Fides, 1991), 87–90; S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Towards a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 84, 187, 193, figs. 24, 37–38.

⁸⁰ Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 193–196.

⁸¹ In many cases these are clearly Christian, since Daniel holds a pair of crosses; see Spier, *Late Antique*, 69, 147–149, cat. nos. 839–852.

⁸² Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. no. 59 (Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 500).

⁸³ Jensen, *Understanding*, 20, 32. Fifth- and sixth-century African lamps with Jonah and Daniel could have been considered either specifically Christian or Jewish, according to the inclinations of their purchasers. Daniel, however, does appear on two of the impost blocks of the fifth- or sixth-century basilica of Tizirt, Algeria; see P. Gavault, *Étude sur les ruines romaines de Tizirt* (Paris: Leroux, 1897), 31–32, fig. 7.

⁸⁴ Fine, *Art and Judaism* 193.

The representation of Daniel may to a considerable extent have been independently reinvented for Early Byzantine synagogues, and its motivation included no role for Jonah.

ORPHEUS, A MIRACLE-WORKER ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES

Celsus' intuition for images that were highly meaningful to Christians also extended into the pagan realm. Orpheus, whom Celsus also proposed for veneration, was in fact a subject of considerable interest to Christians and Jews.⁸⁵ In spite of misgivings about his morality,⁸⁶ Christian writers, such as Clement of Alexandria, believed Orpheus was a proto-monotheist.⁸⁷ Orpheus was thought to have foreseen the coming of Christ, and through his descent into the Underworld he had prefigured Christ's resurrection. The story of Orpheus taming nature with his music was viewed by Eusebius as a metaphor of Christ's message.⁸⁸ Since Celsus again came so close to Judeo-Christian thinking in his interest in Orpheus, it seems possible that once more he had been stimulated by discussions with Christian intellectuals in his environment.

Evidence of Orpheus' appeal to Christians appears in the realm of art at an early date. Like Jonah and Daniel, the Thracian musician charming animals appeared on a ceiling in the oldest section of the Callixtus catacomb, dated 203–222: that is, just a few decades after Celsus wrote,⁸⁹ and he continued

⁸⁵ For Jewish and Christian sources, see Prigent, *L'art*, 132–143; I. Jesnick, *The Image of Orpheus: An Exploration of the Figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman Art and Culture with Special Reference to Its Expression in the Medium of Mosaic in Late Antiquity* (BAR International Series 671; Oxford: Archaeopress/Hadrian Books, 1997), 42–43; Jensen, *Understanding*, 41–42, fig. 8; J.-M. Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes," *Archivum bobiense* 25 (2003).

⁸⁶ For negativity based on Orpheus' cultivation of idolatry and obscene mysteries, see Clement, *Protr.* 1. 3; 2, 21; J.-M. Roessli, "Du *Protreptique* de Clément d'Alexandrie à la *Laudatio Constantini* d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Convergence et divergence dans l'interprétation du mythe d'Orphée," *Archivum bobiense* 22 (2001): 93–105; repeated in *RHR* 219/4 (2002): 503–513; Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes," 111–112.

⁸⁷ Clement, *Strom.* V 78, 4; V 123–124; V 128, 3. For a conversion by Orpheus: *Protr.* 7, 74, 3–5. Stern sees only Clement's negativity about Orpheus: "Orphée dans l'art paleochrétien," *Cahiers archéologiques* 23 (1974): 9. Roessli sees Clement's negativity lost on most of his audience: see Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes," 111–112.

⁸⁸ Eusebius, *De Laud. Const.* 14, 5; Ps.-Justin (Theodoretus?), *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, 15; Augustine, *C. Faustum* 13, 15; *Civ.*, 18, 14; see also H. Leclercq, "Orphée," *DACL* 12/2: cols. 2736–738 (with some incorrect references); Finney, *Invisible God*, 189–191; Jensen, *Understanding*, 41–44; Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes," 112–114.

⁸⁹ Stern, "Orphée," 1, fig. 1; Finney, *Invisible God*, 186–187, 189, fig. 6.6 now unrecognizable; Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes," 98–100, fig. 7.

to be popular in Christian funerary art throughout the third and fourth centuries.⁹⁰ At times in these Christian contexts, Orpheus appears surrounded by an impressive array of fierce animals, as in the Catacomb of Domitilla, where he is flanked not only by birds but also by a camel, an ostrich, a bull, and a lion (pl. 29a). More often, Orpheus takes on something of the character of the Good Shepherd. He may continue to wear Eastern or Thracian costume—a floppy hat, trousers, and short tunic—but he plays his kythara for a flock of very gentle animals: birds, sheep, and perhaps a dog, but no savage lions or rough bulls.⁹¹

Such mild presentations are not confined to the Christian realm. It has not been generally noted that in some apparently non-Christian late second- or third-century mosaics, Orpheus plays for only a dog and a few birds; the most evident examples are at Rottweil, Petronell,⁹² and Mainz.⁹³ The motivation for this unthreatening selection of creatures is not clear since the surrounding mosaic panels in the bath building at Rottweil include violent hunts and circus entertainments. The gentle assemblage may have been intended to sharpen the contrast between peace and struggle. In marble sarcophagi of the third and early fourth centuries in central Italy, Orpheus

⁹⁰ For Orpheus in Christian contexts, see H. Leclercq, *DACL* 12/2: cols. 2735–755; Stern, “Orphée”; F. Bisconti, “Un fenomeno di continuità iconografica: Orfeo citaredo, Davide salmista, Cristo pastore, Adamo e gli animali,” *Cristianesimo e Giudaismo. Eredità e confronti, XVI Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana, Roma, 7–9 May 1987 = Aug 28 (1988)*: 429–436; M.-X. Garezou, “Orpheus,” *LIMC* 7: 96–97, 104, cat. nos. 164–169; Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 15; F. Tülek, *Efsuncu Orpheus/Orpheus the Magician: The Transition of Orpheus Theme from Paganism to Christianity in Late Roman-Early Byzantine Mosaics* (Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve sanat Yayınları, 1998), 39, fig. 43–44; Jensen, *Understanding*, fig. 8; F. Bisconti, “Le iconografie,” in Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000), 361–364, fig. 1–2; F. Bisconti, “Orfeo,” in *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (ed. F. Bisconti; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000), 236–237; Roessli, “Orphée aux Catacombes,” figs. 8–14.

⁹¹ Leclercq, *DACL* 12/2: cols. 2736, 2738; G. Bovini and H. Brandenburg, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I, *Rom und Ostia* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967), cat. no. 70, 1022; Garezou, *LIMC* 7: 96–97, 104, cat. nos. 164.a–d, f, 165.a–c, 168; Stern, “Orphée,” 15; Bisconti, “Iconografie,” 361–364, figs. 1–2. According to Roessli, this gentle menagerie is due to the influence of Ezek 34:24–25: see “Orphée aux Catacombes,” 121–122.

⁹² Garezou, *LIMC* 7: 90–92, cat. no. 95 (Rottweil, Germany, late 2nd cent., with Orpheus, a stork, a raven, and a magpie; in surrounding panels are hunts and circus races); cat. no. 100 (Petronell, Austria, 3rd cent., hooved quadruped and snake with birds and dog); Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 136, fig. 121.

⁹³ G. Rupprecht, *Orpheus aus der Mainzer Unterwelt* (Mainz: Zabern, 2006) dog, bird; a second bird reconstructed. <http://www.archaeologie-mainz.de/images/Mosaik-1.gif> (consulted 14 February 2010).

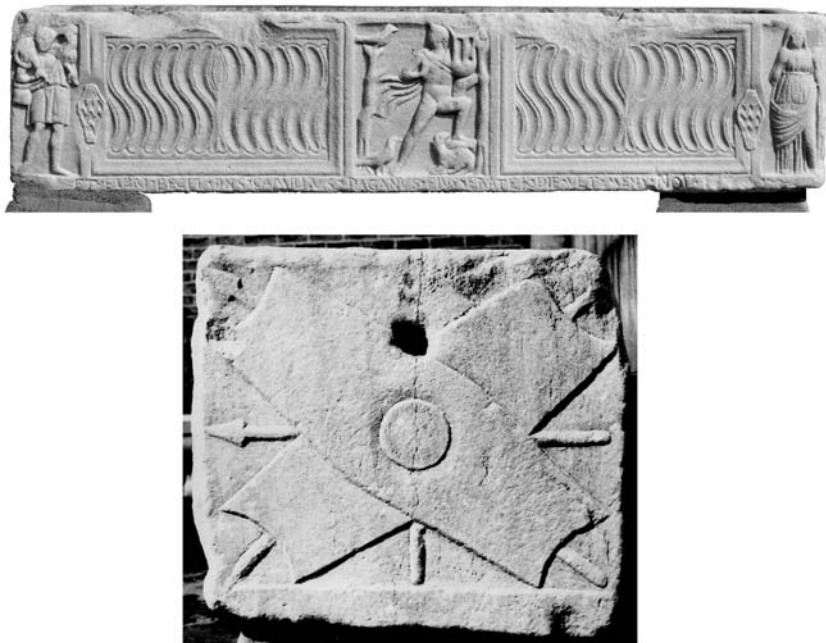


Fig. 4. Marble sarcophagus with Orpheus, the Good Shepherd, and an orans. Roman, 280–310. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. John D. Gannett, Apparatus 1946.

is also surrounded by gentle animals in iconographic compositions that show a substantial overlap between Christian and pagan themes. At least one appears to have been conceived for a pagan burial. In the center panel of a strigillated sarcophagus in Boston, Orpheus plays only for a sheep and a bird, and in the flanking panels appear a shepherd carrying a sheep and a praying woman (fig. 4a–b).⁹⁴ The orans and sheep are rarely shown with clearly pagan images of Orpheus,⁹⁵ but Orpheus himself is conceived in the ancient Greek manner: nude except for chlamys and an Eastern bonnet.

⁹⁴ M. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), cat. no. 251; Garezu, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 146.

⁹⁵ The sheep are strong arguments in favor of a Christian clientele for the Boston sarcophagus: see G.B. De Rossi, “Nuove scoperte nel cimitero di Priscilla per le escavazioni fatte nell’anno 1887,” *BARC* 5 (1887): 29–35; Roessli, “Orphée aux Catacombes,” 111–112.

This in itself does not necessarily brand the sarcophagus non-Christian. While Christianity brought increased modesty and a rejection of nudity to the Mediterranean world,⁹⁶ heroic nudity was still acceptable in certain iconographic situations during the early phase of Christian art. As mentioned above, Jonah and Daniel were often shown nude. More clearly non-Christian are the ends of the Boston sarcophagus, which are decorated with crossed barbarian shields and spears (fig. 4b).⁹⁷ These stereotyped trophies of conquered nations may conceivably have alluded to Orpheus, whose music tamed both animals and Thracians, but the evocation of military combat is not paralleled in unmistakably Christian imagery of the time.⁹⁸ A century earlier Clement of Alexandria had excluded swords and bows as suitable emblems for the ringstones of peaceful Christians,⁹⁹ and the tone he set probably still prevailed.

While the Boston Orpheus sarcophagus seems to have been made for pagans, inscriptions on two other Orpheus sarcophagi from central Italy that depict gentle animals show that (in the absence of weaponry) coffins with Orpheus could be used or reused by early Christians.¹⁰⁰ The Boston sarcophagus was reused, but much later (in the fifteenth century).¹⁰¹ Its original phase has been dated the fourth century,¹⁰² but like most other Orpheus sarcophagi from central Italy it probably belongs to immediately

⁹⁶ Mathews, "La nudita," in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma* 396–398.

⁹⁷ This composition—a pair of crossed shields with blunt ends and spears—is a common reverse of coins of the first century. It is frequently accompanied by the legend "DE GERMANIS." For examples, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁹⁸ For other sarcophagi with crossed shields on the ends, see Bovini and Brandenburg, *Repertorium*, 1, cat. no. 775 ("5/6 Jh."), 912 ("Letztes Viertel 3. Jh."). The former is carved of volcanic stone (peperino) and has no imagery that suggests a possible Christian origin. It probably dates from the third century. The latter sarcophagus has an orans flanked by a philosopher and a "Good Shepherd." Both pieces should, like the Boston sarcophagus, be non-Christian.

⁹⁹ *Pedagogue* III (11) 59, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Bovini and Brandenburg, *Repertorium* 1, cat. no. 70 (Vatican), 1022 (Ostia); Gareizou, *LIMC* 7: cat. nos. 165.a–c; Stern, "Orphée," 6–8, fig. 7–9. Some see a griffin (rather than a dog) on the front of the sarcophagus in Sardegna: see Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 16; Bisconti, "Iconografie," 361–362, fig. 1. Bisconti considers the Christian inscriptions to be later additions. This might be due to the evocation of the "sleep of death" on the sarcophagus in Ostia ("hic dormit Quiriacus in pace"). On such inscriptions, see below, note 106.

¹⁰¹ The coats of arms have a fifteenth-century shape. Inscription: ET.FIERI.FECIT.DNS. CAMILLVS.PAGANVS.EIVS.FRATER.DIE.VLT.MENS.NOV.

¹⁰² Comstock and Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, cat. no. 251; Gareizou, *LIMC* 7: under cat. no. 146.

pre-Constantinian times.¹⁰³ In spite of Christian reuse, the other Orpheus sarcophagi might also have been purchased or commissioned by pagans. In any case, the scheme of Orpheus with gentle creatures is an iconographic concept that was shared by Christians and pagans in the third century. The question remains whether it was taken over by Christians or if its appearance in pagan art reflects Christian influence.

Funerary mosaics from northwestern Mesopotamia shed additional light on the common Christian, pagan, and Jewish interest in Orpheus. The shared themes are particularly evident in an exuberantly provincial mosaic that shows Orpheus serenading a dense pack of aggressive animals to his left and timorous ones to his right (pl. 30). The mosaic, which almost certainly came from somewhere in the neighborhood of Edessa (Urfa) in Osrhoene, northern Mesopotamia,¹⁰⁴ carries two Syriac inscriptions. As read by John Healy, one is the artist's signature: "Barsaged, mosaic-maker, laid the mosaic." The other is dedicatory: "In the month of Nisan, year of five hundred and five, I Papa, son of Papa, made [this] chamber of repose for myself, and for my children, and for my heirs. Blessed be whoever sees and gives blessing."¹⁰⁵ The date of the mosaic, which is given in terms of the Seleucid era, corresponds to 194 CE.

The mention of a "chamber of repose" strikes a note that would have appealed to second- and third-century Christians and Jews. Marbury Ogle argued that the concept of the "sleep of death" came to the Greeks and the Latins from translations of the Hebrew Bible and led to a corresponding use of the words for sleep and rest *κοιμᾶσθαι*, *κοίμησις*, *ἀνάπαυσις*, *dormire*, *dormitio*.¹⁰⁶ This terminology may appear in Jewish epitaphs at Rome as early as the

¹⁰³ The rather Classical high-belted tunic with overfold and low-slung mantle worn by the orans has a relatively early look. The closest parallel may be an orans on a sarcophagus that has been dated to the late third century and whose workmanship is quite similar to that of the Boston coffin: Bovini and Brandenburg, *Repertorium*, cat. no. 151.

¹⁰⁴ Christie's, *Antiquities*, New York, 9 December 1999, lot 388; thence to the Dallas Museum of Art, 1999.305; given to Turkey in 2012: <http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/03/dallas-museum-volunteers-to-return-mosaic-to-turkey/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁰⁵ First translated by Michael Rand and Adam Becker and dated 204 CE: Christie's, *loc. cit.* The date has been revised in S. Brock and D. Taylor, *The Ancient Aramaic Heritage* (Rome: Trans World Film Italia, 2001), 158, 177. The text has again been significantly revised by John Healy: "A New Syriac Mosaic Inscription," *JSS* 51/2 (2006): 313–327. This is the text used here; with thanks to John Healy for giving us a preview of his article.

¹⁰⁶ M.B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death," *MAAR* 11 (1933): 90–91 (biblical references), 104 (passage to Classical world); P.W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen, Kok Pharos, 1991), 115.

second century and was certainly current by the early third.¹⁰⁷ It was probably used in Christian epitaphs in Rome and Egypt as early as the third century.¹⁰⁸

Ute Possekkel has questioned Healy's reading of a key word of the Dallas mosaic. She feels that "repose" should be read as "habitation" (*beth maskna* rather than *beth maskba*).¹⁰⁹ Her reading would then become "chamber of habitation," which, however, seems redundant and less satisfying than "chamber of repose," proposed by Healy.¹¹⁰ In any case, she has pointed out that the name of the patron Papa in itself has strong Christian connections, and the word *maskna* (in her reading), which is unparalleled in other inscriptions, is frequent in the Syrian Bible.¹¹¹

Another inscribed Edessan Orpheus mosaic dated 228 CE makes use of the more common term "house of eternity."¹¹² Han Drijvers has pointed out that the implications of eternal life in the mosaic and its inscription suggest Christian influence, although he considers the mosaic and its burial cave more likely to be pagan.

Jews certainly took an interest in Orpheus from a very early date. In the synagogue at Dura Europos, dated around 240 CE, a seated musician in the usual Persian costume plays the lyre for a panther and a bird.¹¹³ The image looks just like Orpheus and the animals, but worshipers in the synagogue must have interpreted him as David. The Jewish catacomb of the

¹⁰⁷ Ogle, "Sleep of Death," 88–89, 106. Over 300 Jewish inscriptions with this "typically Jewish formula" are known at Rome: see van der Horst, *Jewish Epitaphs*, 115–118.

¹⁰⁸ Ogle, "Sleep of Death," 108–109; C. Carletti, *Iscrizioni Cristiane a Roma. Testimonianze di Vita Cristiana (Secoli III–VII)* (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1986), 13–20. Others see the introduction of the epigraphic phrase as later: see A. Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* (trans. I. Inglis; New Lanark, Scotland: Geddes and Grosset, 1991) 153–154; B. Nardini, in Ferrua, *Unknown Catacomb*, 16–17. Ogle points out that the concept exists in the earliest Christian literary productions.

¹⁰⁹ U. Possekkel, "Orpheus among the Animals: A New Dated Mosaic from Osrhoene," *OrChr* 92 (2008): 1–35. She finds that the curvature of one of the letters suits the letter nun rather than the letter beth.

¹¹⁰ Sidney Griffith finds the reading of *maskna* atypically tautological, and sees the reading of *maskba* possible on epigraphic grounds: private communication 5 March 2009.

¹¹¹ Possekkel, "Orpheus among the Animals," 25, 30.

¹¹² H.J.W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 191–192, pl. 15; Gareizou, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 102; Tülek, *Efsuncu Orpheus*, 44–45, figs. 2–3; H.J.W. Drijvers and J.F. Healy, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1999), 178–179, pl. 53, inscription Am7; Brock and Taylor, *Ancient Aramaic Heritage*, 158, 176.

¹¹³ Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos* (Rome, 1939), 48–52 pl. 23; Stern, "Orphée," 12; B. Narkiss, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, 369–370, fig. 47; Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 181; Roessli, "Orphée aux Catacombes" 109–110, fig. 15.

Vigna Rondanini at Rome formerly contained a fresco of Orpheus playing his lyre for a horse. A sketch recorded the now-disappeared fresco, which presumably dated, like the rest of the catacomb, sometime between 250 and 350 CE.¹¹⁴ A musician playing to a panther and a giraffe appears roughly two centuries later in the mosaic of the Gaza synagogue dated 508–509 CE, where he is, in fact, labeled “David.”¹¹⁵ In all three cases the image of Orpheus has been borrowed and renamed, implicitly or overtly, for Jewish consumption. Orpheus has become a visual metaphor for the biblical poet.

It is well known that Orpheus had durable popularity not only in funerary imagery but also in luxury arts for the living. The mythic musician surrounded by both vegetarians and predators appears on marble table supports, carved in large part in Asia Minor during the third and fourth centuries.¹¹⁶ Ceramic and precious metal bowls depicting Orpheus were produced in the Rheinland during the third or fourth century.¹¹⁷ Orpheus appears on ivory pyxides of the fourth and fifth centuries,¹¹⁸ and he is a favorite on mosaic pavements from non-funerary settings from Roman well into Early Byzantine times.¹¹⁹ A fine mosaic in an American private collection has the musician surrounded by an extensive menagerie that includes numerous fierce felines and a turtle (pl. 31).¹²⁰ While the animals are more naturalistically modeled than in the Edessan mosaic (pl. 30), the widely spaced figures scattered and seemingly floating far above the musician reveal a more sophisticated probably later decorative sensibility. The pavement may date from the third or fourth century and may come from the eastern Mediterranean area. It is rarely clear whether these works of art with Orpheus were destined for Christian or pagan clients. In some of them, the

¹¹⁴ Sketch of Robert Eisler in 1925; Bisconti, “Un fenomeno,” 429–431, fig. 2.

¹¹⁵ B. Narkiss in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, 370, fig. 48; Roessli, “Orphée aux Catacombes,” 109–110 fig. 16.

¹¹⁶ T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΦΟΡΑ ΜΕ ΠΛΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΗ (Athens, Ministry of Culture, 1993), 327 (index), pl. 107; Tülek, *Efsuncu Orpheus* (see note 90 above), figs. 1–5.

¹¹⁷ D. Stutzinger, in Herbert Beck and Peter Bol, eds., *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt: Liebighaus, 1983), cat. no. 193; H.-G. Hellenkemper, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 323; K. Göthert, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 324.

¹¹⁸ In Bobbio and Florence: see W.F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York, Abrams, 1962), cat. no. 84; S. Zwirn, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 161.

¹¹⁹ Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 16; Tülek, *Efsuncu Orpheus* (see note 90 above).

¹²⁰ Unpublished. Several polychrome Orpheus mosaics show illusionistically-modeled animals in an almost gravity-less arrangement surrounding the central musician: see Garézou, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 106a (Palermo, 3rd c.), 110 (Adana, 250–315). The wispy trees, which resemble grape or maple leaves, the wide spacing of elements, the minimal shadowing below the various creatures combine to give the composition a delicate, floating quality.



Fig. 5. ARS bowl with Orpheus (detail), 320–360 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. John Wheelock Elliot and John Morse Elliot Fund, 1981.658.

presence of hunts and minor mythological figures, such as Centaurs or Pans, may indicate no more than that the compositions were intended for non-ecclesiastical settings.

In her comprehensive work on Orpheus, Ilona Julia Jesnick notes that most of her visual evidence for the hero comes from high-status works of art, and she laments the absence of documentation from the “ordinary world.”¹²¹ Orpheus is, however, well represented on ceramics produced in North Africa from the late third well into the fifth century.¹²² While such works may imitate the silverware and ivories of the rich, these inexpensive artifacts nevertheless were undoubtedly used by a much broader and lower-status slice of the Roman population. On this popular level, the religious allegiances of the clientele for which ARS was made frequently remain indeterminate. Some early examples of Orpheus on ARS (a mold-made bottle known in

¹²¹ Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 17.

¹²² Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 186–187, pl. 38, 8.80–84.

several replicas¹²³ and a rectangular platter¹²⁴) were unmistakably intended for a pagan clientele, since they included Olympian gods and erotic figures. Some ARS vessels with Orpheus eliminate overtly pagan or indecent imagery but continue the traditional array of fierce beasts. A bowl in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston shows Orpheus surrounded by predators and prey in uneasy coexistence (pl. 32, fig. 5).¹²⁵ Like the biblical bowl (pl. 26), this is a rare and relatively early form (Hayes form 39)¹²⁶ and probably dates in the range of 320–360.¹²⁷ A quieter, gentler mood soon comes to dominate. The animals surrounding Orpheus in ARS may be radically reduced in number or eliminated altogether. The pruning may have been intended either for compositional reasons (for an uncluttered design) or to eliminate disturbing predators.

An ARS bowl in Mainz, dated between 350 and 430, has Orpheus playing only to a boar,¹²⁸ and on a contemporary bowl Orpheus is alone except for a piece of vegetation, which may have been intended either as a palm of victory or as a tree that uprooted itself to follow him (fig. 6).¹²⁹ As on the sarcophagus in Boston (fig. 4a), Orpheus is conceived in the “Greek” manner: nude except for a Phrygian cap and cloak (*chlamys*). This same image of the nude Orpheus was cut down into a bust and reworked for use in the disc of numerous African lamps of the mid-fifth century (fig. 7).¹³⁰ Orpheus fully dressed in his Eastern costume (as in pl. 32, fig. 5) also went into production on African lamps.¹³¹ At this late date, long after the banning of

¹²³ R. Brilliant, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 162; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 186. A compositionally similar Orpheus making music for Silenus and a dancing couple appears on a red-figure Italic oinochoe dated the 4th century BCE: Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 11, fig. 41.

¹²⁴ Bône (Annaba), Museum of Hippo Regius: J. Garbsch, “Spätantike Sigillata-Tablets,” 16, fig. 12; Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 402, no. 56.115.

¹²⁵ 1981.658; Christies, London, December 10, 1981, lot 170. Another example of the Orpheus stamp is with Harlan J. Berk, Inc., Chicago.

¹²⁶ See note 58 above; Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 58–59.

¹²⁷ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, form 53.

¹²⁸ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 31, dated 350–430.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 30, dated 350–430.

¹³⁰ Lamp in collection V.Q.: see Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 161–164, cat. no. 187; M. Mackensen, in L. Wamser and G. Zahlhaas, eds., *Rom & Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern* (München: Prähistorische Staatssammlung/Hirmer, 1998), cat. no. 153–154. For a lamp in the British Museum and a list of 7 or 8 other examples, see Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 151, fig. 86; Bejaoui, “Iconografia,” in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, 29.

¹³¹ Lamp in Carthage: see Salomonson, “Spätrömische rote Tonware,” 80, fig. 105; A. Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie. Musées du Bardo et de Carthage* (Paris: CNRS, 1976), cat. no. 157, p. 66, pl. 8; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 63, fig. 96a. Lamp reflector from Khamissa, Algeria: see Bejaoui, *Céramique*, cat. no. 96, p. 163, fig. 96a.



Fig. 6. ARS bowl with nude Orpheus, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39771.



Fig. 7. African lamp with nude Orpheus, 430–480 CE. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. Gift of William K. Zewadski in honor of Monique Brouillet Seefried, Curator of Near Eastern Art, 1996.5.241.



Fig. 8. Gold ring with Orpheus and the animals. 5th century, probably from Üsküdar, Turkey. British Museum AF.225.

pagan cults, these images would still have been salable to both Christians and die-hard pagans. The customers' interest need not have been exclusively literary or traditional. References to Orpheus still continued in the works of fifth-century theologians, such as Augustine and Theodoretus of Cyr.¹³² Augustine's polemics against Faustus testify to the continuing belief among some Christians that Orpheus, along with other pagan poets, foresaw the coming of Christ; Faustus felt that emphasizing such testimony would bring gentiles to Christianity.¹³³ Pagans still believed that Orpheus held power over the underworld.¹³⁴

There is one clear-cut case that does not stem from the Roman catacombs in which Orpheus was incorporated into an unmistakably Christian context. A gold ring of the fifth century, probably from Üsküdar, near Constantinople, shows Orpheus with his lyre seated beside a tree with two animals at his

¹³² Augustine, *C. Faustum*, 13.1; 13.2; 13.15; 13.17. In his vast collection of references to Greek mythology and history, Theodoretus cites Orpheus frequently in his *Graecarum affectionum curatio*.

¹³³ Faustus in Augustine, *C. Faustum*, 13.1: Sane si sunt aliqua, ut fama est, Sibyllae de Christo praesagia, aut Hermetis, quem dicunt Trismegistum, aut Orphei, aliorumque in Gentilitate vatum, haec nos aliquanto ad fidem juvare poterunt, qui ex Gentibus efficimur Christiani ...

¹³⁴ Augustine, *Civ.*, 18, 14.

feet (fig. 8). Framing the scene is the inscription $\text{C}\Phi\text{P}\alpha\text{I}\text{H}\text{C}\ \text{O}\text{I}\text{O}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}\ \text{T}\text{O}\text{Y}\ \text{A}\Gamma\text{H}\text{O}\ \text{C}\text{T}\epsilon\Phi\text{A}\text{N}\text{H}\text{T}\text{O}$ (σφραγίς Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀγίου στεφανίτου “seal of John the crowned saint”).¹³⁵ Presumably Orpheus is functioning as an emblem of St. John, just as he had symbolized David in synagogues. He is thus ambiguously associated with the saint as a personal protector for the wearer of the ring.

Celsus had proposed to Christians that Orpheus was a suitable subject for veneration, based on the hero's noble message and gruesome death. Celsus certainly found a hero that Christians could relate to, since not long after Celsus' time Orpheus gained a popularity in Christian art that lasted for at least three hundred years. Nonetheless the hero hardly took on the cultic role for Christians that Celsus recommended, and Christian and Jewish artistic attention focused on the hero's miraculous talent rather than his suffering. The legendary singer could be absorbed into their repertory of images as an allegory of Christ, David, or St. John.

In other circles, something closer to Celsus' recommendation was evidently put into effect. An image of Orpheus stood in the domestic shrine of the Emperor Severus Alexander (ruled 222–235 CE)—along with images of Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, Abraham, “and others of similar character.”¹³⁶ The syncretistic selection of heroes chosen for veneration in the emperor's *lararium* has much in common with Celsus' proposals. As in Celsus' list, the group mixes mythological heroes, heroes of the Hebrew Bible, and secular sages, along with divinized emperors and the emperor's own ancestors. One could conjecture that Jonah and Daniel might have accompanied Abraham in the *lararium*, as “others of similar character.” By admitting Christ, however, the emperor either distanced himself from or was unaware of Celsus' effort to discredit the central focus of Christian veneration.

While most ancient representations of Orpheus seem to have served decorative purposes, such as ornaments for fountains or pavements for dining

¹³⁵ British Museum AF.225; Leclercq, *DACL* 12/2: cols 2753–754, no. 24, fig. 9250; H. Stern, “Orphée,” 16; H. Tait, ed., *Jewellery Through 7000 Years* (London, 1976), no. 415; J. Godwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World* (1981) fig. 110; H. Tait, ed., *Seven Thousand Years of Jewellery* (London, 1986), no. 585; Garezu, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 166. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=59963&partid=1&searchText=orpheus+ring&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1 (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹³⁶ *Historia Augusta, Sev. Alex.*, 29.2: “matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abrahā ... m et Orpheum et huiusmodi ceteros habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat.” Cited in Jesnick, *Image of Orpheus*, 17.

rooms, a few seem to reflect true cultic veneration of the hero during late antiquity. A marble statuette dated ca. 160 CE presents a nude god playing a kythara (fig. 9).¹³⁷ While the musician resembles Apollo, the peaceful panther at his feet makes it clear that he is Orpheus. The statuette has the remains of an inscription on its base that indicates that it was a votive gift; that is, it was placed in a shrine in recompense for a perceived divine favor. Two small cast metal sculptures were probably also intended for cultic purposes. A miniature gilt silver figure (4.1 cm.) shows the hero wearing Phrygian costume and seated with his lyre, on which a small animal climbs (fig. 10).¹³⁸ A small bronze composition in Oxford shows a nude Orpheus serenading Cerberus at the entrance to the underworld (pl. 29b). The lumpy modeling of both sculptures suggests that they were made around the first quarter of the fourth century. They were probably cult images in household shrines or votive gifts in a temple and in either case manifest cultic veneration of Orpheus himself. A small but sophisticated building in Littlecote, England with a mosaic of Orpheus has been interpreted as a temple to the demigod. Coin evidence dates the shrine to the time of Julian the Apostate (360–363 CE).¹³⁹

ASKLEPIOS, A HERO WITH A WIDESPREAD CULT

In his proposals for suitable subjects for veneration, Celsus had confronted heroes, philosophers, prophets, and Jesus in a situation of intellectual and spiritual competition. As fatuous as Celsus' proposals may seem in the light of hindsight, this kind of competition was evidently typical of both his time and the following centuries, the age of transition from a Mediterranean world dominated by traditional Greco-Roman religion to one dominated by Christianity. One of the traditional heroes that Celsus proposed as analogous and preferable to Jesus was the healer Asklepios, who indeed proved

¹³⁷ Sotheby's, *Antiquities* (New York, 7 June 2007) lot 65; identified as Apollo Kitharoidos; inscribed ... XH; interpreted in the catalogue as ... EYXH (... a vow). For the date, see Jean-David Cahn, *Auktion 4* (Basle: Cahn Auktionen, 18 September 2009), lot 339.

¹³⁸ Christie's, *Antiquities* (New York, 4 June 1999) lot 146. There the statuette is dated around the second century CE, but the figure is so "un-classical" that a later date seems justified.

¹³⁹ Garezou, *LIMC* 7: cat. no. 121; B. Walters, "The Restoration of an Orphic Temple in England," *Arch* 35/6 (1982): 36–43; Possekel, "Orpheus among the Animals," 1.



Fig. 9. Marble statuette of Orpheus playing for a panther, ca. 150 CE. Formerly art market.



Fig. 10. Gilt silver statuette of Orpheus, ca. 280–340 CE. Formerly, Christie's, New York.

to be one of Christ's most durable rivals.¹⁴⁰ The analogies between Asklepios and Jesus are striking; both had a mortal and divine parent, both performed many miraculous cures and raised humans from the dead, both were unjustly killed, and both attained (or resumed) eternal life. The cult of Asklepios, embodied in temples and centers of healing, was popular throughout the Empire in Celsus' time, and the viability of his cult survived far into the fourth century. Julian the Apostate (emperor 361–364) saw Asklepios in partnership with Helios as governors of the cosmos and termed Asklepios the savior of the world.¹⁴¹ Thomas Mathews has argued that the realm of art was an important battlefield in the competition among cults and religions for adherents and power,¹⁴² and he points out that Asklepios had no imagery of healing to rival that of Christ.¹⁴³ This cultural advantage could well have had some bearing on the final outcome of the rivalry. In art Asklepios is shown essentially only as a dignified, reserved figure leaning on his staff in the manner of a cult image, while Christ vividly interacts with the humble recipients of his healing power. Images of Asklepios were immensely widespread in Celsus' time, but by the fourth or fifth century they had become very rare. His image disappeared from coinage,¹⁴⁴ and his cult statues had been torn down, moved to museums, or even adapted as images of Christ.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ On the challenge presented by Asklepios, see E. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (2 vols; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1945), 2: 132–138; Stutzinger, in Beck and Bol, eds., *Spätantike*, cat. no. 167–168; A. Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult, Medizin in der Antike* (Archäologische Bibliothek Series; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985), 120–187; Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, p. 66, 69–72; C. Dauphine, “From Apollo and Asclepius to Christ: Pilgrimage and Healing at the Temple and Episcopal Basilica at Dor,” *Liber annuus* 49 (1999): 423–425; Hugo Brandenburg, “Esculapio e S. Bartolomeo sull'Isola Tiberina: la fine dei sacrari pagani e il problema della continuità del culto in veste Cristiana nella tarda antichità e nell'altomedioevo,” in *Salute e guarigione nella tarda antichità* (ed. H. Brandenburg, Stefan Heid, and Christoph Marksches; Vatican: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2007), 13–51. For the conversion of the Asklepieion at Athens to Christian use, see Thomas Lehmann, *Wunderheilungen in der Antike. Von Asklepios zu Felix Medicus* (ed. T. Lehmann; Oberhausen: 2006), 83–85.

¹⁴¹ Bielefeld, *Aesculap und Hygia/Salus*, 439.

¹⁴² Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 4–10; Jensen, *Understanding*, 44.

¹⁴³ Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 69–72. Attic reliefs of the fourth century BCE show the god and his helpers laying hands on the sick in an affecting way, but this empathetic imagery was apparently abandoned in favor of representations of either the cult image or healed body parts: see Thomas Schnalke, “Der Traum vom guten Arzt: Zur Konstruktion eines idealbilds im antiken Asklepioskult,” in Lehmann, *Wunderheilungen*, 53–56, figs. 20–22, 36.

¹⁴⁴ Asklepios was very popular on coinage from the time of Hadrian through Gallienus, but he seems to disappear thereafter, apart from an issue during the reign of Diocletian at Alexandria in 294/5.

¹⁴⁵ Stutzinger, in Beck and Bol, eds., *Spätantike*, 567.

Nonetheless, the traditional image of Asklepios had not been completely eradicated. He appears on two elegant ivory panels, one dated about 400 and the other to the fifth century.¹⁴⁶ The earlier panel is rich with syncretistic embellishments that must reflect efforts to promote Asklepios to the rank of a hero of cosmic significance. In most cases, however, surviving artifacts are more formulaic. Asklepios appears in a minimal rendition of his traditional pose on a glass pendant from the Levant datable to about the fifth century (pl. 33c).¹⁴⁷ The formula was also taken up in imagery on ARS. The edge of a rectangular platter dated 350–430 in the Benaki Museum shows a female figure and beside her the arm and snake-entwined staff of Asklepios (pl. 33a). The entire figure of the god must have been present in the original composition, which was cut down for use on the narrow rim of the platter. The female beside Asklepios must be Hygieia or Salus, his wife and the goddess of health. In her right hand Hygieia holds her own snake, which she fed from a now-missing bowl. No complete figures of Asklepios seem to have survived in ARS, but a complete Hygieia/Salus with snake and bowl appears on a well-preserved African lamp of the mid-fifth century (pl. 33b).

A gold ring with niello lettering dated about 340–400 presents a bust of Asklepios, identifiable by his snaky staff, together with the inscription “hygia.”¹⁴⁸ The inscription was evidently an augury of good health for the wearer. A ring from the fifth century in Aosta reuses a Roman intaglio of Asklepios and Hygia as its bezel.¹⁴⁹ In both cases the mythic healer was probably surviving less as a divinity in his own right than as a personification. A ring from the later seventh century has a reused intaglio with a bust of Asklepios,¹⁵⁰ but by then the meaning of the image may no longer have been understood.¹⁵¹ Celsus had been prophetic in promoting the suitability

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., cat. nos. 167–168; W. Childs in *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 133; S. Bean in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 133; Bielefeld, *Aesculap und Hygia/Salus*.

¹⁴⁷ Acquired from Phoenicia Holyland Antiquities. The type of Asklepios (staff and head to right, right elbow bent, left arm straight) is used primarily on coinage produced during the third century. The ungainly proportions (large head, spindly arms) speak for a later date. The gold setting with twisted wire molding is similar to settings from Syria-Palestine of the late fifth and sixth century: Spier, *Late Antique*, cat. nos. 554, 672.

¹⁴⁸ K.R. Brown, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 274; C. Kondoleon in C. Kondoleon, ed., *Antioch, The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), cat. no. 12 (with further bibliography).

¹⁴⁹ Matteo Dolci, “Trasmissione, tesaurizzazione e recupero: anelli con intagli di reimpiego,” in *Gemme dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste* (ed. G. Sena Chiesa, G. Buccellati, and A. Marchi; Milan: Hoepli, 2002), 19, fig. 2.

¹⁵⁰ B. Wührer, in Wamser and Zahlhaas, *Rom & Byzanz*, cat. no. 252.

¹⁵¹ On the phenomenon of reusing pagan intaglios on Christian objects in the early Middle

of Asklepios as an alternative to Jesus, and after a tenacious competition lasting through the fourth century Asklepios and his consort could still retain a substantial visibility at least through the fifth century.

CELSUS' UNPOPULAR PROPOSALS, ANAXARCHOS, EPIKTETOS, AND THE SIBYL

Some of Celsus' suggestions of heroes more worthy of veneration than Jesus seem truly provocative or frivolous. The philosophers Anaxarchos and Epiktetos had no real basis to compete for adherents in the religious or artistic realm. They had no claim to divinity, worked no miracles, promised no salvation, and had no ancient iconography on which to build. The Sibyl has a limited presence in ancient art and is difficult to trace after late Republican times.¹⁵²

HERAKLES, AN ARTISTIC COMPETITOR

Herakles, the first of the heroes cited by Celsus, remained more competitive than either Orpheus or Asklepios far into the Christian Roman Empire. This is not to say that the iconography of Herakles did not receive a crushing setback during the time of Constantine. After 308, Constantine and his successors issued no more coins with the hero's labors or symbols. The popularity of the hero's images in general fell drastically. The entry on Herakles in the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* includes only a microscopically small percentage of representations of the hero attributed to Constantinian times or later.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, a major cycle of deeds of Herakles was painted in chamber N of the private catacomb of Via Dino

Ages, see G. Senna Chiesa, G. Buccellati, and A. Marchi, eds., *Gemme dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste* (Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano, 2002).

¹⁵² M. Caccamo Caltabiano, "Sphinx" *LIMC* 7; J.J. Herrmann, Jr. and A. van den Hoek, "The Sphinx as a Theological Symbol," in A. Hilhorst and G.H. van Kooten, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 300–303, figs. 8–10; above, 162–165, figs. 4–5, pl. 18b,c.

¹⁵³ Of 3519 entries only ten of the objects illustrated were attributed to the fourth through the seventh centuries: "Herakles," *LIMC* 4–5: cat. nos. 1596, 1744, 1759, 1964, 1967, 2147, 2163, 2226, 2229, 3195. For a selection of late Herakles representations, see Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. nos. 118, 130, 136–140, 205, 219.

Compagni around 330 to 350.¹⁵⁴ The images of the hero's triumphant power function as emblems of salvation, much like the stories of biblical heroes and the miracles of Jesus in other chambers of the catacomb. A primary focus was placed on Herakles as a savior of humanity. Two scenes tell the story of Admetus and his self-sacrificing wife Alkestis, in which Herakles brings Alkestis back from the dead.¹⁵⁵ Herakles evidently became (or continued to be) a cultic savior god much as Celsus had recommended.¹⁵⁶

Herakles/Hercules occasionally appears on the gold glass produced in Rome during the fourth century.¹⁵⁷ Particularly interesting is the fragment, dated about 330–370 CE, showing a married couple flanking a statuette of Hercules. The legend surrounding them reads “Orfitus and Costantina in the name of Hercules.”¹⁵⁸ The couple is clearly demonstrating cultic loyalty to the god. Cultic veneration of Hercules remained strong to the end of the fourth century and beyond. In 399 Augustine speaks not only of the destruction but also of the restoration of a statue of the god in Suffectum (Sufes, modern Sbiba, Tunisia).¹⁵⁹

Herakles retained considerable, though not widely recognized, popularity in imagery on ARS.¹⁶⁰ Between 350 and 430, North African potters developed a full-blown cycle of the hero's deeds. All twelve of the classic labors imposed by King Eurystheus are represented.¹⁶¹ The episodes are Herakles:

¹⁵⁴ Also called the Catacomb of the Via Dino Compagni: Cubiculum N; A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (Vatican: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1960), 76–80, 93–94, pls. 75–81; idem, *Unknown Catacomb*, 130–141, figs. 123–130; M. Bell, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 219.

¹⁵⁵ Ferrua, *Pitture*, 77–78, 94, figs. 75, 76b, 79; idem, *Unknown Catacomb*, 134, 139, figs. 124, 127–128; Bisconti, “Iconografie,” 366–367, figs. 6–8.

¹⁵⁶ As noted by Malcolm Bell, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 219.

¹⁵⁷ C.R. Morey and G. Ferrari, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), cat. nos. 12 (Erymanthian Boar), 316 (married couple with statuette), 369 (Cerynian Stag).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., cat. no. 369 (British Museum 1863.0727.3): ORFITVS.ETCOSTANTINA.INNOMINEHERCVLIS. Between and beside the figures: ACERENT/INOFE/LICESB/IBATIS: Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, 314, pl. 11. For gold glass with the phrase “in nomine” see Ibid., cat. no. 40.

¹⁵⁹ Augustine, *Letter 50*. Cited in Bejaoui, “Iconografia,” 29.

¹⁶⁰ An oversight already pointed out and in part remedied by J.W. Salomonson: see Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 33–35, pls. 26–27. For further reconstruction of the cycle, see Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 175–178, cat. nos. 207–218; Armstrong, *The-saurus*, 191–196, pls. 39–41, 8.104–8.126.

¹⁶¹ On production of cycles in ARS, see Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 27–41, pls. 19–33; F. Naumann-Steckner, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 110.

- killing the lion of Nemea (figs. 11–12a, e)¹⁶²
- killing the hydra of Lerna (fig. 12a, b)¹⁶³
- capturing the Kerynitian hind (fig. 13)¹⁶⁴
- bringing the Erymanthean boar to Eurystheus (fig. 14)¹⁶⁵
- diverting the Alpheus River to clean the stables of King Augias (fig. 15)¹⁶⁶
- shooting the Stymphalian birds (pl. 35c)¹⁶⁷
- capturing the Cretan bull¹⁶⁸
- taming the mares of King Diomedes (pl. 34b)
- capturing the belt of Hippolyte, Queen of the Amazons (figs. 13, 16)¹⁶⁹
- fighting the three-bodied monster Geryon (fig. 17)
- plucking the apples of the Hesperides (pl. 34a)¹⁷⁰
- dragging Kerberos from Hades (fig. 18)¹⁷¹

Deeds that are not included in the canonical twelve were also illustrated, as were episodes connected with his childhood and apotheosis:

¹⁶² R. Brilliant, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 140; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 16; M. Del Moro, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 109.

¹⁶³ From Belo, on the Strait of Gibraltar: Paris, *Fouilles de Belo*, 166, no. 2, pl. 30 (from a grave with five coins from Volusian, dated 251–254, to Claudius Gothicus and Quintilian, dated 270); P. De Palol, *Arqueologia Cristiana de la España romana* (Madrid/Valladolid: Ist. E. Flórez, 1967), 366. Pl. 115 (provenance given as Tamuda, Morocco); Salomonson, “Spätromische rote Tonware,” 33–35, 103 no. 19, fig. 40; Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 79 (form 53.2); Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 194, motif 8.115, cat. no. 53.183, pl. 40; J. Mermola, in J. Arce, S. Ensoli, and E. La Rocca, *Hispania romana. Da terra da conquista a provincia dell'impero* (Milan: Electa 1997), cat. no. 278.

¹⁶⁴ Vázquez De La Cueva, *Sigillata*, 1985, 40, 49, fig. 7, pl. 3, cat. 28.

¹⁶⁵ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 212; F. Naumann-Steckner, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 112.

¹⁶⁶ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 18.

¹⁶⁷ Salomonson, “Spätromische rote Tonware,” 35, fig. 41; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 215.

¹⁶⁸ See a recently discovered fragment excavated in Ephesos: P. Turnovsky, “Ein Fragment reliefverzierter African Red Slip Ware mit Herakles-Darstellung aus Ephesos,” in *Altmodische Archäologie. Festschrift für Friedrich Brein* (Forum Archaeologiae 14/III/2000) (<http://farch.net>): <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/~trinkle5/forum/forum0300/14turn.htm> (consulted 13 February 2010).

¹⁶⁹ Vázquez De La Cueva, *Sigillata*, 1985, 40, 49, fig. 7, pl. 3, cat. 28. Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 72. Subject not identified in Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 194, pls. 41, 8.119.

¹⁷⁰ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 19.

¹⁷¹ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 207; F. Naumann-Steckner, in Ensoli and La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 110; Vázquez De La Cueva, *Sigillata*, 1985, 40, 49, fig. 7, pl. 3, cat. 28.

- as a baby, strangling the snakes sent to his cradle¹⁷²
- fighting Ares after killing the war-god's son Kyknos (pl. 34c)¹⁷³
- sacrificing to expiate his murders while being crowned by Athena-Nike (pl. 35a)¹⁷⁴
- being greeted by Athena, presumably on Olympos (fig. 19)¹⁷⁵

Entirely novel imagery was created, as in the case of a bowl that apparently shows Herakles holding the crab he killed in his battle with the hydra (fig. 20).¹⁷⁶ A woman holds out her hand in a gesture of rejection; this may be Hera, who gave the crab celestial immortality as the constellation Cancer.

This cycle of deeds of Herakles is one of the principle narrative themes on ARS. Between 350 and 430 these deeds may have had a greater presence on ARS than the healing miracles of Christ. Only a few of the miracles familiar from Roman sarcophagi are known on ARS.¹⁷⁷ They appear to be restricted to:

- The healing of the paralytic¹⁷⁸
- The healing of the woman with an issue of blood¹⁷⁹
- The resurrection of Lazarus¹⁸⁰

¹⁷² Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantik zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 213.

¹⁷³ P. La Baume and J.W. Salomonson, *Römische Kleinkunst. Sammlung Karl Löffler*, Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln, III (n.d., but 1976), cat. no. 599, pl. 59.4; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. nos. 209, 211; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 20 [partial: Ares missing]; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 69; F. Naumann-Steckner in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 111; Numisart: *Kunst der Antike, 2009–2010*, Munich, 2009, cat. no. 41 (bowl with Hercules fighting Mars without bystanders or trees).

¹⁷⁴ Salomonson, "Spätrömische rote Tonware," 35, fig. 42; Carandini et al., "Ceramica africana," pl. 87.1; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 17; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 71.

¹⁷⁵ Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 21; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 70.

¹⁷⁶ Formerly Rodney Legg collection (1960s–1970s); Alexander Cotton collection; Christopher Martin Ancient Art.

¹⁷⁷ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 133–137, cat. nos. 83–85; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, figs. 9–10; Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, p. 212–214, pls. 46, 8.195–8.200.

¹⁷⁸ L. Kötsche in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, cat. no. 402; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 85; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 9; M. Del Moro in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 113.

¹⁷⁹ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 85.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, cat. no. 83; Weidemann, *Spätantike Bilder*, fig. 10. 8 examples in Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 213–214, pls. 46, 8.200.



Fig. 11. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles killing the Nemean lion, 350–430. Formerly Chatswold Collection.

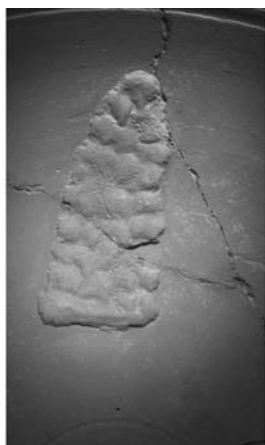




Fig. 12a–e. ARS bowl with Herakles killing the Nemean lion and the hydra of Lerna near a mountain, 350–430 CE. From Belo, Spain. National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.



Fig. 13. ARS plate with Herakles capturing the Amazon queen and the Kerynitian hind, 350–430. National Museum of Roman Art, Merida.



Fig. 14. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles and the Erymanthean boar, 350–430 CE. Harlan J. Berk, Ltd.



Fig. 15. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles cleaning the Augean stables, 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 16. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles and Hippolyte, 350–430 CE. Formerly Estate of Sir Charles Nuffler, Bart.



Fig. 17. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles and Geryon, 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 18. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Kerberos being dragged from Hades by Herakles, 350–430. Private collection.



Fig. 19. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Athena greeting Herakles on Olympos, 350–430 CE. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. Gift of William K. Zewadski in honor of Monique Brouillet Seefried, Curator of Near Eastern Art, 1996.5.227.



Fig. 20. ARS bowl with Herakles holding a crab and Hera (?), 350–430 CE. Private collection.

While the deeds of Herakles present a greater number of episodes than Christ's miracle cycle, it remains to be seen whether or not North African potters produced more repetitions of the hero's deeds than of Christ's miracles. The raising of Lazarus was particularly popular.

Herakles' ability to compete for artistic attention in the fourth and fifth centuries may reflect not only the persistence of his cult and the attractiveness of his traditional artistic imagery but also an attachment to traditional literature. Richard Brilliant has called attention to the element of nostalgia in Late Roman mythological imagery.¹⁸¹ In troubled times the cultivated longed for evocations of the good old days and the culture that went with them. The moral aspects of Herakles, which Celsus emphasized, continued to be another attraction. Brilliant also pointed out that Late Roman education was still founded on Classical literature and that there was no substitute for the exciting tales that that tradition provided. In the realm of ceramics, the value of these tales as entertainment must have been significant. As mentioned above, by far the most numerous subjects depicted on ARS were animals and fish, with their evocation of hunting, fishing, and dining. Beast hunts in arenas and out in the wild were also enormously popular. Herakles' battles with monsters provided a more sophisticated satisfaction of the same appetites.

Nevertheless, hints of serious veneration lingered around the figure of Herakles as presented on ARS. As in earlier times, Herakles was a subject of interest not only as a doer of great deeds but also as a mortal who overcame death.¹⁸² The attainment of Paradise is implicit in his taking the golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides (pl. 34a). Triumph over Hades is made explicit in his taming of Cerberus (fig. 18). His encounters with Athena allude to his apotheosis after death (pl. 35a, fig. 19). North African potters even make a novel allusion to Herakles' role as a savior of humanity. In an apparently unique ARS fragment, a child-like person looks out of a cave in a mountain (fig. 21);¹⁸³ just such mountains (minus the person in the cave) appear on the bowl in Madrid showing Herakles killing the Hydra and choking the lion (fig. 12a, c).¹⁸⁴ The person in the unique shard (fig. 21) is

¹⁸¹ Brilliant, in Weitzmann, *Spirituality*, 126–131.

¹⁸² H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris: Boccard, 1951), 230.

¹⁸³ Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 196, pl. 41, cat. no. 8.126; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 63 (incorrectly considered the birth of Mithras in the 2002 edition); Harlan J. Berk, Ltd., *Buy or Bid Sale 168*, Chicago 16 March 2010, lot no. 534.

¹⁸⁴ This kind of mountain is presently known only on this fragment and the bowl in Madrid: see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 196, pls. 41, 8.126–8.126a.

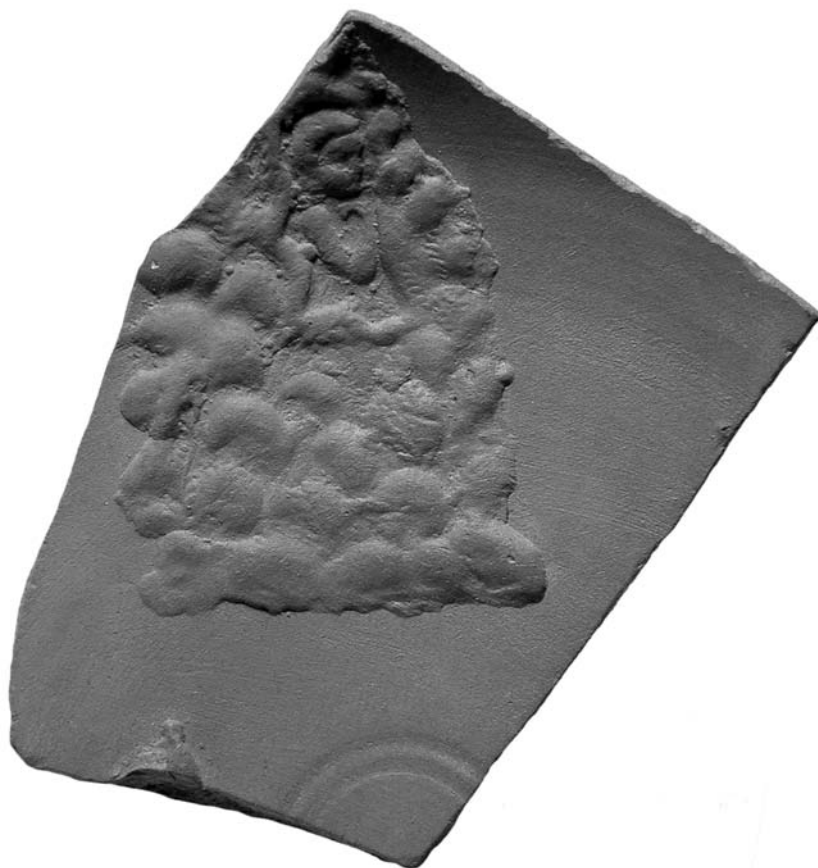


Fig. 21. Fragmentary ARS bowl with a person hiding in a cave (as Herakles kills a monster?), 350–430. Formerly estate of Sir Charles Nuffler, Bart.

probably hiding from some monster that Herakles is killing. If this reconstruction is correct, the inclusion of a human beneficiary of Herakles' prowess in imagery on ARS could well have been motivated by the multimedia competition among saving divinities during Late Antiquity. The Alkestis story, in which Herakles saves humans explicitly, is apparently missing in depictions on ARS, but this omission may reflect the limits imposed by the success-oriented imagery on pottery. The death of Alkestis may have raised an issue that was too disturbing. In their choice of biblical stories of salvation (and in their exclusion of martyrdoms), African potters also manifest a preference for tales in which the protagonists do not suffer death.

Herakles' blossoming on ARS eventually withered away. The hero makes rare appearances on African lamps produced in the mid-fifth century. He shoots the Stymphalian birds (pl. 35b)¹⁸⁵ or merely stands alone.¹⁸⁶ His presence is also implied on a lamp with an Amazon swinging her axe against a missing adversary (fig. 22).¹⁸⁷ The composition repeats a part of the image seen on an earlier bowl and plate, where Herakles unbelt the Amazon queen (figs. 13, 16). The hero must have been omitted for lack of space. Herakles' diminished presence on fifth-century lamps not only reflects the advance of Christian culture but also suggests that the conquest of North Africa, completed by the Vandals around 430, shook the foundations—perhaps even the educational foundations—that underlay his earlier popularity.

In his attack on Christianity, Celsus anticipated many aspects of a theological competition that was to go on for centuries. Christianity, paganism, philosophy, and Judaism were all involved in this discussion, and the rivalry took place in the realm of popular images as well as reasoned debate. Some of Celsus' proposals for subjects of veneration must have been based on information provided to him by Jews and Christians. Some of his suggestions—particularly the philosophers—might have appealed to literati but would have had no chance in a popularity contest with saviors and healers. Some of his other heroes—both pagan and Jewish—were also innovative choices that proved to be ready for prominence. With their touch of the miraculous, these heroes would have great staying power in the religious and cultural competition of Late Pagan and Christian antiquity.

¹⁸⁵ 1. Rome, Antiquario Comunale, inv. 14995; Salomonson, "Spättrömische rote Tonware," 57–58, fig. 115; Salomonson, *Voluptatem*, 17, pl. 8; Martini, in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, 263, 365, cat. no. 69.

2. Barbera and Petriaggi, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche*, 229–230; Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Museum (unpublished?).

3. Christie's, *Antiquities*, New York, 11 Dec. 2003, lot 236, top center; Ira and Larry Goldberg Auctioneers, *Sale 55* (Beverly Hills: October 29–30, 2009), lot 860: http://images.goldbergauctions.com/php/lot_auc.php?site=1&sale=55&lot=860&lang=1 (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁸⁶ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 189444; Barbera and Petriaggi, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche*, 229–230, 391, 418, cat. no. 191, pl. 30.419.

¹⁸⁷ For another example, see J. Bussière, *Lampes antiques d'Algérie II* (Monographies instrumentum 35; Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2007), cat. no. C452, p. 113, pl. 27.



Fig. 22. African lamp with an Amazon (Hippolyte), mid-5th century. Private collection.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DIVINE TWINS OR SAINTLY TWINS: THE DIOSCURI IN AN EARLY CHRISTIAN CONTEXT*

Annewies van den Hoek

The divine twins Castor and Pollux have had a venerable and persistent cult tradition in the Greek and Roman world. Their images were durable enough to make their way into early Christianity. This article discusses the appearance of the Dioscuri on fourth- and fifth-century ceramic wares from North Africa and the problems connected with the “Christianization” of their imagery (pl. 36a).

THE MYTH

Castor and Pollux were the mythological twin sons of Leda from two different fathers. In a biologically dubious way, the myth portrays the divine Zeus as the father of Pollux and Tyndareus, the mortal king of Sparta, as the father of Castor. The Dioscuri were also the brothers of Helen of Troy and Clytemnestra and the half brothers of a group of other mythological figures. Although they had the same mother, their paternal descent meant that one of them was immortal, while the other was not. When Castor inevitably died Pollux, being loyal to his mortal brother, asked his divine father to let him share immortality with his brother. Thus their mythological tale received a cosmological twist, transforming the two figures into the constellation of the Gemini, one of the signs in the Zodiac. From early onwards these two divine figures were enormously popular throughout antiquity both in the Greek and Roman worlds. They were probably introduced in Archaic

* A version of this paper was given at the Annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston in 2008, SBL 23–26 Art and Religions of Antiquity Section, Theme: The Iconography of the Border: Non-Christian, Non-Jewish Images from Antiquity. Another version was presented as keynote address at an interdisciplinary conference sponsored by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions, Emory University, and the Michael C. Carlos Museum, March 22–23, 2013.

times to the West through the Greek colonies in southern Italy. The earliest mention of the Twins is an archaic Latin inscription dating to the fifth or sixth century BCE (pl. 36b).¹ They continued to be popular in Classical times, as attested by a terracotta relief with one of the Dioscuri in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which reportedly came from a sanctuary near Taranto in southern Italy (fig. 1).² The popularity of the twin figures in the Latin-speaking world was not confined to the Italian peninsula but also migrated to the shores of North Africa. The twins continued to be venerated well into late antiquity, as reflected on ceramics of the early Christian era.

THE DIOSCURI ON NORTH AFRICAN CERAMICS

In 1862 a local newspaper in North Africa reported that a few years earlier someone by the name of Nicolet, a French army officer, had found an ancient terracotta plate on his property.³ He had discovered other antiquities before, since his house was built on the ruins of ancient Tanaramusa (El Hadjeb) near modern Mouzaïa (Mouzaïaville) in Algeria. In great detail the article described the dimensions of the plate, the images of the two Dioscuri in the center field, the figures on the rim, and the appearance of an inscription. Unfortunately, that is all we have; a footnote to the article states that “in the absence of colonel Nicolet, his children broke the plate that was just described.” Fortunately for us, the description of the plate and its inscription made their way into the *Revue africaine* and into the eighth volume of the *CIL*, so that although the object was lost the information lives on.⁴

¹ The inscription (*CIL* I² 2833) reads from right to left “Castorei Podlouqueique qurois”—“To Castor and Pollux, the youths”. The inscription suggests that there was a direct transmission from the Greeks to the West; it shows both Latin and Greek word forms with “qurois” being a direct transliteration of the Greek *κούροις*; see Mary Beard, John North, Simon Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1: *A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 21; Rosanna Friggeri, *The Epigraphic Collection of the Museo Nazionale Romano at the Baths of Diocletian* (Rome: Electa, 2001), 27.

² Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.7981 (unpublished); see <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/152558> (consulted 7 August 2013).

³ *L'Observateur* of Blida of 1860.

⁴ *Revue africaine* VI (1862), 463–464. *CIL* VIII, 9285. Paul Monceaux, *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*. Pt. 4. *Martyrs et reliques* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), 308, no. 321. Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* (3 vols.; Berlin: Weidamannos, 1925), 2: 487, no. 2499. Jan Willem Salomonson, “Late Roman Earthenware with Relief Decoration Found in Northern-Africa and Egypt,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 43 (1962), 69–72. Jochen Garbsch, “Spätantike Sigillata-Tabletts,”

Other fragments with the same subject matter have surfaced since. In the nineteen sixties the Dutch expert on African Red Slip ware, Jan Willem Salomonson, published other examples.⁵ Twenty years later the German scholar Jochen Garbsch, who was curator of the collection in Munich, published additional fragments. Garbsch also made a reconstruction of the lost Algerian object, in which the Dioscuri appear with their horses in the central field (fig. 2).⁶ The rectangular platter on which the scene appears is called a *lanx*. Such platters were commonly produced in African Red Slip ware (ARS); characteristically they have a deep floor, a broad, flat rim, and a low foot. These ceramic wares, which are usually dated between 340 and 430 CE, were modest cousins of more prestigious objects made out of precious material, such as the silver *lanx* from Corbridge (fig. 3). The reconstruction of the lost Algerian ceramic *lanx* shows in the central field two rider gods flanking a vase (a *cantharus*), with an inscription that occupies the upper field and hovers over their heads. The symmetrical position of the Twin gods is a well-known feature in their iconography, whether it occurs in freestanding sculpture, in relief sculpture, or on sarcophagi (pl. 37a, fig. 4). There are, however, distinct differences between the late antique images of the Dioscuri on ARS and their more classical appearances. Traditionally they were almost always depicted naked with a cloak (*chlamys*) wrapped around their shoulders. A relief from El Djem, Tunisia provides a North African example (pl. 38a).⁷ The Dioscuri were often shown wearing a conical hat, the *pilos*, which is damaged in the El Djem example. A well-preserved marble head in the Museum of Constantine, Algeria (fig. 5) has a hole in the *pilos* for holding a star, another symbolic staple of the Dioscuri. Roman coins make the reconstruction evident (fig. 6).

BVBI 45 (1980): 183–184, figs. 21–22. Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 178–179. Armstrong, “Study Collection,” 436–437, fig. 51. Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 581, no. 9. 2, with a list of 10 fragments known at that time.

⁵ Salomonson, “Late Roman Earthenware,” 67–72. Two fragments from the Benaki Museum (pl. XXI nos. 1 and 2); one from Berlin (pl. XXI no. 3); and one from Tiddis (pl. XXI no. 4). For a full listing of the fragments, see Armstrong, “Study Collection” and *Thesaurus*.

⁶ Garbsch, “Spätantike Sigillata-Tablets,” 161–197; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 178–179. Garbsch recognized that his reconstruction was hypothetical and might differ in detail from the lost platter. The nineteenth-century description, for example, did not mention the presence of crosses in the corners.

⁷ Eric Moormann, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam* (Collections of the Allard Pierson Museum 1; Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 2000), 118, pl. 62a, cat. no. 143, inv. 12.520.



Fig. 1. Terracotta relief with one of the Dioscuri, 4th century BCE. Taranto (South Italy). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.7981. Museum purchase with funds donated by contribution.



Fig. 2. Reconstruction of a lost ARS lanx from Tanaramusa.



Fig. 3. Corbridge Lanx, Roman Britain, 4th century CE. Corbridge, Northumberland. British Museum, 1993.0401.1.



Fig. 4. Marble sarcophagus with the Dioscuri at the sides, 3rd century CE. Camposanto, Pisa.

Various surviving ARS fragments provide support for Garbsch's reconstruction of the Algerian plate (fig. 2). The newspaper article mentioned that the lost lanx had male figures on its border. Other fragmentary borders without the central part show similar male figures—supposedly apostles who are standing in a pose of acclamation (fig. 2).⁸ The corners of such fragments show monogrammatic crosses and figures holding a wreath. We do not have the connection between the central field and the rim, so the

⁸ a) For a palliatus gesturing to the right, see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, nos. 8.239–8.243. John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2002; second edition, Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins, 2003), no. 44. b) For a palliatus gesturing to the left, see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, nos. 8.244–246; and Fathi Bejaoui, *Céramique et Religion Chrétienne. Les Thèmes Bibliques sur la Sigillée Africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997), 95–96, nos. 43 and 43a. c) For a youth holding a wreath, see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, no. 8.247; Bejaoui, *Céramique*, 95–96, nos. 43d–43e; and Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, nos. 45, 46, and 47. Occasionally fragments with the imagery turn up on the art market; for example, Gorny and Mosch, *Auction 163*, 2007, lots 705–716.



Fig. 5. Head of Castor or Pollux, marble from Thasos. Sila, 2nd century CE. Cirta Museum, Constantine, Algeria, 3D Mb 10 (851B).



Fig. 6. Silver denarius with heads of the Dioscuri, wearing *pilei* surmounted by stars. Minted at Rome by Mn. Cordius Rufus, ca. 46 BCE.

reconstruction remains theoretical. A large fragment in the Benaki Museum in Athens, however, does show the central field with a connecting part of the rim, but this border is different (pl. 36a); it has running lions, a cantharus, and a small *aedicula* on the side, which we will return to later.⁹ The Dioscuri and inscription are paired elsewhere with yet a different rim¹⁰ on a fragmentary lanx found in central Tunisia and deposited in the Carthage Museum (fig. 8). The fragment shows two charging lions and a *venator*, who braces himself for the attack. A belt around the lion's waist marks him as a prized animal, so that the image depicts an amphitheater scene rather than a hunt in the wild.¹¹ A reconstructed lanx with a similar border of *venationes* but with a different center is housed in the Museum in Cairo (fig. 7).¹²

⁹ Benaki Museum, inv. 12393a; a second fragment, inv. 12394a. Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," Pl. XXI, nos. 1 and 2.

¹⁰ Fathi Bejaoui, "Les Dioscures, les apôtres et Lazare sur des plats en céramique africaine," *Antiquités africaines* 21 (1985): 173–177, fig. 3.

¹¹ Hermann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 84–85, no. 98.

¹² Egyptian Museum, inv. 86116.



Fig. 7. ARS lanx with venationes in the border and amphitheater scenes in the center, 340–430 CE. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 86116.



Fig. 8. Fragmentary ARS lanx with venatio scene in the border and Dioscuri and inscription in the center. Central Tunisia, 340–430 CE. Carthage Museum.

There are other unpublished lanx fragments of the inscribed central part, and, surprisingly, there are also fragments without the inscription (figs. 9–11).¹³ A North African lamp of a somewhat later date still has the same image of one of the Dioscuri in its tondo, which shows that the iconographic tradition continued over an extended period of time (fig. 12). Perhaps the sharpest image of one of the Dioscuri appears not on a lanx but on a fragmentary bowl (pl. 38b).¹⁴ Had it been complete, the bowl would undoubtedly have shown another rider on the right side, but nothing seems to have stood between the two, nor is there any inscription above them. The surviving figure is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, over which a mantle is loosely draped; a large fibula holds the mantle together on his right shoulder. His hat is not conical but floppy and bending forward; it is a so-called Phrygian cap. He wears trousers that display fine decoration, as does the lower part of his sleeves; this is probably meant to indicate embroidery; his tunic also shows some patterned decoration, which may be a belt. The whole outfit suggests an oriental costume and an oriental identity.

There are other oriental-looking figures on ARS, in both a Christian and non-Christian contexts, such as an image of the Good Shepherd¹⁵ and images of the Three Hebrews (figs. 13–14),¹⁶ or representations of Orpheus (pl. 37c, fig. 15), Paris, Mithras (figs. 16–18), and fishermen pulling up their nets (figs. 19–20). They are modeled after well-known types of figurative sculpture and mosaic representations of Paris, Attis, Ganymede, Orpheus, and the like (figs. 21–22). These Orientals also occur on small decorative objects, such as a bronze strap handle with Paris in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 23).¹⁷

¹³ The objects are from private collections in Italy, Germany, and the United States.

¹⁴ This shows that images of the Dioscuri not only occur on lanxes but also on other ARS forms. Salomonson showed a different plate from Saguntum; Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 68 (pl. XXI, no. 5).

¹⁵ Early Christian sarcophagi show a whole range of figures in Eastern costumes, but particularly representations of the three Magi and the three Hebrews in and out of the fire.

¹⁶ The Three Hebrews appear on African lamps with floppy hats and with cape-like head coverings. For the hats, see Barbara Seeberger, "Zur Herstellung figürlicher Spiegeldarstellungen auf nordafrikanischen Sigillatalampen des Typus Atlante X A1a im 5. Jahrhundert," *Bayerischen Vorgeschichtsblätter* 67 (2002): 125, and plate 10, 1 and 2; plate 12, 1 and 2. Similar lamps are in the Vatican collection and in the Timgad Museum. For the Three Hebrews wearing hoods, see Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 40, no. 28.

¹⁷ Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971), cat. no. 676.



Figs. 9–10. ARS lanx fragments with Dioscuri and inscription, 340–430 CE. Private collection, Arlington, VA.



Fig. 11. ARS lanx fragment with Dioscuri without inscription, 340–430 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 12. African lamp with one of the Dioscuri, 5th century. Private collection.



Fig. 13. Fragmentary ARS bowl with the Good Shepherd, 340–430 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 14. African lamp with the Three Hebrews, 5th century CE. Vatican Museums, 61304.



Fig. 15. ARS bowl with Orpheus (detail), 320–360 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1981.658. John Wheelock Elliot and John Morse Elliot Fund.



Fig. 16. ARS bowl with Paris awarding the apple to Venus, 340–430 CE. RG Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41399.



Fig. 17. ARS bowl with Mithras, 340–430 CE. RG Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39580.



Fig. 18. ARS bowl with Mithras, 340–430 CE. From Lavinium. Museo Nazionale Romano, Crypta Balbi, Rome, 440153.



Fig. 19. ARS fragment of a bowl with fishermen pulling in their nets, 340–430 CE. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA, 1996.5.206. Gift of William K. Zewadski.



Fig. 20. ARS fragment of a bowl with fishermen pulling in their nets, 340–430 CE. Private collection.

Since the Dioscuri almost always appear nude, it is unusual for them to wear anything more than a cloak over their shoulder. There are instances, however, in which they are clothed, particularly when they appear in the periphery of the empire. In Asia Minor (Pisidia), they can be seen wearing armor on coins and reliefs.¹⁸ In a marble relief with a dedicatory inscription to the Dioscuri, the twin horsemen flank a female figure, possibly their sister Helen, while the eagle of Zeus appears in the pediment (fig. 24).¹⁹ The Dioscuri of Pisidia, however, are not those of Sparta, famous in legend; in a Pisidian rock-cut relief, the armored twins are identified as the Dioscuri of Samothrace.²⁰ The armored Dioscuri also turn up on bronze plaques flanking Jupiter Dolichenus or Juno Dolichena on the northerneastern frontier.²¹ Others appear in Gaul²² or in the Levant, as on coins of Ascalon in Palestine.²³

The oriental costume of the African Dioscuri is even more surprising. It is alien to the Aegean, whether one thinks of the Spartan or the Samothracian Dioscuri. A few late parallels can be found. They appear in oriental outfits on an ivory plaque of the sixth century in Trieste possibly from Egypt (pl. 39a),²⁴ and on some early medieval textiles in Crefeld and Maastricht (pl. 39b).²⁵

¹⁸ Louis Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 107 (1983): 553–578, esp. 577. For coins of Pisidia with the Dioscuri in armor, which date from Nerva through Claudius Gothicus, 96–278 CE, see H. von Aulock, *Sylloge nummorum graecorum Deutschland*, 12 (Berlin: Mann, 1964) 5069 (Komana), 5166 and 5205 (Sagalassos); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 63.903; <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/coin-of-sagalassus-with-bust-of-nerva-268097> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹⁹ Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," 575–577, fig. 5; Cornelius Vermeule and Mary Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art 1971–1988* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), cat. no. 38.

²⁰ Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," 574–575.

²¹ LIMC 3.1, Castores, 624, no. 142, from Pannonia Inferior, Budapest, Mus. Nat. 10.1951.107, 2nd c. (with cuirass flanking Jupiter Dolichenus); Castores no. 143, from Germania Superior, after 175 CE, Wiesbaden, Mus. 6775 (with cuirass flanking Juno Dolichena).

²² LIMC 3.1, Castores, 619, no. 58, from Paris, Musée de Cluny, inv. 18604, Pilier des Nautes (with cuirass and paludamentum).

²³ Under Faustina II and Julia Domna: Gemini LLC, *Auction VI*, 10 January 2010, lots 687–688; http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?search=&view_mode=0&c=20&a=624&page=28 (consulted 7 August 2013).

²⁴ See Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978, 195–196, no. 75. The upper and lower panels may represent the astrological signs of the Gemini and Taurus.

²⁵ Annemarie Stauffer, *Die mittelalterlichen Textilien von St. Servatius in Maastricht* (Rigisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1991); and Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 71 and note 90.

"Danubian riders," who strongly resemble the Dioscuri, also wear Phrygian costume on magical gems and marble and lead reliefs. It is possible that the participation of the Dioscuri in the mythological voyage of the Argonauts far to the east might have justified their oriental appearance.²⁶

The Benaki lanx has another unusual feature in the central field, a cantharus in the middle.²⁷ As is well known, the cantharus plays an important symbolic role in the decoration and architecture of early Christian churches but not in the traditional iconography of the Dioscuri.²⁸ Iconographically the closest comparison comes from an unlikely source, a Sasanian plate of the fifth or sixth century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York that has twin figures, winged horses, and a vase (pl. 40a). The scene is unique in Sasanian art, and scholars have suggested a possible Western influence.²⁹ The water source between the two divine riders can, however, be explained from the special connection that the divinities had with the city of Rome. We will return to this important symbolic aspect of the scene later, but first a few more words should be said about the remaining images.

On its rim the Benaki lanx has a running lion (a very common subject), the tail of another lion, a cantharus, and a little aedicula (pl. 36a). The aedicula is a tomb in which a small figure is tightly wrapped in a shroud. The figure is Lazarus, and the image refers to his resurrection. Other objects give a fuller

²⁶ I owe this observation to John Herrmann; see also Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 5.366 and <http://www.theoi.com/Ouranios/Dioskouroi.html> and <http://www.theoi.com/Cult/DioskouroiCult.html> (consulted 7 August 2013). The Dioscuri of Samothrace, an island in the northeast Aegean could also have become associated with the world of Troy on the nearby Asiatic mainland and hence with Trojans, such as Paris, who were shown in oriental costume. A late mosaic at Ostia indicates the Dioscuri became connected with the Mithras cult, which has many "Eastern" features (see below, note 77). On the Danubian Riders, who trample a fish and/or enemies, see Tudor, *Corpus*; *The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database*: <http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/object/search?element=747> (consulted 31 August 2013).

²⁷ The ovoids in the cantharus could be interpreted as leaves or perhaps (less likely) as handles of a lid. One can compare them to other canthari, particularly, on African lamps, some of which have small birds (perhaps doves), others budding vegetation or fully grown flowering plants; see Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes*, nos. 400. 803–855. Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 156–157, nos. 161–167.

²⁸ For the most extensive presentation of iconography and typology, see the article "Dioskouroi" *LIMC* 3.1. Some representations have the Dioscuri with their horses standing with sacrificial animals on either side of an altar; see, for example, a marble relief, sold at auction at Christie's, *Antiquities Sale 4925*, April 26, 2012, lot no. 211; http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5546883 (consulted 7 August 2013).

²⁹ See Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 167, no. 145.



Fig. 21. Marble statue of Paris from a Mithraeum outside Porta Portese (Jenkins excavations 1785), 2nd century CE, with modern restorations. Vatican Museums, Rome, 1705.



Fig. 22. Marble relief of a shepherd in Eastern costume, 2nd or 3rd century CE. Vatican Museums, Rome, 4984.



Fig. 23. Bronze handle or attachment with a figure in Eastern costume, 150–300 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 64.83. Gift of Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule, Jr.



Fig. 24. Marble votive relief with Dioscuri and Helen, ascribed to Pisidia, Asia Minor, 2nd or 3rd century CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1993.704. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III in the name of Cornelius Adrian Comstock Vermeule.



Fig. 25. Tondo of African lamp with Lazarus and his sisters, second half of the 5th century. Private collection.



Fig. 26. ARS bowl (*patena*) with biblical subjects (detail), 320–360 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2002.131. Museum purchase with funds donated in memory of Emily Townsend Vermeule.

version of the pictorial story, as in the tondo of a lamp, where two female heads, Lazarus's sisters Martha and Mary flank the little mummy in its tomb (fig. 25),³⁰ or even more fully on a magnificent bowl in the MFA in Boston, in which the tomb is flanked by one of the sisters and by Christ, who performs the miracle (fig. 26).

If anyone were to doubt the Christian identity of the imagery on the lanx, the inscription takes care of that (pl. 36a). It reads in capital letters ORATIONIBVS SANTORVM PE / RDVCET DOMINVS, which translates as: "By the intercessions [prayers] of the Saints the Lord will lead." The verb *perducere* means "to lead, bring, guide a person or thing to any place."³¹ The problem here is that no direct object specifies "who" is being led, and no indication is given as to "where" (*ad* or *in*) the Lord will lead. The phrase "*orationibus sanctorum*" rings a biblical bell since it occurs in the book of Revelation.³² The words are often used in early Christian literary texts of the period, whether in connection with the biblical text or independently.³³ The second part of the inscription "*perducat Dominus*" can be amply paralleled with examples in the works of Augustine and his contemporaries, indicating that the Lord will lead the faithful "to eternal life," "to eternal blessedness," "to the contemplation of God," "to eternal rest and joy," "to the chamber of the king where all treasures of wisdom are hidden."³⁴ The

³⁰ See Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 48, no. 36.

³¹ For additional meanings, see *OLC* VI s. v.

³² See Rev 8:3–4.

³³ Tertullian, *De baptismo* 12; Ambrose, *De Isaac vel anima* 5, 44 and *Epistula* 8, 54, 5; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistula* 5, 12; Augustine, *Sermo* 313E and *Contra Maximinum* 1; Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae* 3.

³⁴ Augustine: *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, quaestio 71: sed hoc officium, quod non est sempiternum, perducet sane ad beatitudinem sempiternam, in qua nulla erunt onera nostra, quae inuicem portare iubeamur; *De trinitate* 1, 9–10: quoniam cum perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei et patris, profecto perducet ad contemplationem suam qui dixit: et ostendam illi me ipsum ... dominus noster iesus christus, non se inde separato nec spiritu sancto, quoniam perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est finis omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et gaudium quod non auferetur a nobis; *Enarrat. Ps.*, ps. 103, sermo 1, 13: etenim illuc manus tua deducet me et perducet me dextera tua (see also *De natura et gratia* 32, 36); *De ordine* 1, 4: sic pater ille deus faciat! perducet enim ipse, si sequimur, quo nos ire iubet atque ubi ponere sedem, qui dat modo augurium nostris que inlabitur animis. *Trac. Ev. Jo.* 21, 15: amas, et non uides; amor ipse non te perducet ut uideas? Idem, 53, 7: ipsa perducet ad cubiculum regis, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi. *Sermo* 236 (PL 38, c. 1121): illuc perducet, ubi fiat quod scriptum est, beati qui habitant in domo tua, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te; but see Jerome, *Commentarii in prophetas minores* (ed. Adriaen), In Naum, cap. 1, l. 106: sed haec omnia consumet dominus iesus spiritu oris sui, et destruet illuminatione aduentus sui, et ad deserta perducet.

phrase may have some liturgical overtones, and it certainly evokes eternal life as the implied goal or end of the journey toward which the Lord leads.³⁵ The question then arises whether or not the Dioscuri represent the saints mentioned in the inscription above their heads. It seems reasonable to presume that a connection exists between the inscription and the imagery.

It should be noted that the Dioscuri continued their Christian associations on North African ceramic wares. They turn up on a lamp of the fifth century (fig. 12) and on a fragment of an ARS platter of the sixth century. The fragment shows one of the brothers, dressed in a long cloak, holding a spear, and standing beside a cross.³⁶ The other brother presumably stood on the missing side of the cross. In this sixth century ware, the figures are stamped rather than applied as reliefs.³⁷ Other plates of the period show the twins still in a pagan context.³⁸ Wearing their unmistakable conical caps crowned by stars, they flank the god Bacchus.

Few other examples of the Dioscuri can be found in an early Christian ambiance.³⁹ The most remarkable representation is on a beautifully preserved sarcophagus found in the Elysian Fields of Arles (Les Alyscamps) (fig. 27a–c); it portrays two scenes of a married couple—perhaps in different phases of their union.⁴⁰ The divine twins in customary nude fashion stand with their horses in the outer arches, just as in the sarcophagus from Pisa (fig. 4). In funerary art they probably function as emblems for the eternal process of death and immortality.⁴¹ Nothing would reveal the Christian

³⁵ A different verb is often used to denote attaining victory: *ad victoriam pervenire*. For additional passages, see Monceaux, *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne*, 308, no. 321; and Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 70, notes 79–81.

³⁶ Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 71, pl. XXII 4.

³⁷ Another stamp of this period may show the Dioscuri as saints, see Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 262–264, fig. 50, i, stamps 228–229.

³⁸ Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 71, pl. XXII 5.

³⁹ Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 71, note 89. Salomonson also calls attention to a later ARS plate that depicts Bacchus in the center and two heads of the Dioscuri on each side (*ibid.*, 71, [pl. XXII 5] and note 92). In addition he lists two Byzantine textiles (*ibid.*, 71, note 90). For an illustration of the latter, see O.M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 597, fig. 377.

⁴⁰ E. Le Blant, *Études sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), 38–41, figs. 23–24, 1–2. For modern bibliography, see *LIMC* 3.1, Dioskouroi/Castores, 620, no. 83.

⁴¹ Rather than being protectors of the souls, as Cumont had argued; see Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, "Monsieur Cumont on Roman Funerary Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 86/507 (June, 1945): 148–152, esp. 151.

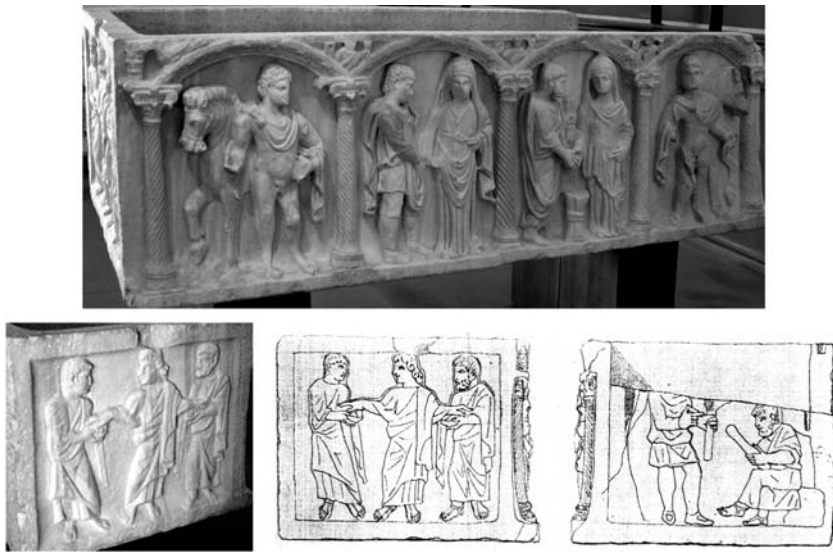


Fig. 27a–c. Marble sarcophagus with two couples flanked by the Dioscuri. Les Alyscamps, 4th century CE. Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, inv. FAN.g2.00.2482. b: End panel with the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. c: Drawing of both end panels: multiplication of the loaves and fishes and a seated figure, possibly the apostle Peter.

identity of the sarcophagus, were it not for the end panels. One shows the multiplication of the loaves and fishes and the other a seated figure, possibly the apostle Peter.

To gain a better understanding of why the Dioscuri appear on early Christian sarcophagi and on ARS plates, it is helpful to briefly review the Dioscuri in Roman traditions.⁴²

⁴² The cult of the Dioscuri in North Africa was influenced by traditions from Rome but also had specific North African characteristics that were closely linked to the cult of Saturn. For the former, see, for example, the monumental sarcophagus in Tipasa, *LIMC* 3.1, 619, no. 82. For the latter, see Marcel Le Glay, *Saturne Africain* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1966). Andrew Wilson, "Romanizing Baal: The Art of Worship in North Africa," in *Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art* (Zagreb, 2003) and (Zagreb, 2005) (Zagreb: Golden Marketing-Tehnička Knjiga, 2005), 403–408.

THE DIOSCURI AND THEIR ROMAN IDENTIFICATION

The Romans identified with the Dioscuri in a rather specific way.⁴³ They attributed a legendary battle and subsequent victory in the early fifth century BCE at Lake Regillus to the intervention of the Twins. During the battle the dictator Aulus Postumius asked for the assistance of the Dioscuri and vowed to dedicate a temple to them.⁴⁴ The myth states that two young men appeared on white horses and fought alongside the Romans. The young men, who were interpreted as the Dioscuri, also appeared on the same day on the Roman Forum to announce the victory and water their horses. Roman tradition continued to commemorate the event and the assistance the Romans received. From the late fourth century (BCE) onwards, a ritual parade of horsemen, called the *transvectio equitum*, was held at Rome in honor of the Dioscuri. The event took place with much pomp and circumstance to commemorate the legendary battle and to reenact the appearance of the Dioscuri on the forum. Literary sources tell us that the Roman cavalry made a tour from the Temple of Mars outside the city to the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the forum (pl. 40b).⁴⁵

At the place where the Dioscuri were said to have watered their horses there is a source of fresh water, called the spring of Juturna (*fons* or *lacus Iuturnae*), Juturna being a Latin goddess or nymph of springs. Some Roman coins from the Republican period depict this event in their imagery (fig. 28).⁴⁶ A shrine

⁴³ For many aspects of the Dioscuri touched on here, see the rich exhibition catalogue, Leila Nista, ed., *Castores: L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994).

⁴⁴ See Birte Poulsen, "The Dioscuri and Ruler Ideology," in *Symbolae Osloenses LXVI* (1991): 119–146. Birte Poulsen, "Cult, Myth, and Politics," in Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen, eds., *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma 17; Rome: De Luca, 1992), 46–53. Birte Poulsen, "Ideologia, mito e culto dei Castori a Roma: dall'età repubblicana al tardo-antico," in Nista, *Castores*, 91–95.

⁴⁵ Birte Poulsen, "The Written Sources," in Nielsen and Poulsen, *Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, 59–60. This chapter also has an extensive bibliography on the literary and epigraphic sources.

⁴⁶ The imagery of the Dioscuri is most frequent on Roman Republican coins. Gabriella Angeli Bufalini Petrocchi, "L'iconografia dei Dioscuri sui denari della repubblica romana," in Nista, *Castores*, 101–105. For the various types, see Michael H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 861–862. For the Dioscuri on Roman coins in general and on coins from Ostia in particular, see Eric Taylor, <http://www.ostia-antica.org/dict/topics/mint/minto4.htm> (consulted 1 July 2013). For the consultation of coins, in general, we used the website of CoinArchives: <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 7 August 2013).



Fig. 28. Silver denarius of A. Postumius Albinus. Rome, 96 BCE. Obverse: head of Apollo. Reverse: Dioscuri watering horses at fountain of Juturna.

dedicated to Juturna was built and rebuilt over the spring, and a marble wellhead (*puteal*) covered with inscriptions was found there (pl. 41).⁴⁷ The fountain and the temple were probably seen as a single sanctuary to Castor and Pollux, for it has been demonstrated that they were restored simultaneously at various times in their history. Excavators also unearthed a water basin in this area. The basin must have been the stimulus for the image of the cantharus between the horsemen on the ARS platters and bowls. Although the cantharus is a common subject in early Christian iconography, in the context of the Dioscuri on ARS, it clearly alludes to the *fons Iuturnae*. If this observation is correct, the iconography on the ARS lanx would indicate a strong connection with the city of Rome and its legendary past.⁴⁸

In addition to helping the cavalry on the battlefield, the Romans also viewed the Dioscuri as helpers of travelers and sailors—a role that had long been established in the Greek world as well. The twins would be called on for favorable winds or to escape distress at sea. Thus the central elements in the religious understanding and worship of the Dioscuri were intervention and salvation. A great number of coins from the Roman Republican period bring out this special connection between Rome and its special protectors, the Dioscuri (figs. 29–30).

⁴⁷ Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York: Praeger, 1962), 9–17. E.M. Steinby, ed., *Lacus Iuturnae I* (Rome: De Luca, 1989). Amanda Claridge, Judith Toms, Tony Cubberley, *Rome, An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 95–97.

⁴⁸ This connection has been demonstrated in other instances as well, see Annewies van den Hoek, “Peter, Paul and a Consul. Recent Discoveries in African Red Slip Ware,” *ZAC* 9/2 (2006): 197–246.



Fig. 29. Silver denarius. Rome, after 211 BCE. Obverse: helmeted head of Roma. Reverse: Dioscuri galloping to the right.



Fig. 30. Silver denarius of L. Memmius. Rome, 109–108 BCE. Obverse: young male head. Reverse: Dioscuri with their horses.

With the emperor Augustus a new element came into play.⁴⁹ The emperor gave a renewed prominence to the twin gods as symbols of a victorious Rome by making them the patrons of equestrian youth. In this process he elevated his two grandsons (or adoptive sons), Gaius and Lucius, to the first ranks among the young aristocrats. As *principes iuventutis* and as heirs and successors of Augustus, they came to be modeled after the twin gods. At the annual *transvectio equitum* they rode on white horses (like the

⁴⁹ Eugenio La Rocca, "Memorie di Castore, principi come Dioscuri," in Nista, *Castores*, 73–90.

Dioscuri) at the front of the procession, dressed in glamorous outfits and equipped with silver shields and spears. The scheme allowed not only the young princes to stand side by side with divinity, but it equally reflected on their adoptive father. After the death of Lucius and Gaius, Tiberius and Drusus played similar roles, representing the divine twins, as did Germanicus and Drusus the Younger after them. This imperial imprint given to the cult of the Dioscuri or Castores (as they were also called) persisted throughout the first century.⁵⁰ Various coins were issued with the reverse depicting either full-fledged images of the Dioscuri or symbolic references, such as the two stars or the characteristic conical caps. The imagery continued on and off in the second and early third centuries, particularly if the imperial households produced real twins, as in the case of Commodus (pl. 42, top row).⁵¹ In the third century the soldier emperors showed little affinity for the imagery,⁵² but it resurfaced rather strongly in the early fourth century on coins of Maxentius (pl. 42c–g)⁵³ and to a lesser extent on coins of Constantine (figs. 31–34). From the coinage it becomes clear how strong the symbolic connection was between the city of Rome and the Dioscuri. The point is made most strongly on the coinage of Maxentius, with its doubling of twins—the divine twins paired with the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus—and the legend *Urbs Roma*. In this way Maxentius tried to revive and propagate the imperial ideology of a victorious Rome, placing himself in the grand tradition of the emperor Augustus himself.⁵⁴ Constantine continued the imagery of the she-wolf and the suckling twins but diluted an overt reference to Olympian religion by replacing the Dioscuri with two stars above the wolf.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Poulsen, “Dioscuri and Ruler Ideology,” 122–134.

⁵¹ The coins date to 178 and 185/186. Commodus (born 161; reign 180–192) was the son of the reigning emperor Marcus Aurelius. He had an elder twin brother, Titus Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, who died in 165. In 166, Commodus was made Caesar together with his younger brother Marcus Annius Verus; the latter also died in 169, which left Commodus as Marcus Aurelius's sole surviving son. For this coin and other examples of the type, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁵² Poulsen, “Cult, Myth, and Politics,” 52.

⁵³ Coins of Maxentius, struck 308–312 in Ostia and Rome. See Eric Taylor, “The Maxentian Mint at Ostia,” <http://www.ostia-antica.org/dict/topics/mint/mint.htm> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁵⁴ Jan Willem Drijvers, “Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius,” in Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, eds., *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 20.

⁵⁵ Julian is another emperor who may still stand in this tradition. Bronze coins were minted from 360 to 363 CE that show a bull on the reverse with two stars above, possibly representing the Twins.



Fig. 31. Follis of Constantine I. Siscia mint, 334–335 CE. Helmeted bust of Roma. Reverse: she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars; crown of victory.



Fig. 32. Follis of Constantine I. Siscia mint, 334–335 CE. Helmeted bust of Roma. Reverse: she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars; crown of victory.



Fig. 33. Follis of Constantine I. Trier mint, 333–334 CE. Helmeted bust of Roma. Reverse: she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars; crown of victory.



Fig. 34. Follis of Constantine I. Arles mint, 332–333 CE. Helmeted bust of Roma. Reverse: she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars; three limb branch.

Various temples in Rome were dedicated to Castor and Pollux, the most famous being the one on the Forum Romanum, of which three columns are still standing; they stem from the reconstruction of the ancient temple at the time of Augustus and Tiberius.⁵⁶ As discussed above, the fountain of Juturna stands in close proximity to it. Large statues of the Dioscuri were also erected there, elsewhere in Rome, and in other cities of the Empire. According to literary sources, Constantine and his successors decorated the Hippodrome in Constantinople with a collection of antiquities (fig. 35); he also incorporated a temple of the Dioscuri, whose statues could still be seen in the porticoes of the hippodrome a hundred seventy years later.⁵⁷ In Rome itself larger-than-life-size sculptures of the divine Twins were set up, some of which are still standing in prominent locations.⁵⁸ A pair of colossal statues of the Twins dating from the second century was unearthed in 1560 in the old Ghetto of Rome and erected more or less immediately at the top of the stairs leading

⁵⁶ The temple was dedicated in the names of Tiberius and Drusus, see Poulsen, "Written Sources," 57. Siri Sande, "Il tempio del Foro Romano: l'età Augustea," in Nista, *Castores*, 113–118.

⁵⁷ Zosimos (c. 501), *New History* 2, 31: He [Constantine] decorated the hippodrome most beautifully, incorporating the temple of the Dioscuri in it; their statues are still to be seen standing in the porticoes of the hippodrome. He even placed somewhere in the hippodrome the tripod of the Delphic Apollo, which had on it the very image of Apollo." Sarah Gubert Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *DOP* 45 (1991), 87–96.

⁵⁸ For the sculptural typology and iconography of the Dioscuri in Roman times, see the dissertation by Stefan Geppert, *Castor und Pollux. Untersuchungen zu den Darstellungen der Dioskuren in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Münster: Lit, 1996).



Fig. 35. Engraving (copied from an earlier drawing) of the Hippodrome at Constantinople from *De ludis circensibus* by Onofrio Panvinio (Venice, 1600).

to the Capitoline Hill (fig. 36).⁵⁹ Already some decades earlier the Farnese pope, Paul III, had asked Michelangelo to design a project for that area, but building did not begin until 1546 and progressed so slowly that Michelangelo only lived to oversee the beginning of the work. The piazza was completed in the seventeenth century, but the design remained largely intact. As shown in a sixteenth century print, Michelangelo and Pope Paul III may have had a different group of statues in mind for the plan. On an engraving by Étienne Dupérac, one can see another famous group at the top of the stairs, an arrangement that was never executed (fig. 37).

The envisioned group was and remains to the present day situated on one of the other hills of Rome, the Quirinale (fig. 38).⁶⁰ These statues received the name the Horse Tamers, and accordingly their surrounding area was commonly known as Monte Cavallo. The group has probably been in that area since antiquity. In the sixteenth century the group was situated in a slightly different place not far from the present location, but on the curve

⁵⁹ Geppert, *Castor und Pollux*, 41–46. Claudio Parisi Presicce, “I Dioscuri Capitolini e l’iconografia dei gemelli divini in età romana,” in Nista, *Castores*, 153–191.

⁶⁰ Leila Nista, “L’iconografia dei Dioscuri del Quirinale ed il restauro di Sisto V,” in Nista, *Castores*, 193–208. Geppert, *Castor und Pollux*, 64–67, 140–142.



Fig. 36. Marble statues of the Dioscuri on the Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome.

of the road facing it.⁶¹ On the other side of the road and in close range the Baths of Constantine were constructed.⁶² Their remains were still visible in the sixteenth century, as can be seen in a print by Etienne du Pérac dated around 1575 (fig. 39). In some images the vestiges of a construction on which the sculptures of the Dioscuri stood are also visible.⁶³ Other sculptures were found together with the horse tamers, such as statues of Constantine and one of his sons, plus two reclining river gods. The former are now on the Capitoline and in the entry portico of the Lateran Church, while the latter flank the Palazzo del Senato also on the Capitoline. It is commonly thought that the statues of Constantine and his sons might have come from the adjacent baths complex, but the origin of the horse tamers remains unknown. Another hypothesis is that they could have come from the nearby temple of Serapis,⁶⁴ which is more likely than the scenario that connects them with a hypothetical *nymphaeum*, as others have suggested.⁶⁵ The sculptures themselves date to the time of the Antonines, but there are no ancient sources that confirm this. A ninth-century pilgrim's itinerary⁶⁶ described them as "*cavalli marmorei*," and in the Middle Ages they received a Christian makeover that identified them not as the Dioscuri but as prophets, while a female figure on a now-lost fountain in front of the group was known as Ecclesia.⁶⁷

The close connection between Rome and the Dioscuri also appears in fourth-century literary texts. In a panegyric of Constantine, the Latin rhetorician Nazarius sang the praises of Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.⁶⁸ The speech was delivered nine years

⁶¹ Helge Gamrath, *Roma Sancta Renovata* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987). Thuri Lorenz, "Ein Nymphäum auf dem Quirinal," *MededRom* 41 (1979): 43–57.

⁶² This is in the area where, in modern times, the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi is located. The Borghese family built the palace over the ruins of the baths of Constantine, whose remains are now part of the basement of the Casino dell'Aurora.

⁶³ For a new assessment of the colossal temple on the Quirinal Hill, including the large sculptures, see Raybun Taylor, "Hadrian's Serapeum in Rome," *AJA* 108/2 (2004): 223–266.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁶⁵ Lorenz, "Nymphäum," 52.

⁶⁶ Codex Einsiedlensis (Einsiedeln no. 326).

⁶⁷ The medieval *Mirabilia* reported that these were "the names of two seers who had arrived in Rome under Tiberius, naked, to tell the 'bare truth' that the princes of the world were like horses which had not yet been mounted by a true king." See Kristine Patz, "Monte Cavallo Dioscuri," *Brill's New Pauly Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider; Leiden/Boston, 2009). Brill Online.

⁶⁸ Roger Rees, *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric, AD 289–307* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

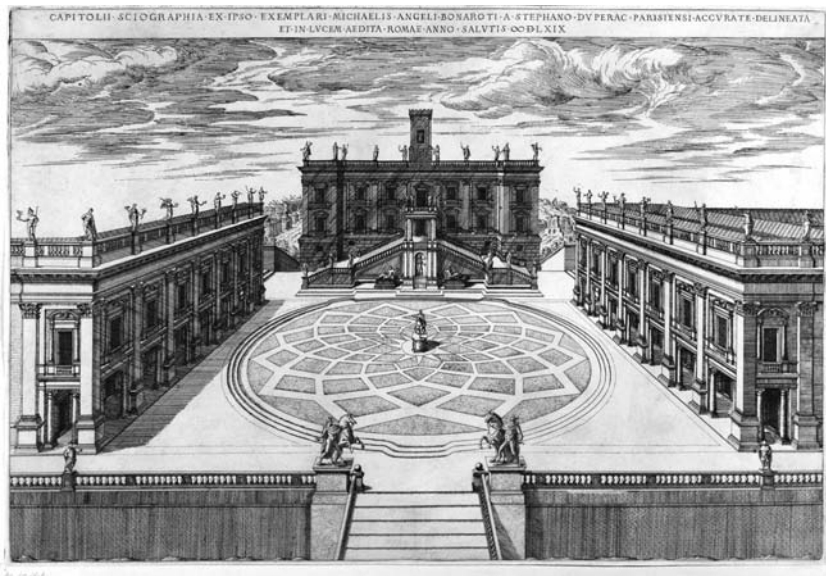


Fig. 37. Design for the Capitoline Hill with the Horse Tamers of the Quirinale. Engraving by Étienne Dupérac, *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma* (Rome, 1575).



Fig. 38. The Horse Tamers of the Quirinale in modern times.



Fig. 39. Engraving of the Baths of Constantine by Etienne du Pérac, *Ivestigì dell'antichità di Roma* (Rome, 1575).

later to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the accession of Constantine, and his fifth son's admission to the rank of Caesar. The passage of Nazarius reads as follows:

Men say that in one of Rome's wars two young men on horseback appeared, worthy to be beheld for their beauty as much as for their strength, who were distinguished beyond the rest in the fighting. When they were sought out by order of the commander, and when they were not to be found, men believed that they were divine although they had zealously shared their labor, they spurned labor's reward ... [W]e who have now seen greater things believe in those deeds. Our leader's greatness wins credence for the ancient accomplishments, but removes the miraculous element. A reckoning of the affairs must be measured by the number of supporters. Once two young men were seen, but now armies: the present instance is surely richer and no less dependable as truth. Faith stands firm, relying upon a twofold argument: this is how Constantine deserved to be helped, and this is how Rome ought to have been saved.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Nazarius, *Panegyric* IV 4 (March 321). R.A.B. Mynors, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1964), no. 4; translation: C.E.V. Nixon and Barbara Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). In a later panygeric of Claudius Claudianus, the emperor Honorius and his sons are still compared in poetic terms to Jupiter and the Disocuri (see below).

The divine intervention of the two young men from the legendary past thought to be the Dioscuri has now become the action of an army on a much grander scale. The ancient Roman legend of divine rescue, however, still resonated at the time of Constantine's victory but was transformed into rescue by a celestial army. This kind of miracle may have inspired other such stories about the rescue of the city of Rome, as in a legend of Leo the Great, the fifth-century pope.⁷⁰ When Attila the king of the Huns invaded Italy and advanced on central Italy, a calamity once again was thought to be at Rome's doorstep. Pope Leo and part of the Roman senate went out to meet and beseech the king, "trusting in the help of God, who never fails the righteous in their trials" as a chronicler wrote. A later account of Leo's *Vita* states that at the height of the meeting the pope was suddenly flanked by the two apostles Peter and Paul, one standing on the right, the other on the left side of the pontiff. In the Renaissance, Raphael immortalized the legendary scene in one of the papal rooms (Stanza d'Eliodoro). In the *Vita* the apostles are said to be standing; in the painting they are flying, in order to emphasize the celestial intervention, since legends tend to evolve in a rather fluid way.

It is interesting to see that the Augustan ideology of paralleling the imperial successors with the divine Dioscuri and the emperor with the supreme divinity himself had a long afterlife; the image resurfaces as late as the fifth century. In elegant pentameters the court poet Claudianus can still make the comparison between the western emperor Honorius and his sons, who as "the Spartan twins, the sons of Leda, sit with highest Jove."⁷¹

From historical sources we also learn that the cult of the Dioscuri was still actively practiced during the fourth century in Rome and Ostia.⁷² When in 359 a storm kept the grain fleet from entering the harbor of Portus, great unrest ensued among the people, and the prefect of Rome was under pressure to solve the situation. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that "while Tertullus was sacrificing in the temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, a calm smoothed the sea, the wind changed to a gentle southern breeze, and the ships entered the harbor under full sail and again crammed the storehouses with grain."⁷³ At Ostia the divine Twins were obviously worshiped in their

⁷⁰ Patrick Howarth, *Attila, King of the Huns: Man and Myth* (London: Constable, 1994), 130–136.

⁷¹ Claudianus, *Cons. Hon.* 203–211. Poulsen, "Dioscuri and Ruler Ideology," 135.

⁷² Russell Meigs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 388–403. Poulsen, "Cult, Myth, and Politics," 53.

⁷³ Ammianus Marcellinus 19.10.4.

capacity of protectors of navigation. Each year on January 27 the *Ludi Castorum* were held at Ostia, led by the prefect of the city; these games presumably involved horse races.⁷⁴ January 27 also happened to be the date on which Tiberius dedicated the Augustan Temple of Castor and Pollux on the forum at Rome; the timing underscores the connection between the cults in Rome and Ostia.⁷⁵

The late interest in the divine twins emerges in one of the luxurious houses in Ostia, the House of the Dioscuri (III.IX.1). In the mosaic of the entrance the Dioscuri stand in a central panel, a figure at their feet, while a large vase (cantharus) appears in several of the surrounding panels. The Dioscuri have their traditional outfit; they wear boots, pilos hats, and a mantle around their shoulders, and they carry spears and sheathed swords. On the basis of the archaeology, the reconstruction and redecoration of the house are dated to the first quarter of the fifth century.⁷⁶ For our purpose the vases that accompany the Dioscuri in this mosaic are intriguing in connection with the occurrence of the vase on the ARS lanx.⁷⁷

In addition to flourishing in Rome and its surroundings, the veneration of the Dioscuri continued in the Roman provinces as well during the fourth century. Not only do the literary sources and the North African ceramics testify to this, but archaeological evidence comes from other regions as well. In 1950 a well-preserved mosaic was uncovered in the center of Trier. The mosaic can be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century, a chronology that coincides with the earliest ARS lanxes. One compartment of the mosaic shows the egg of Castor, Pollux, and Helen, over which the eagle of Jupiter hovers. The inscribed names "Iobis," "Castor," "Pollux," and "Helena" clarify the meaning of the images. Other compartments of the mosaic enclose figures suggesting a ritual banquet; men carry trays of food and hold tools, and girls dance. A compartment has three men who seem to perform a

⁷⁴ Meigs, *Roman Ostia*, 345. <http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio1/3/3-2.htm> (consulted on 1 July 2013).

⁷⁵ Poulsen, "Cult, Myth, and Politics," 53; also S. Weinstock, "Römische Reiterparade," *SMSR* 13 (1937): 10–24.

⁷⁶ K.M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 64–65. T. Heres, *Paries* (Amsterdam, 1982), 135–136; 477–485. See <http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio3/9/9-1.htm> (consulted on 1 July 2013).

⁷⁷ A second mosaic in Ostia, in the Mithraeum of Felicissimus (V.IX.1) at the entrance of a narrow corridor, shows the two symbols of the Dioscuri (piloi with stars) with a crater underneath and an altar with fire. The upper part of the mosaic depicts symbols that are difficult to interpret; they are divided into seven panels, which may be related to initiation phases into the Mithraic rites or which could be interpreted as cosmological and astronomical symbols.

ritual with food. It is generally thought that the hall with the mosaic served cult purposes focused on the Dioscuri, but the details of this cult remain unclear and open to much speculation.⁷⁸ A more recent discovery in Tunisia has brought to light another mosaic with the birth of Helen and the Dioscuri.⁷⁹

The response of early Christian theologians to the cult of the Dioscuri was not very positive and at times openly hostile, but it also showed a sense of reality; these divinities were not only well known but also widely admired. Church officials realized that it was hard to root out popular beliefs and practices.⁸⁰ Even popular language continued to be filled with suggestive implications; people would swear with the word “*edepol*,” which was an abbreviation of “*per aedem Pollucis*” (“by the temple of Pollux”);⁸¹ another frequent oath was “(m)*ecastor*” (“by Castor”). In a letter to Pope Damasus, Jerome openly shows his distaste for the use of such language.⁸²

There are many polemical texts from Christian writers against Greco-Roman cult practices, and some of them are directed against the Dioscuri.⁸³ Lactantius calls them “the most miserable of all mortals, to whom it was not permitted to die a single time.”⁸⁴ Nor is Prudentius flattering when he calls them “the bastard sons of a fallen woman.”⁸⁵ In spite of the opposition,

⁷⁸ For a summary and older bibliography, see Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 82–85.

⁷⁹ See the forthcoming article of Nejib Ben Lazreg, “La mosaïque de la naissance d’Hélène et des Dioscures.”

⁸⁰ See W. Kraus, *RACR* 17, s.v. Dioskuren, c. 1133–1134. Dennis E. Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 533 note 46: “They [the Dioscuri] did not go quietly ...”

⁸¹ Ps. Augustine, *Regulae Aurelii Augustini*, (ed. Keil), p. 518, l. 16.

⁸² Jerome, *Epistula* 21 to Damasus: Absit, ut de ore Christiano sonet, “Jupiter omnipotens; et me Hercule, et me Castor,” et caetera magis portenta, quam numina. For the expression and its history: Me Castor / me Castor iuvet, see H. Wagenvoort, *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 128 ff.

⁸³ Trout, “Damasus and the Invention” 533 note 46.

⁸⁴ Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 1, 10, 5: Kastor et Pollux dum alienas sponsas rapiunt, esse gemini desierunt. nam dolore iniuriae concitatus Idas alterum gladio transuerberauit: et eosdem poetae alternis uiuere, alternis mori narrant, ut iam sint non deorum tantum, sed omnium mortalium miserrimi, quibus semel mori non licet. Tertullianus, *Aduersus Marcionem* 1, 1, 5: Quis enim tam castrator carnis castor quam qui nuptias abstulit? quis tam comesor mus ponticus quam qui euangelia conrosit? ne tu, euxine, probabiliorem feram philosophis edidisti quam christianis.

⁸⁵ Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* 1, 225–230:

Illic alcides spoliatis gadibus hospes
arcadiae fuluo aere riget; gemini quoque fratres
corrupta de matre nothi, ledeia proles,

followers of the divine Twins did not have to hide their allegiance as late as the end of the fifth century. In an address to the Roman senator Andromachus, Pope Gelasius can still express his annoyance at the cult: “surely why have your Castores whose cult you didn’t want to give up not at all provided you with any favorable seas ...?”⁸⁶ Augustine also reflects on their competition with the Christian community.⁸⁷ In a sermon on the Gospel of John,⁸⁸ he comments on evil spirits who seduce his Christian flock with amulets, magic spells, and other trickeries. He accuses these spirits of mixing the name of Christ into their enchantments—“venom mixed with honey to conceal its bitterness.” In the same passage, Augustine also recalls the words of a priest of Castor, who used to say: “even the ‘cone head’ himself is a Christian!”⁸⁹ In Augustine’s opinion, the *only* remaining way for evil spirits to entice Christians toward blasphemy was to portray Castor as a Christian. The bishop of Hippo’s suggestion, however, that the Dioscuri were on their way out may have been wishful thinking.⁹⁰ The address by Gelasius shows that some seventy years later their attraction was still present and the dispute was still going on.

nocturnique equites, celsae duo numina romae,
inpendent retinente ueru magnique triumfi
nuntia suffuso figunt uestigia plumbo.

⁸⁶ The address was written against the celebration of the *Lupercalia*. This proves that the festival survived until at least 494, when Gelasius addressed the issue. In his polemic against the public performance of (in his view) superstitious and licentious rites, he wrote “Castores vestri certe, a quorum cultu desistere noluitis, cur vobis opportuna maria minime praeberunt ...”

⁸⁷ His lifetime was contemporary with the production of the lanxes, on which the images of the Dioscuri appeared. They were more or less produced in his back yard, in what is now Central Tunisia.

⁸⁸ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.*, VII.6: Usque adeo, fratres mei, ut illi ipsi qui seducunt per ligatures [amulets], per praecantationes [magic spells], per machinamenta [trickeries] inimici, misceant praecantationibus suis nomen Christi: quia jam non possunt seducere Christianos, ut dent venenum, addunt mellis aliquid, ut per id quod dulce est, lateat quod amarum est, et bibatur ad perniciem. Usque adeo ut ego noverim aliquo tempore illius Pilleati sacerdotem solere dicere, Et ipse Pilleatus christianus est. Ut quid hoc, fratres, nisi quia aliter non possunt seduci Christiani? (406/21).

⁸⁹ The word is “pilleatus,” i.e. wearing the pilleus. Edmond Le Blant, “Simple conjecture au sujet d’un passage de Saint Augustin,” *RAr*, 3e série XX (1892), 18–20. Fernand Benoit et Henri Marrou, *Bulletin de la Société National des Antiquaires de France*, 1945–1946–1947 (Paris, 1948), Séance du 11 Juin, 249.

⁹⁰ For the cult of the Dioscuri in North Africa, see above note 42.

DIVINE TWINS OR SAINTLY TWINS?

Scholars have long debated the question whether the cult of the Dioscuri continued in disguised form in the Christian world.⁹¹ They may have remained as subtext for pairings of Christian saints.⁹² It has a certain plausibility to consider saints such as Cosmas and Damian, Sergius and Bacchus, Gervasius and Protasius, and even Peter and Paul, as transformations of the divine Twins. In the case of the imagery on the lanx, however, a reading of the Dioscuri as specific Christian saints falls short on several points. The symmetrical position of the riders and their horses identifies them clearly as Dioscuri (in spite of the unusual appearance of the vase between them).⁹³ The cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian arose in Rome a century or so after the time of the African ceramics depicting the Dioscuri. The cult of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, which is rooted in the East, reached the West even later.⁹⁴ And while Saints Gervasius and Protasius are Western and contemporary, their legends do not characterize them as riders, nor do the traditions of Saints Peter and Paul. This is not to say that in a different context the argument could not be made for Peter and Paul. There is certainly a connection between the Dioscuri and the fourth-century propagation of Peter

⁹¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century various studies appeared on twin saints in Christian legends. These comparative religious studies were met with severe criticism from scholars in other fields, such as hagiography and liturgy. J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1903). Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, "I SS. Gervasio e Protasio sono una imitazione di Castore e Polluce?," *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* IX (1903): 109, 126; for critical reviews, see Henri Delattre, "Castor et Pollux dans les légendes hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* XXIII (1905): 427–432, and Albert Dufourcq, *RHR* XLIX (1904): 403–406. Further, see Henri Grégoire, *Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers* (Paris, 1905), critically reviewed by Henri Delattre in *Analecta Bollandiana* XXIV (1905): 505–507. In addition, Karl Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* (diss., Tübingen, 1907), and the introduction of Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian, Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig/Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1907). For a more recent study, see Beat Brenk, "Zur Einführung des Kultes der heiligen Kosmas und Damian in Rom," *ThZ* 2/62 (2006): 303–320.

⁹² See also Birte Poulsen, "The Dioscuri and the Saints," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* XXI (1993): 141–152.

⁹³ As already argued by Salomonson against Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105/4 (1961): 368–393; Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 67.

⁹⁴ For the development of these cults in the East, see Derek Krueger, "Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century," in Michael Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 305–312 (The Cult of the Saints: Shrines and Therapies).

and Paul as founders of the Roman church. A Damasian inscription goes so far as to call them the new stars, the *nova sidera*,⁹⁵ and two stars appear on Christian gold glass⁹⁶ and bronze amulets (pl. 43, fig. 40). In Naples an early Christian church of Peter and Paul was built on top of a temple dedicated to the Dioscuri.⁹⁷ In spite of these tantalizing evocations of the Dioscuri, the imagery on the lanx does not reflect any of the twin saints that are known to us. Not usually mentioned in these discussions are the shadowy Persian martyrs Abdon and Sennen, who are shown in oriental costume in a seventh century fresco in the Roman catacomb of Pontianus.⁹⁸ Again they lack any documented connection with horses or weaponry, but as “princelings” (*subreguli*) they might have an affinity with military affairs.⁹⁹

In my view the figures on the ARS are the Dioscuri and at the same time they are viewed as *saints*.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the answer to the initial question whether they represent “Divine Twins or Saintly Twins?” is that they represent both. The inscription refers to the Dioscuri as saints, by whose intercessions the faithful will be guided. Since the divine Twins were traditionally viewed as saviors and benevolent guardians, they continued to play this role, at least for a while—old customs tend to die hard. The latter part of the fourth century is unique in that respect, for traditional imagery continued to exist but by the same token had to be adapted for a new reality and a new understanding.

These rider gods are the Dioscuri—not Peter and Paul or Cosmas and Damian—but they are also viewed as saviors in popular consciousness and venerable Roman tradition: the lanxes provide evidence that their saving

⁹⁵ For the text of the Damasian inscription, see “The Saga of Peter and Paul” in this volume, p. 312, note 42; for a picture, see p. 314, fig. 4.

⁹⁶ Gold-glass image of Saint Agnes, with two stars besides her from the Cimitero di Panfilo (in situ), published in C.R. Morey and G. Ferrari, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), 39, no. 221, pl. XXIV.

⁹⁷ F. Lenzo, *Architettura e antichità a Napoli dal XV al XVIII secolo: le colonne del Tempio dei Dioscuri e la Chiesa di San Paolo Maggiore* (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2011).

⁹⁸ *DACL*, XIV, 1, col. 1415–1418, fig. 10451. Their feast day at Rome (July 30) is recorded in the *Martyrologium hieronymianum* and the *Chronograph of 354*: see *DACL*, I, 1, col. 42–45.

⁹⁹ Their acts are recorded in the *Passio Polychronii* of the late fifth or early sixth century. See also *Acta Sanctorum*, *Juli*, VII, col. 130B.

¹⁰⁰ On their traditional role as saviors and benevolent guardians, see the second- to third-century Greek rhetorician Aelian, *Historical Miscellany / Varia Historia* 1.30 (trans. Wilson): “Let us be ... like Dioskouroi to the poor wretches, ‘saviours and benevolent guardians,’ as those gods are commonly described.” (τὴν ἔλασιν ἐπιτείναντες καὶ συντονώτερον ἐπιδιώξαντες Διόσχοροι τοῖς δειλαίοις γενώμεθα, σωτήρες ἐσθλοὶ κάγαθοι παραστάται, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τούτων.)



Fig. 40. Bronze medaillon of Christ crowning Peter and Paul, 6th or 7th century. Vatican Museums, Rome, 60537.

powers gave them *de facto* saintliness—at least on a popular level. They continue to have a veiled presence as stars on coins during the reign of the first Christian emperors. Their role is accentuated even more strongly in literary sources, when poets paying tribute to the imperial court hark back to a foregone age. From the time of Constantine until the beginning of the fifth century, the emperors and their immediate successors could still be compared to Jupiter and his divinized twin sons and could still bask in the legacy of a glorious imperial past. Literary memory and popular beliefs kept the names and the imagery of the divine Twins alive, whether Christian theologians liked it or not. In times of need, people continued to sacrifice to the Dioscuri and, of course, games in their honor were still going on.

The answer to whether they were Divine Twins or Sainly Twins may even lay in a down-to-earth consideration of a commercial operation that wanted to have it both ways. It is not inconceivable that the workshop that produced these platters aimed their wares at the broadest possible clientele. They may have wished to please a Christian buyer with the inscribed lanx and the biblical imagery on the rim, while lanxes without inscription, obviously produced in the same workshop, would have been perfectly acceptable to a traditional conservative Roman customer.

As an afterthought, it can be noted that the Christianization of Classical heroes is not a phenomenon limited to the Dioscuri. The survival of Orpheus in Christian catacombs and Jewish synagogues (dealt with in our preceding essay) also manifest this kind of assimilation of mythic figures. Bellerophon also appears in several Christian mosaic pavements of fourth-century Britain;¹⁰¹ in a mosaic pavement along with a bust of Christ in the villa at Hinton St. Mary and again in the house-church at Lullingstone.¹⁰² Helios, a full-fledged god rather than a hero, is depicted driving his chariot in the vault of the Christian mausoleum of the Julii under St. Peter's at Rome,¹⁰³ and he also appears in synagogues in Palestine. Thus the Dioscuri fit a

¹⁰¹ The assimilation of Classical heroes is dealt with broadly in G. Hanfmann, "The Continuity of Classical Art: Culture, Myth, and Faith," in K. Weitzmann ed., *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 75–99. On Hinton St. Mary, see 85, figs. 19–20.

¹⁰² G.W. Meates, *The Lullingstone Roman Villa. Volume I—The Site* (Monograph Series of the Kent Archaeological Society 1; Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society, 1979).

¹⁰³ On the mausoleum and the cult of Sol Invictus, see G. Gentili, "Aspetti della religiosità in età costantiniana," in *Costantino 313: L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza* (eds P. Biscottini and G. Sena Chiesa; Milano: Electa, 2012), 68–69, fig. 2.

pattern of inculturation within Christianity as well as alongside it. In spite of the objections of theologians, heroes of non-biblical origin were absorbed into Christianity in popular religion of the fourth century and beyond.

CHAPTER NINE

THE SAGA OF PETER AND PAUL: EMBLEMS OF CATHOLIC IDENTITY IN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND ART*

Annewies van den Hoek

A MEMORABLE EXHIBITION ON EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

In 2007 and 2008 a splendid exhibition on early Christian Art was staged at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth (Texas), entitled *Picturing the Bible*.¹ The exhibition explored the tradition of Christian art from its beginnings in the third century CE, when Christianity had a clandestine status, through the fourth century, when it became the state religion of the Roman Empire, and into the Byzantine phase of the sixth century, when imperial power was based in Constantinople. The exhibit received impressive loans from major museums in America, Europe, and North Africa.² Some of the objects, especially those from the Vatican Museums in Rome and the Archaeological Museum in Algiers, had never traveled before and provided the American audience with a rare chance to view them. The event also offered a unique opportunity for students in the region to study these objects closely, without having to travel to far-away and often difficult-to-reach places. An extensive catalogue accompanied the exhibit.

* This paper was given by invitation as a lecture at a two-day symposium at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, dedicated to the functions of Christian art, including its use in the formation of Christian self-identity. The symposium was moderated by the curator of the exhibition, Jeffrey Spier of the University of Arizona, Tucson.

¹ *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art: An Exhibition at the Kimbell Art Museum*, Fort Worth, November 18, 2007–March 30, 2008. Catalog of the exhibition by Jeffrey Spier, with contributions by Mary Charles-Murray, Johannes G. Deckers, Steven Fine, Robin M. Jensen, and Herbert L. Kessler.

² Peter Brown wrote an extensive review of the exhibition, see Peter Brown, "The Private Art of Early Christians," *The New York Review of Books* 55/4 (March 20, 2008). Unfortunately, the exhibit did not travel beyond its first and only venue.



Fig. 1. Sarcophagus with the *traditio legis*, 375–400 CE. From Les Alyscamps, Arles. Musée départemental Arles antique, Arles, FAN.g2.00.2487.

Based on insights from recent archaeological discoveries, the organizers and contributors to the catalogue posed basic questions, such as, What images did early Christians use to express their faith openly? Were Christians the first Jews to part with Mosaic law by creating “graven images”? Did Christians look to Jewish and pagan sources for inspiration, and when did Christians begin to depict the life of Jesus? The exhibition also addressed the underlying theological significance of Early Christian iconography and the question of Christian identity in art. The latter is the theme of this article.

PETER AND PAUL IN ROME

The apostles Peter and Paul played a prominent role in the quest for Christian identity. From the time of the Christian Roman Empire (i.e. from the fourth century onwards), their images could have been viewed by many of the faithful on the grand scale of monumental mosaics, particularly if they lived in Rome (pl. 44a).³ The images of Peter and Paul in the exhibition at the Kimbell Museum of Art were mostly on small objects, although some larger funerary monuments made their way to Fort Worth as well (fig. 1).

The objects featuring the two main pillars of the church come in a wide range of media and materials.⁴ These include gold-glass medallions (pl. 45 a,

³ Herbert L. Kessler, “The Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An Emblematic Narrative of Spiritual Brotherhood,” *DOP* 41 (1987): 265–275.

⁴ For an exhibition on the theme in Rome at the time of the Giubileo, see Angela Donati, ed., *Pietro e Paolo: la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000). For a conference around that time, see Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (SEAug 74; Rome 2001).

b), engraved gems, bronze lamps, a rare slate mold, and precious objects of ivory and silver (fig. 2). The two apostles appear both individually and as a pair, facing each other, embracing each other, shoulder to shoulder (pl. 44b), or as fellow travelers in the same boat. Their various poses are connected through theological concepts or through scenes taken from their lives, as they have been transmitted through early Christian texts, among them the various canonical and apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*.⁵

This article discusses the *dual* appearance of Peter and Paul in early Christian texts and investigates the convergence of literary sources and images.⁶ Brotherly as the two apostles may appear in fourth-century imagery, their close connection forms a kind of historical and interpretative challenge,⁷ as does their dual appearance in Rome, not to mention their deaths as martyrs on the same day, as tradition has it.⁸ In order to see how these traditions evolved, a review of some of the early literary sources is needed, although it will be a “bird’s eye review” for the sake of time.

In spite of the iconic partnership of the two apostles in later times, first-century literary sources speak of a relationship that had its difficulties. The letters of Paul offer the earliest evidence. In the first chapters of his Letter to the Galatians, Paul makes it clear that an antagonism emerged between the two apostles, or in a broader sense between the Pauline mission and that of the community in Jerusalem.⁹ The bone of contention appears to have been the observance—or rather the non-observance—of Jewish ritual prescriptions by gentiles. In a meeting at Antioch, it seems that Paul attacked Peter rather publicly over his position, a confrontation that would have significant implications for the future. The clash impelled Paul to redefine his

⁵ David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001), 131–174 (Paul, Thecla, and Peter).

⁶ For extensive bibliographies on the individual apostles, see the recent publications by: Markus Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter: in Ancient Reception and Modern Debate* (WUNT 262; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Otto Zwierlein, *Petrus in Rom: die literarischen Zeugnisse: mit einer kritischen Edition der Martyrien des Petrus und Paulus auf neuer handschriftlicher Grundlage* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, Bd. 96; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009). David L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (SBLWGR Supp 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011).

⁷ For the concept of apostolic harmony, see the seminal article of Charles Pietri, “Concordia Apostolorum et Renovatio Urbis (Culte des martyrs et propagande pontificale),” *MEFRA* 73 (1960): 275–322. Further J.M. Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum. Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries: A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology* (BAR International Series 148; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982).

⁸ Eusebius, *History of the Church*, II 25, 8 (in a quotation from Dionysius of Corinth, c. 170).

⁹ Gal 2:11–14.



Fig. 2. Ivory plaques with scenes from the *Acts of the Apostles* (canonical and apocryphal), c. 430 CE. From Rome. British Museum, MME 1856.0623.8–10.

own position regarding the fulfillment of Jewish law and to stiffen his spine in terms of his mission.¹⁰ Subsequently his religious repositioning became part of the identity of his followers. Moreover, the incident at Antioch had a long afterlife and continued to influence early Christian exegetes, sparking heated debates over its interpretation.¹¹

In another first-century writing, the book of Acts, which is dedicated to the aftermath of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, both Peter and Paul play major roles. Luke, the writer of Acts, does not address the confrontation at Antioch recorded in Galatians. It may be that he suppressed the story and replaced it with another quarrel, one between Paul and Barnabas, but the result was more or less the same: Paul left Antioch to begin his missionary activities elsewhere. The fact that Peter and Paul occupy a central position in the book of Acts indicates that Luke was already dependent on traditions that highlighted the two apostles. In addition, Luke was interested in showing the unity rather than the diversity of the Christian cause. His reconstruction of the apostolic stories, however, does not always develop seamlessly; the way in which Peter fades out and Paul comes into view is rather peculiar. Luke does not report on Peter's journey to Rome or his death, and from the middle of Acts onwards the spotlight is solely on Paul. In the last chapters Luke elaborates on hostilities endured by Paul in Jerusalem, his trial in Caesarea, and finally his transferral to Rome, but he does not say anything about the end of Paul's life either.

For that information we have to look at another text, written in Rome toward the end of the first century. In the work known as *1 Clement* or the *Letter of Clement to the Corinthians*, Peter and Paul are both introduced as apostles and martyrs, although no specific place is given for Peter's death, while Paul is said to have perished in the far West.¹² It is not without interest that we look at the intention of this writing, for it is, in fact, a letter

¹⁰ Helmut Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*. Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2 (New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 106–107, 144. Helmut Koester, *Paul and his World: Interpreting the New Testament in Its Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007). L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *Paul the Missionary* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 194–196.

¹¹ There is a vast bibliography on the subject; for an early study and survey of the texts, see Franz Overbeck, *Über die Auffassung des Streits des Paulus mit Petrus in Antiochien (Gal. 2, 11 ff.) bei den Kirchenvätern* (Basel: C. Schultze, 1877). Further: Paul Auvray, "Saint Jérôme et Saint Augustin. La controverse au sujet de l'incident d'Antioche," *RSR* 29 (1939): 594–610. Gert Haendler, "Cyprian's Auslegung zu Galater 2, 11 ff.," *TLZ* 97/8 (1972): 561–568. More recently Eric Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), with extensive bibliography.

¹² *1 Clement*, 5. Koester, *History and Literature*, 290. On Peter's death, see John 21:18–19. A reference to both Peter and Paul in Rome is also found in Ignatius, *Letter to the Romans* 4, 3.

written from Christians in Rome to Christians in Corinth, whose community was suffering internal strife. This indicates that around the year one hundred Roman Christians had no problem sending an unsolicited letter to another community and meddling in their private affairs.¹³ It also says something about the self-identification (and self-importance) of the Roman community, as a place from which such directions could be given. As in the book of Acts, the *Letter of Clement* has a tendency to reconcile and unify the apostolic traditions, although their harmony was not at all self-evident—as seen earlier from Paul's report.¹⁴ In fact, anti-Pauline sentiments continued to develop in the second century in places such as Syria, where Peter's teachings were firmly embedded.¹⁵ In general, tensions between Christian groups coming from Judaism and those derived from "paganism" appear to have continued well into the third century.¹⁶

As time progressed the trend to harmonize gained more and more ground. This has been explained by the need for communities founded independently by various apostles to form alliances for mutual support and influence.¹⁷ The evocation of the apostles Peter and Paul as martyrs thus became important for legitimizing and establishing the identity of these groups. This tactic is also apparent in the *First Letter of Peter*, a pseudo-epigraphic text written in the Pauline tradition that had little connection with Peter, other than the authority of his name. There are strong indications that the letter originated in Rome, which would explain the authorship of an especially "Roman" apostle.¹⁸ New Testament scholars assume that the Petrine and Pauline missionary traditions in Rome intersected and may have converged for reasons of ecclesiastical politics.¹⁹ In the *Second Letter of Peter*, in which Peter and Paul are considered to be the authorities of the church, the connection with Rome is even more apparent.²⁰ Compared to earlier sources, the *Second Letter of Peter* introduces a new aspect, namely apostolic authority. This was used against people who (in the view of the author

¹³ See A.F.J. Klijn, *Apostolische Vaders I* (Kampen: Kok, 1981), 142–143.

¹⁴ Koester, *History and Literature*, 290–291.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

¹⁶ As exemplified by the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions*, see Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art*, 135. Marcion, on the other hand, may have played his own role in this debate, see the section on Tertullian and note 25.

¹⁷ Koester, *History and Literature*, 290.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁹ See Donald Senior, *1 Peter, Jude, 2 Peter* (ed. Daniel J. Harrington; Sacra Pagina; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 6.

²⁰ Koester, *History and Literature*, 296.

of the letter) gave the wrong interpretations of the Pauline letters and distorted the apostle's views.

A further development in the apostolic narratives is evident in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Acts of Paul*, writings that date to the later part of the second century.²¹ They were a kind of romance or tale of adventure in quasi-historical settings, in which the virtuous hero overcomes innumerable obstacles. In terms of literary genre they were modeled after Hellenistic romances. These so-called *Apocryphal Acts* also provide physical descriptions of the apostles. Paul is portrayed as:

a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, of noble mien, with eyebrows meeting, rather hook-nosed, full of grace. Sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes he had the face of an angel.²²

Peter is described as follows:

the divine Peter was of moderate stature and he stood quite erect. His face was pale and yellow and very fair. The hair of his head and beard was woolly and thick, but not flowing. He presented eyes that were bloodshot and dark, and his eyebrows were raised. His nose was long but did not end in a point; he was flat-nosed as it were.²³

The *Acts of Peter* gives an account of a contest in working miracles between Peter and Simon Magus, a proto-heretical figure. The narrative is set in Rome and concludes with the inglorious defeat of Simon, followed later by Peter's martyrdom. Simon tried to impress his audience by flying, which he seems to have done, but overcome by Peter's prayer he crashed to the ground, breaking his leg. The *Acts of Paul* portrays the missionary career of Paul traveling from place to place and proclaiming an ascetic lifestyle. It ends with Paul's martyrdom in Rome. In addition to being preachers, miracle workers, and venerated martyrs, the two apostles function as role models in the fight against heresy. Even their physical appearance is elaborately described, with features that were to be reproduced ever after in art and artifacts (pls. 45a–c; 46b).

These few snippets of information from the dawn of Christianity show that sometime toward the end of the first century Peter and Paul were known as

²¹ Ibid., 323–328. Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art*, 135.

²² *Acts of Paul*, 3. Translation Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art*, 139.

²³ Nicephorus Callistus, *Church History* 2, 37. Translation Christopher Matthews, according to whom the passage could have been inspired by a lost part of the *Acts of Peter*; see Christopher R. Matthews, "Nicephorus Callistus' Physical Description of Peter: An Original Component of the *Acts of Peter*?" *Apocrypha: Revue internationale des littératures apocryphes* 7 (1996): 134–145.

apostles and martyrs. They also show that in spite of some real antagonism manifested on the borders of the Holy Land, the two apostles eventually began to function as unifying emblems against heresy and developed a special connection with the city of Rome. These early sources provide the core associations of Peter and Paul together: unity against heresy (whatever the heresy may be) and the primal position of the Roman church. These associations of the two apostles endured and became more and more important. Their quarrel in Antioch had receded into the background but it was to resurface later.

Naturally much more literary evidence of the cult of the apostles in Rome becomes available in subsequent periods, and archaeological evidence from around the middle of the third century has emerged as well. For our purposes it is sufficient to mention just a few major instances. Irenaeus, a theologian and later bishop of Lyons in Gaul, migrated from Asia Minor to the West shortly after the middle of the second century and spent some time in Rome. He described the church there as

... the greatest and most ancient church, known to all and founded and organized by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul at Rome ...

adding that

... the tradition that it (namely the Roman church) received from the apostles and the faith that it announced to men comes down to our time through the successions of bishops.²⁴

In spite of the early date Irenaeus constructs a kind of proto-orthodox ecclesiastical scheme with founding fathers and an orderly transmission of their teachings, which by his time had become the rule to believe in and live by; that is, the rule of faith (*regula fidei*).

A few generations later the African Christian writer Tertullian shared Irenaeus' views on the founding fathers and their legacy. In a treatise against heresies, Tertullian emphasized the concept of truth in the ecclesiastical tradition, which he (like Irenaeus) based on the apostolic authority of Peter and Paul.²⁵ Heretics, in his view, were opposed to the truth and for that reason should be excluded without any rights. They should be disinherited and rejected as strangers and enemies of the apostles.

²⁴ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, III 3, 2.

²⁵ Tertullian, *Praescr.*, 36–37; see also *Marc.*, IV 5. For a general survey of the traditions of Peter and Paul in North Africa, see Geoffrey D. Dunn, "Peter and Paul in Rome: The Perspective of the North African Church," in *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*, ed., *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (SEAug 74; Rome: 2001), 405–415.

It should be noted that Tertullian vigorously defended the position of Peter against some opponents—apparently followers of Marcion. According to Tertullian, the Marcionites had interpreted the disagreement between Peter and Paul in Galatians in an unjustifiably negative way, accusing Peter of ignorance and describing his apostolic role as imperfect. In response Tertullian tried to smooth over the apostolic fallout and defend the veracity of Peter's teaching, which in his view did not contradict that of Paul in any way. He argued that the two apostles did not preach a different gospel, but the same to different groups: Peter to the circumcised, Paul to the Gentiles.²⁶ The unity of these two communities would be underscored in the great mosaics in churches at Rome in later centuries (pl. 46a). Tertullian also reinforced the apostles' joint authority by insisting on the common martyrdom, or in his words

... if you are near Italy, you have Rome from where also we derive our authority. How blessed is its church on which the apostles poured forth their whole doctrine along with their blood, where Peter endures the same passion as the Lord, where Paul is being crowned in death like John.²⁷

Not only Peter and Paul, but also John the Baptist are included in this eulogy.²⁸

While the joint mission of the two apostles resonated much more strongly with writers in the West, whether among immigrants such as Irenaeus or Latin-speakers such as Tertullian, it was not unknown in the East. One of the few in the East to write about the connection of the apostles with Rome was the church historian Eusebius, who provided material of extraordinary importance for our understanding of their veneration in the *Urbs*. In his *History of the Church*, written in the early fourth century, he includes the story of the beheading of Paul and the crucifixion of Peter at Rome, referring to "the designation 'of Peter and Paul' which is still current at the cemeteries there";²⁹ "still" referring to Eusebius' own day, and "there" meaning Rome.

²⁶ Tertullian, *Praescr.*, 23.

²⁷ Ibid., 36: si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profunderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Iohannis exitu coronatur.

²⁸ Tertullian knows about Peter's crucifixion in Rome (*Praescr.*, 36) and interprets John 21:18 in this way (*Scorpiace* 15), placing it in the time of Nero; Richard J. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter in Early Christian Literature," *ANRW* II 26, 1 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1992), 539–587. For the martyrdom of Paul, see Harry W. Tajra, *The Martyrdom of Saint Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions, and Legends* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1994).

²⁹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* II 25, 5.

These cemeteries are usually identified as the funerary complex under the church of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia (pl. 47). The site was clearly sacred to the memory of both apostles jointly, since literally hundreds of intercessory inscriptions addressed “to Peter and Paul” have survived.³⁰ In our own day two other Roman sites have become more famously associated with the two apostles.³¹ These other sites, in which the apostles are venerated individually, are also mentioned by Eusebius. He quotes a learned man of the church, by the name of Gaius, who lived in Rome in the early third century,³² as saying that he could

point out the trophies of the apostles; for if you go to the Vatican or to the way to Ostia, you will find the *trophies* of those who founded this church.³³

These two passages that mention three places in the cemeteries around Rome for celebrating the martyrdom of the two apostles have become famous as staples in discussions on their cults. Eusebius’ effort to streamline the two accounts, however, has proven difficult for modern historians and archaeologists to assimilate. For decades scholarly debates have continued about the meaning and identification of the cult sites at San Sebastiano, Gaius’ *tropaeum Petri* on the Vatican hill, and the *tropaeum Pauli* on the road to Ostia. The triple commemoration has been variously interpreted as burial places, temporary resting places of apostolic remains, monuments to martyrdom, and places for clandestine commemoration in times of persecution.³⁴ The ongoing discussion has been fueled periodically by new archaeological discoveries.³⁵

There is another lesser-known but equally intriguing passage that mentions the two apostles together in Eusebius’ *History of the Church*. In the

³⁰ For the graffiti, see *ICUR* V 12889–3870. For the excavations, see Francesco Tolotti, *Memorie degli Apostoli in Catacumbas* (Vatican City: Società Amici delle catacombe, 1953).

³¹ For a critical survey of the literary traditions and the archaeological remains, see Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Die archäologische Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1999).

³² Eusebius notes that Gaius lived when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome and that he corresponded with Proclus, a Montanist, see *Hist. eccl.* II 25, 6–7; for other instances where Gaius is mentioned, see *Hist. eccl.* III 28, 1–2; III 31, 4; VI 20, 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, II 25, 6–7.

³⁴ For a sober assessment, see Henry Chadwick, “St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome: The Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas,” *JTS* NS 8/1 (1957): 31–52. On the primarily commemorative function, see Thümmel, *Memorien für Petrus und Paulus*. On the terminology, see Christine Mohrmann, “À propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: *Tropaeum-Nomen*,” *VC* 8/3 (1954): 154–173.

³⁵ For an extensive bibliography on the cult of Paul and the current state of affairs, see David L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr*.

context of the worship of images, the historian remarks that he has learned of the existence of painted images not only of Christ but also Peter and Paul.³⁶ He traces the veneration of such painted images back to pagan practices, evidently considering them old customs that were hard to stamp out. Eusebius disapproved of such rituals, which in his view would only lead to idol worship. In the eighth century, at the height of the iconoclastic struggles, Eusebius' position still played a role—the iconoclasts cited him eagerly in support of their cause. Their position was, however, severely attacked by the defenders of icon worship, who ultimately prevailed. Augustine refers to painted images of the two saints in many places, but comments that they were especially revered in Rome.³⁷ No painted icons from this early date have survived, but two small pictures from a later date are in the Vatican collections, providing an idea of what such images for private devotion would have looked like (pl. 45c).³⁸

Constantine's conversion to Christianity gave a decisive turn to Christian history and worship. In fourth-century Rome, the shrines of the martyrs became places par excellence for the display of Christian devotion, not only on a popular but also on a highly cultivated level. An example of their great popularity can be heard in a song written in honor of Peter and Paul. It originated in the circle of Ambrose—if not composed by Ambrose himself (pl. 48c)—and describes the excitement of the crowds on their way to the graves of the apostles. One stanza reads "Dense crowds extend / over the ambits of this great city. / The feast of the holy martyrs / is celebrated on three different roads."³⁹

³⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VII 18. 2.

³⁷ Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum* 1, 10: et occurrit eis Petrus et Paulus, credo, quod pluribus locis simul eos cum illo pictos uiderent, quia merita Petri et Pauli etiam propter eundem passionis diem celebrius sollemniter Roma commendat. sic omnino errare meruerunt, qui Christum et apostolos eius non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quaesierunt, nec mirum, si a pingentibus fingentes decepti sunt. "and Peter and Paul occur to them, I believe, because they see them depicted together with him [Christ]; for Rome commends the merits of Peter and Paul in a most festive and solemn way also on account of their martyrdom on the same day. Thus those who did not seek Christ and his apostles in the holy books but on painted walls fully deserved to be mistaken; nor is it surprising that fiction makers are misled by picture makers." With thanks to Joan Branham for the reference.

³⁸ For bibliography, see Guido Cornini, "Dittico con I ritratti di Pietro e Paolo," in Umberto Utro, ed., *San Paolo in Vaticano. La figura e la parola dell'Apostolo delle Genti nelle raccolte pontificie* (Città del Vaticano: Musei Vaticani, Tau Editrice, 2009), 205–206.

³⁹ Ambrose or Ps. Ambrose, *Hymn* 12, str. 7: Tanta per urbis ambitum / Stipata tendunt agmina / Trinis celebratur viis / Festum sanctorum martyrum. Van der Meer, *Augustine*, 512 and n. 54. For authenticity, see Eligius Dekkers, *CPL*, 49, no. 163. The mosaic portrait of Ambrose is in St. Victor, Milan.

The ecclesiastical authorities added their own voices to those of popular culture, thereby steering it their way. Pope Damasus was highly influential in exploiting the new spiritual order and giving a new form to Christian identity (pl. 48a).⁴⁰ He has been called “the first Christian archaeologist,” because of his great zeal to discover the tombs of the martyrs, which he adorned with precious marble and monumental inscriptions. Some of his epigrams written in Virgilian hexameters and engraved in dignified lettering, often inscribed by his calligrapher Furius Dionysius Filocalus, are still visible in various places in Rome. Damasus has also been called the “impresario” of the late antique martyr cult.⁴¹ His noble undertakings were more than mere embellishments of the Roman martyr sites (fig. 3a–b). At times, Damasus’ message had distinct polemical overtones and was directed against rival Christian factions. Thus these public advertisements of devotion to the martyrs were used as concerted messages aimed at influencing ecclesiastical factionalism; they not only promoted consensus within the Catholic community at Rome, but they also aspired to control the legacy of its holy patrons (fig. 4).⁴²

Along similar lines, Christian poets such as Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola offer vivid testimony to efforts to infuse the cult of martyrs with high spirituality.⁴³ In a poem about the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, Prudentius voiced how the Roman church perceived itself as achieving a

⁴⁰ Pope Damasus (304–384; pope 366–384). Dennis Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 517–536.

⁴¹ Marianne Sághy, “Scinditur in partes populus: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9/3 (2000): 273–287. Henry Chadwick, “Pope Damasus and the Peculiar Claim of Rome to St. Peter and St. Paul,” *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (in honor of Oscar Cullmann) (NovTSup VI; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 313–318.

⁴² The inscription has only been preserved in transcriptions, *ED* 20; *ILCV* 951; *ICUR* V 13273: *Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes / nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requires / Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur / sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti / aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum / Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives / Haec Damasus vestras referat, nova sidera laudes.* “Here in earlier times dwelt the saints, you should know, you whoever you are who seek the names of both Peter and Paul. As we freely admit, the East sent the disciples but Rome, above all, deserved to claim them as her citizens—because of the merit of their blood, having followed Christ through the stars they reached the folds of heaven and the realms of the righteous. You new stars, let Damasus recount these things for your praises.” See also Chadwick, “St. Peter and St. Paul,” 34–35; Antonio Ferrua and Carlo Carletti, *Damaso e i martiri di Roma*, anno Damasi saeculari XVI (Città del Vaticano: Pontificia commissione di archeologia sacra, 1985), 29–31; Dennis E. Trout, “Damasus and the Invention,” 523 and 532–533, note 38; and Eastman, *Paul the Martyr*, 97–107.

⁴³ Michael John Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs. The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

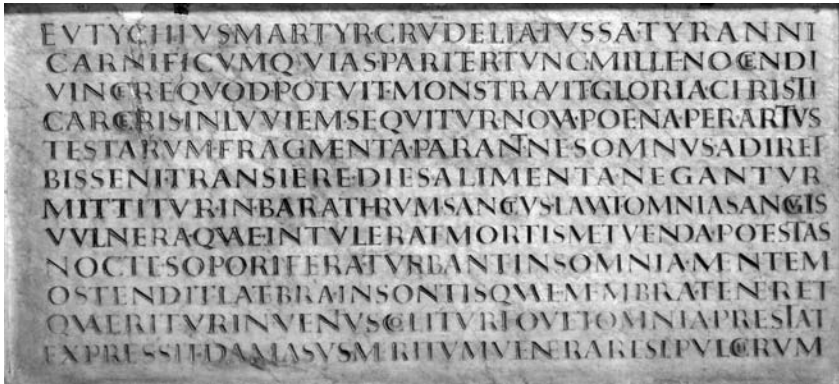


Fig. 3a. Unbroken Damasian inscription, in honor of Eutychius, *ICUR* V 13274. Workshop of Furius Dionysius Filocalus, 366–384 CE. Rome, S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia.



Fig. 3b. Detail of the decorative lettering of the preceding.



Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the Damasian inscription in honor of Peter and Paul, *ICUR* V 13273. Rome, Church of S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia.

sacred order through the worship of the two founders of the church; in worshiping both apostles the church emulated their harmonious accord in death.⁴⁴ Their common martyrdom assured the church of its unity and conferred preeminence on the city in which they died.⁴⁵

PETER AND PAUL IN NORTH AFRICA

While Peter and Paul are famous emblems of aspired-to unity and concord in Rome, their dual existence in Africa is less well known. Earlier we heard Tertullian evoke the apostolic authority of Peter and Paul, which he tied to the “true” ecclesiastical tradition and contrasted with beliefs that were heretical in his view. The question arises: how did the perception of apostolic authority continue to develop in Africa on the theological front and on a popular level?

Cyprian, a bishop of Carthage martyred in 258, does not have a particularly strong focus on Peter and Paul in his writings, but he does deal with

⁴⁴ Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon* 12.

⁴⁵ Roberts, *Poetry*, 172. See also Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*, 14; 19; 21.

the passage from Galatians, in particular the rebuke to Peter (pl. 48b).⁴⁶ In his interpretation, Cyprian opts for the idea that Peter did not undergo the rebuke obstinately or arrogantly but instead endured the humiliation patiently; in the end he quietly chose the way of concord and unity.⁴⁷ Needless to say that any basis for speculation about the reaction of Peter to Paul's rebuke is non-existent in the biblical passage itself, but the speculation offers the basis for a new element in the interpretation of the episode. Cyprian said that he drew

a lesson in harmony and forbearance, showing that we must not stubbornly cling to our own ideas; rather we should adopt as our own any beneficial and salutary suggestions that are made from time to time by our brethren and colleagues, provided that they conform to truth and justice.⁴⁸

—a wise lesson, indeed, safeguarded by rather flexible conditions.⁴⁹

Cyprian was very much concerned with the unity of the church. Arguing for the authority of the bishop as the basis of this unity, he also wrote:

the episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole.⁵⁰

In this view individual bishops are free to follow their own policies within their own churches; they were responsible to God alone.⁵¹ Occasionally Cyprian does acknowledge the preeminence of the *cathedra Petri* and the Church at Rome, but there is no implication of his yielding to a higher power of jurisdiction. In fact, Cyprian came into sharp conflict with the bishop of Rome over the validity of baptism by heretical sects, and he does not seem to have backed off easily.⁵²

For Optatus, the bishop of Mileve in Numidia, in what is now Algeria (pl. 49), the evocation of Peter in particular was important for the unity

⁴⁶ See also Dunn, "Peter and Paul," 411–412; Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*, 25–26.

⁴⁷ Cyprian, *Letter* 71, 3, 1–2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 71, 3, 1. Translation G.W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, Volume IV Letters 67–82 (ACW 47; New York: Newman Press, 1989).

⁴⁹ The whole passage was (eagerly) quoted by Augustine in his anti-Donatist work *On Baptism*, 1, 2.

⁵⁰ Cyprian, *On the Unity of the Catholic Church* 5: *Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*.

⁵¹ See Maurice Bévenot, "A Bishop Is Responsible to God Alone (St. Cyprian)," *RSR* 39 (1951/1952): 397–415. Geoffrey D. Dunn, "Validity of Baptism and Ordination in the African Response to the 'Rebaptism' Crisis: Cyprian of Carthage's Synod of Spring 267," *TS* 67 (2006): 257–274.

⁵² See J. Patout Burns, *Cyprian the Bishop* (New York: Routledge, 2001). For a synopsis and bibliography, see also: <http://www.earlychurch.org.uk/cyprian.php> (consulted 7 August 2013).



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus with Christ performing miracles and predicting Peter's denial (far right), 350–375 CE. From the necropolis at Dellys on the coast of Algeria. National Museum of Antiquities, Algiers, 238.

of the church. Optatus must have had a certain stature in Rome, since his image has been preserved in the catacomb of Callixtus, in the Crypt of Pope Cornelius. A wall painting dated the sixth century shows the bishop in full length, in the company of his countryman Cyprian and two Popes (pl. 50).⁵³ Around 365 Optatus wrote a work against the Donatist bishop Parmenianus to advocate a compromise with the Donatists.⁵⁴ The struggle between Donatists and Catholics originated over the treatment of those who had renounced their faith during the great persecutions, and the controversy went on to dominate the African churches for more than a century. In Optatus' view, Peter, the head of all the apostles, occupied the see of Rome in order to preserve unity.⁵⁵ Peter was the only one to receive the keys of heaven, which he then passed on to others. As the argument goes, the apostles could have avoided communion with Peter, since he denied Christ, but Peter had obtained forgiveness (fig. 5). His reward was preferential status over all the apostles and reception of the keys. The see of Peter thus became the guarantee for retaining the true and unique creed. In a way, Optatus' argument resembles that of Tertullian, who based "truth" in the ecclesiastical tradition on the apostolic authority of Peter and Paul in Rome. There are substantial

⁵³ For a highly similar view, see O. Marucchi, *Guida del cimitero di Callisto* (Paris and Rome: Desclée and Lefebvre, 1902), p. 59.

⁵⁴ Mark Edwards, *Optatus: Against the Donatists* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

⁵⁵ Van der Meer, *Augustine*, 107.

differences as well, one being that the apostle Paul does not seem to have played any role in Optatus' reasoning; the principle figure here is the apostle Peter, who becomes an emblem of repentance.⁵⁶

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, (in what is now eastern Algeria) was well acquainted with the works and theological positions of his African predecessors, Cyprian and Optatus. In his discussion of the unity of the church and the relationship between Peter and Paul, the interpretation of the passage in Galatians resurfaced and took on major importance.⁵⁷ Early in his career, Augustine had challenged another giant of his day, Jerome, on issues of biblical interpretation. Jerome had been asked by Pope Damasus for a revision of the old Latin Bible versions, a work that ultimately resulted in the translation now known as the Vulgate (pl. 51).

The embarrassing conflict between Peter and Paul in Galatians had been an important argument for anti-Christian polemicists, such as the philosopher Porphyry,⁵⁸ who had used the apostolic clash to discredit the Christian cause.⁵⁹ From a Christian perspective, some theologians, Jerome among them, recognized the danger lurking in the background: that is, by acknowledging that Peter, the rock on which the church was built had erred, the authority of the church itself was at stake. Jerome like other writers in the East tried to explain away the conflict. He interpreted the episode as a kind of "charitable pretense" in order to maintain unity among Christians.⁶⁰ He compared the two apostles to two orators in a court of law, whose disputation was simulated for the sake of their respective clients.⁶¹ It was all about pretending and role playing. As Jerome explained,

... he [Paul] opposed Peter and the others publicly so that their pretense of observing the law, which was harming believers of gentile background, might be remedied by his pretense of rebuking, and that each of the two peoples might be saved: those who praise circumcision following Peter and those who are unwilling to be circumcised proclaiming the liberty of Paul.⁶²

⁵⁶ For the "rooster scene" and theological development of penance, see Allan Fitzgerald, "Christ, Peter, and the Rooster," *Aug* XLI/2 (2001): 409–423.

⁵⁷ For a detailed study, see Eric Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*.

⁵⁸ Porphyry, ca. 234–ca. 305.

⁵⁹ Porphyry, *Against the Christians*, fragm. 26 (= Macar. III, 22). See also R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Porphyry's Against the Christians: The Literary Remains* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, Books, 1994).

⁶⁰ Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (new ed.; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 450.

⁶¹ Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*, 46.

⁶² *Ibid.* (trans. Plumer). Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians*, PL 26, col. 364: sed ut ante

It was an ingenuous argument, but Augustine did not buy it. Although the objective for both Jerome and Augustine had been to preserve apostolic unity, Augustine interpreted the incident from a different angle—more in the vein of Cyprian. In his view, Peter acknowledged that he had been wrong and accepted the public rebuke of Paul; it showed that Peter regarded the preservation of the church's unity as the highest priority. Moreover, Peter's authority was only enhanced by the incident, and his legacy in the church was even greater than that of Paul because of his humility—thus was the reasoning.⁶³ Later in his work against the Donatists, *On Baptism*, Augustine again employed this line of thought, quoting Cyprian verbatim and emphasizing that it was the great Cyprian himself who had taught this.⁶⁴ The argument must have been hard for his opponents to swallow, since they too quoted the authority of Cyprian in their defense. In fact, the Donatists saw themselves as the *real* successors of the martyr bishop.

It may well be that Augustine's interpretation of Peter's humility reflected his own ideas of humility and authority. Although a bishop himself, he thought that no one should be beyond reproach, not even a bishop (pl. 52). The ultimate authority was that of the holy scriptures, which Augustine had sought to defend in the debate with Jerome. The irritant for him in Jerome's interpretation was the assumption that the apostles were lying; such an assumption was unacceptable, since it undermined the credibility and authority of the bible itself.⁶⁵

Apostolic authority in the passages cited above was primarily expressed in a theological and polemical context. A slightly different perspective on the role of Peter and Paul may be gained from the sermons that the Bishop of Hippo delivered on the occasion of their feast day (pls. 53–54).⁶⁶ This day was called their *dies natalis* (their birthday), though in reality it was the day

iam diximus, restitit secundum faciem publicam petro et caeteris, ut hypocrisis obseruandae legis, quae nocebat eis qui ex gentibus crediderant, correptionis hypocrisi emendaretur, et uterque populus saluus fieret, dum et qui circumcisionem laudant, petrum sequuntur; et qui circumcidi nolunt, pauli praedicant libertatem.

⁶³ Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*, 31.

⁶⁴ See above, footnote 47. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*, 32.

⁶⁵ Augustine, *Letter 82 to Jerome*. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary*, 52.

⁶⁶ *Sermons* 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 299A, 299B, 299C; see Allan D. Fitzgerald, et al., eds., *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999); article on *Sermones*, 773–792, esp. 785. See also Siver Dagemark, "Panegyric Elements in Some Fathers' Hagiographic Descriptions of Peter's and Paul's Lives in Rome," in *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*, ed. *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (SEAug 74; Rome: 2001), 191–231, esp. 216–224.

of their death. It signified for the faithful a joyful commemoration of the beginning of the martyrs' real or eternal life. As Augustine often reminded his audience on such occasions, the service was of great solemnity. In sober terms the preacher presented a description of the martyrdoms, dwelled on the biblical readings of the day, and elaborated on whatever he thought fit. Often Augustine's sermons had an improvisational aspect.⁶⁷

Augustine reminds his parishioners not only of Peter's weakness and fear but also of his position as first among the apostles, "both lover and denier": "tam amator quam negator."⁶⁸ The pun works best in Latin, and the sermons are filled with them. When the bishop refers to Peter, it is all about sheep, rocks, and keys. Augustine must have had a biblical file in his head or at hand to toss out these passages. Just as Peter is mentioned first, Paul comes in second. Adapting a text from the book of Revelation, Augustine addresses them as the first and the last of the apostles; sometimes he calls Paul "the least and the last."⁶⁹ The bishop often repeats the phrase, particularly in connection with the deaths of the apostles.⁷⁰ When it comes to negative qualifications, Paul can also rank first; thus the last apostle was the first sinner.⁷¹ Paul's former role as persecutor is often compared to his later position as apostle: "first an enemy, later an apostle; first a persecutor, later a preacher."⁷² When Augustine speaks about the interaction of the two apostles, the theme of unity and concordance comes up again. The faithful are asked to be inspired by the apostolic virtues and become their imitators.

Is it possible to distill from these sermons whether the two saints were popular with their African audience? This is a difficult question to answer,

⁶⁷ Fitzgerald, *Augustine*, article on preaching 675–677.

⁶⁸ *Sermon* 296: beatus petrus, apostolorum primus, domini iesu christi tam amator quam negator; see also *Sermon* 295: ecce ille amator subito negator.

⁶⁹ *Sermon* 298: beatus petrus primus apostolorum, beatus paulus nouissimus apostolorum, qui rite coluerunt eum qui dixit: ego sum primus, et ego sum nouissimus, ad unum diem passionis sibi occurrerunt primus et nouissimus. *Sermon* 297: et minimus, et nouissimus, tanquam fimbria de uestimento domini. *Sermon* 299B: ad quas gentes missus est paulus, et minimus et nouissimus: quoniam fimbria et minima pars est uestimenti, et nouissima.

⁷⁰ Dagemark, "Panegyric Elements," 222.

⁷¹ *Sermon* 175: ergo apostolus nouissimus, primus peccator. *Sermon* 299: non debitum accipi: sed misericordiam consecutus sum primus peccator.

⁷² *Sermon* 295: ueniat et de saulo paulus, de lupo agnus; prius inimicus, postea apostolus; prius persecutor, postea praedicator. See also *Sermon* 229N: ipsa membra conculcabat, quando caput pro suis membris clamabat, saulus ille ante persecutor, postea praedicator, anhelans caedem, differens fidem. *Sermon* 315: qui erat in caede stephani persecutor, factus est regni coelorum postea praedicator.

Saints native to Africa may have been more popular, since the church was packed on some of their feast days.⁷⁴ In another sermon dated less than a year after the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410, the question of the *memoriae* of Peter and Paul comes up. People were murmuring that having these apostolic memorials had not done Rome any good. As Augustine reflected the people's words,

Peter's body lies in Rome; Paul's body lies in Rome ... but Rome is miserable, Rome is destroyed, punished, crushed, and burnt. So many deadly slaughters take place, through hunger, through pestilence, through the sword; where are the *memorials* of the apostles?⁷⁵

Augustine could sympathize but equally emphasize that it really did not matter much; earthly remains hold no promise; the only hope is in the world to come.

These apostolic emblems emerge not only in texts and sermons but also in the material culture of North Africa. There are more than a dozen inscriptions featuring the names of Peter and Paul throughout the African provinces (pl. 55a, fig. 6a, b). It is interesting to see how inscriptions dedicated to local African martyrs are spearheaded, as it were, by the names of the two apostles. They may have had particular prominence in Numidia, where the Donatists traditionally had a greater presence, but the significance of this stronger concentration escapes us for now (pl. 55b).⁷⁶ It seems that for both Catholics and Donatists Peter and Paul were important identifiers, for the Catholics because of their claim to be in unity with the universal church and for the Donatists because of their claim to be the real successors of the martyrs, Peter and Paul among them.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Van der Meer, *Augustine*, 169–177.

⁷⁵ *Sermon* 296, 6; the sermon was given on June 29 in the year 411, ten months after the sack of Rome; see also *Sermon* 105, 12–13 (Carthage).

⁷⁶ For a balanced assessment, see Yvette Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (2 vols.; Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1982), 633–634, and note, 66. For the earlier discussion, see W.H. Frend, "The Memoriae Apostolorum in Roman North Africa," *JRS* 30/1 (1940): 32–49. Paul-Albert Février, "Martyrs, polémique et politique en Afrique (IV^e–Ve siècles)," *Revue d'Histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb* (1966): 8–18. E. Josi, "La venerazione degli apostoli Pietro e Paulo nel mondo cristiano antico," *Saecularia Petri e Pauli* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1969), 151–197. Dominique Raynal, "Culte des martyrs et propagande Donatiste à Upenna," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 21 (1973): 33–72.

⁷⁷ For the emblematic role of Paul as a martyr for Donatists, see Maureen A. Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 154–155.



Fig. 6b. Central part of the inscribed table with chrismon.

Peter and Paul appear in a representation of the *traditio legis* on a monumental sarcophagus excavated in Central Tunisia (fig. 7).⁷⁸ The sarcophagus resembles those of Rome and Southern Gaul but has unique iconography. The Christian scene is flanked by scenes from the life of the deceased; in his secular life Secundinus seems to have been intensely interested in hunting, but theologically it is the transfer of authority to the princes of the apostles that captured his attention.

Workshops located in what is now Tunisia produced numerous ceramic bowls and lamps with Peter and Paul (pls. 56a–c, figs. 8–9);⁷⁹ a few are complete but most are fragmentary.⁸⁰ One exceptional artifact suggests that the

⁷⁸ Central Tunisia, in the area between between Sayada and Ksar Helal.

⁷⁹ For recent bibliography on the lanx (fig. 28), see Anastasia Drandraki, “Tray,” in Anastasia Lazaridou, ed., *Transition to Christianity*, 86–87, cat. no. 14.

⁸⁰ For a survey of the images of Peter and Paul on ARS, see Fathi Bejaoui, *Céramique et religion chrétienne. Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997). Idem, “Pierre et Paul sur de nouveaux fragments de céramique africaine,” *RAC* 60 (1984) 45–62.

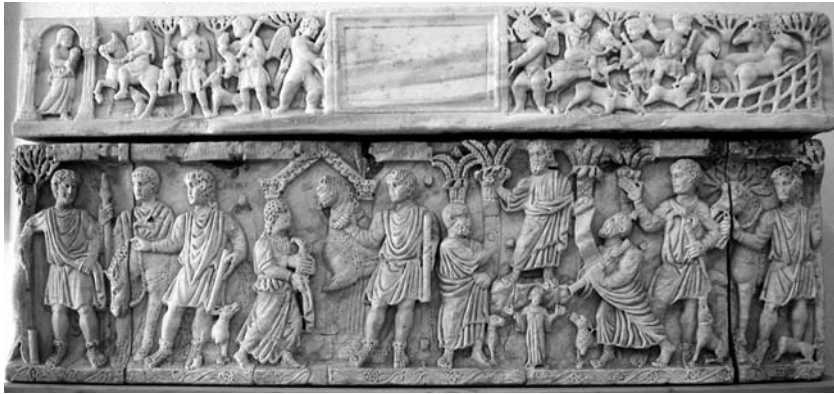


Fig. 7. Sarcophagus with the *traditio legis* and scenes from the life of the deceased, 350–400 CE. From central Tunisia. Museum of Leptis Minus (Lamta), Tunisia.

image of Peter and Paul can be closely linked to Roman imperial authority.⁸¹ The object, a kind of box lid, shows a Roman consul flanked by the two apostles (pl. 15a). Thanks to Jeffrey Spier, we even know the identity of the consul and his dates.⁸² The lid is one of the few objects in which the two apostles are openly associated with worldly power, and the mixture of saints with a Roman official makes it clear that the authority of the Roman government itself is depicted as sacred here. Naturally the Roman official chooses the two Roman apostles as his religious emblems.⁸³

CONCLUSION

We have seen the story of Peter and Paul develop and play a continuous role in theological debates through literary texts, polemical treatises, letters, and other documents. We also know that Peter and Paul were lauded in Christian worship through songs and sermons. It was my intention to complement

⁸¹ See also Annewies van den Hoek, "Peter, Paul and a Consul: Recent Discoveries in African Red Slip Ware," *ZAC* 9/2 (2006): 197–246 and Chapter IV in this volume: "Anicius Auchenius Bassus, African Red Slip Ware, and the Church."

⁸² Jeffrey Spier, "A lost consular diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (A.D. 408) on the mold for an ARS plaque," *JRA* 16 (2003): 251–254.

⁸³ On the secular terminology applied to saints and church officials, see Pietri, "Concordia Apostolorum," 290 and note 3.



Fig. 8. African lamp with the apostle Peter, 440–550 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 9. Imitation (?) African lamp with Peter and Paul. Benaki Museum, Athens, 11864.

the images on mosaics, sarcophagi, frescoes, lamps, platters, ivory, and glassware shown in *Picturing the Bible* with these literary sources. In both texts and images the two apostles left a lasting impression of their unity through diversity and their implicit authority.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Thanks to John Herrmann, François Bovon, Allan Fitzgerald, Linda Grant, Robin Jensen, and Valerie Karas for their suggestions and help in the various stages of preparation of this paper.

CHAPTER TEN

APOCALYPTIC THEMES IN THE MONUMENTAL AND MINOR ART OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY*

John Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek

INTRODUCTION

It is widely agreed that apocalyptic writings, such as the book of Revelation, Ezekiel, and the so-called “synoptic apocalypse” (Matt. 24:4–36; Mark 13:5–37; Luke 21:8–36), exerted a significant influence on Early Christian art. The influence of Revelation, the most conspicuous of these texts, was great in the Latin West but less evident in parts of the East, where the book was regarded with suspicion from the third century onwards.¹ In previous studies, the influence of the gospel apocalypse may have been somewhat undervalued and apocalyptic passages in the Epistles also deserve greater consideration. Many other apocalypses were available in the period,² but their influence (if any) on the arts has not yet come to general attention.

By and large, apocalyptic texts seem to have been taken up only in fragmentary form by artists, craftsmen, and their theological advisors. As Dale Kinney has pointed out, details tend to be lifted out of their context and adapted or mixed into traditional iconographies.³ These selections, however,

* The first version of this article was published in *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity* (ed. Robert J. Daly, SJ; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 33–80.

¹ Suspicion was caused by Christian sects employing the text for their own purposes—especially for predictions of the immanent end of the world; see Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1982), 2:256–257; Bernard McGinn, “Introduction: John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 18.

² For a survey, see Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, “Apocalypses and Related Subjects,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. and rev. R. McLaren Wilson; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Clarke, 1992), 2:542–752.

³ Dale Kinney, “The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration,” in Emmerson and McGinn, *Apocalypse*, 200–201.

were used in impressive compositions in the most sacred and visually dramatic parts of churches: the apse, the wall above the apse, vaults, and the façade. The apocalyptic components supplement or enhance the visions of paradise or divinity that are shown in these areas.⁴ Apocalyptic subject matter also made its appearance on many kinds of sculpture and in the minor arts, and these too should be given their due.

Artistic citations from apocalyptic texts draw on a narrow spectrum of content from the passages or books involved. Only those elements are chosen that tend to enhance the majesty and dignity of Christ. In contrast to the elaborate medieval treatments of apocalyptic themes, tribulations, devastation, plagues, and personifications of evil are omitted from Early Christian works. Monsters are admitted only to a limited degree.

It will be argued here that the influence of biblical apocalypses on Early Christian art can be subtle and indirect as well as overt. Even when texts are not followed literally, the structure of the action in artistic compositions can be apocalyptic. Persons or objects may be changed to suit contemporary local interests and traditions, but their actions and relationships echo situations found in biblical visions of the second coming of Christ. In this flexible environment, images are also drawn from non-Christian sources. Some of these motifs have emblematic meanings that enrich the transcendent scenes created in service of the new religion. Others reflect contemporary practices of the late Roman and early Byzantine court.

The precise significance of works of art with allusions to apocalyptic texts is often ambiguous, and authors have discussed at length whether they represent the second coming, the last judgment, the ascension, or a stable paradise.⁵ In general, the thornier interpretive problems will be avoided here. Instead, the emphasis will be on mapping the presence of apocalyptic material and searching beyond the most salient elements of borrowing to spotlight peripheral material and underlying structures that are rooted in the same apocalyptic texts.

⁴ On apse compositions, see Christa Ihm, *Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960; 2nd ed. 1992); Margaret Frazer in Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exhibition catalog (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 556–557.

⁵ The case of the S. Pudenziana apse is exemplary: see Kinney, “Apocalypse,” 209–210.



Fig. 1. Marble sarcophagus lid with the separation of the sheep from the goats, late 3rd or early 4th century. From Rome. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 24.240.

BIBLICAL AND PAGAN SOURCES IN THE LATIN WEST

Pre-Constantinian Times: The Sheep and the Goats

Christ's allusions to the end of the world, his second coming, and the heavenly kingdom are apocalyptic in the same sense as the more bizarre visions recorded in the book of Revelation.⁶ Apocalyptic texts from the gospels begin to have an impact on art in pre-Constantinian times with a representation of the separation of the sheep from the goats, an allegory of the last judgment, on a sarcophagus dated about 300 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1).⁷ The composition continues the allegorical language of biblical references to the shepherd and the sheep, texts that were popular sources in the art of the catacombs. References to the Last Judgment were rare in Early Christian art, and hardly exist apart from the allegory of the sheep and the goats, which returned shortly after 400 in the now-lost apse of a church at Fondi, near Naples,⁸ and in the early sixth-century mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.⁹

⁶ An apocalyptic vision permeates Christ's sayings in the gospels: D. Allison, Jr., "The Eschatology of Jesus," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 1: *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. John Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998), 267–302.

⁷ Frazer in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 556, 558, cat. no. 501; J. Engemann, "Images parousiaques dans l'art paléochrétienne," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz 1979), 77–78, fig. 4.

⁸ Paulinus, *Ep.* 32.17 (Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 29. 292): Et quia praecelsa quasi iudex rupe superstat / bis geminae pecudis discors agnis genus haedi / circumstant solium; laeuos auertitur haedos, / pastor et emeritos dextra conplectitur agnos, "and because it (the lamb) stands on a high rock, there are around its throne cattle of a twofold kind, goats which are at discord with lambs; the shepherd turns from the goats on the left and he welcomes the lambs on his right, which have performed their duty" (translation: Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches*, 47). See also Geir Hellemo, *Adventus Domini. Eschatological Thought in 4th Century Apses and Catecheses* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 91.

⁹ F.W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden: Grimm,

After 350: The A and Ω

One of the first unmistakable borrowings from Revelation is the use of the letters alpha and omega in connection with a Christian monogram as a symbol of God's eternity (Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:13). Possibly the first firmly datable examples appear on bronze coins of the emperor Magnentius, minted in 353 CE in various cities of Gaul and the Rheinland (fig. 2).¹⁰ The coin's reverse shows the chi and rho of Christ's name flanked by the apocalyptic letters. In the West, the use of this embellished monogram became endemic in art produced between 350 and 450. Sometimes it may have been a symbol for Christ in an anti-Arian sense,¹¹ but in other cases it may have been little more than a proclamation of Christian allegiance. In the East monograms with letters seem to have had less currency than in the West. They appear in a fourth-century tomb painting in Sofia, Bulgaria,¹² on the Column of Arcadius in Constantinople,¹³ in funerary inscriptions in Macedonia,¹⁴ in a fifth-century graffito in Thessaloniki (fig. 11), and on fifth- and sixth-century liturgical silver, including a paten attributed to a Byzantine workshop in the Ferrell collection (pl. 71c).¹⁵

1958), pls. 173–174; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York: Abrams, 1962), pl. 151; Engemann, "Images," 78, fig. 5. Some Coptic apocalyptic imagery, however, may imply judgment: see below, 378, note 168, Pl. 72–73.

¹⁰ C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson, eds., *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (rev. ed.; London: Spink, 1984–), vol. 8, cat. nos. 34,160, 198, 319, 320; David Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire* (2 vols.; Sidney, OH: Amos, 1999), cat. no. 3293. See also Jochen Garbsch and Bernhard Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Ausstellungskataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung 17; Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1989), cat. nos. M149, M150; Jeffrey Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven/London/Fort Worth: Yale University Press, 2007), cat. no. 30; www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?results=100&search=ric+magnentius+34 (consulted 16 February 2010). Martin Karrer finds that the Codex Sinaiticus provides indirect confirmation of a mid-fourth century date for the emergence of the letter symbolism; in that text, dated between 325 and 360, the alpha is written out while the omega is represented with the single letter in Rev 1:8: M. Karrer, "Review of Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity," *Review of Biblical Literature* 4 (2010): section V: http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/7237_7880.pdf (consulted 13 April 2010).

¹¹ Kinney, "Apocalypse," 202.

¹² Velizar Velkov in Beat Brenk, ed., *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Supplementbände, 1977), cat. no. 396b.

¹³ André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), fig. 128.

¹⁴ See for example, Denis Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Athens: École française d'Athènes; Paris: de Boccard, 1983), cat. no. 12, 25, 180.

¹⁵ Helmut Buschhausen, in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 543 (Chalice of St. Stephen, MFA Boston, 1971:633); Jack Schrader, in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 546 (Plate of Paternus, St. Petersburg, ω827); Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. no. 59 (Schmidt



Fig. 2. Bronze coin of Magnentius, 353 CE. Obverse: bust of the emperor. Reverse: chrismon with alpha and omega.

The Lamb on Mount Zion

In the second half of the fourth century, complex compositions set in paradise began to draw—and draw heavily—on concepts and details inspired by the book of Revelation. The literal borrowings may be limited, but the tone is permeated with an apocalyptic spirit. A fresco in the Catacomb of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, for example, presents some unmistakable borrowings (pl. 57).¹⁶ Christ's halo is flanked by the α and ω , and below his throne is the Lamb of God, whose halo is also marked with the apocalyptic letters and with a small monogrammatic cross. The Lamb stands on a hill, which must be Mount Zion (as in Rev 14:1). At the foot of Zion is the river Jordan, identified by the inscription IOR/DAS, which flanks the Lamb's halo. Zion is simultaneously the mountain of paradise, since the four rivers of Eden (Gen 2:10–14) flow from it. In the context of this fresco, the springs may be an allusion to the “water of life ... flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb” in the new Jerusalem (Rev 22:1). Even in these citations, however, there are details that differ from the text. The rivers are the four rivers

Collection, Munich, 155); Spier, *Treasures*, cat. no. 189. The Ferrell paten could be Western; the eggs resemble those on a silver bowl from Italy and on a fifth century ARS lanx: Wamser, *Welt*, cat. no. 359; Wamser and Zahlhaas, *Rom & Byzanz*, cat. no. 127. For a pyxis of unknown provenance, see Susan Boyd, in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 550.

¹⁶ Kinney, “Apocalypse,” 202–203, 211; Maria Andalor, “I prototipi pagani e l’archetipo del volto di Cristo,” in *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (ed. Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca; Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2000), 414, fig. 1.

named in Genesis rather than the one in Revelation, and the Lamb lacks the seven horns and seven eyes that it has elsewhere in Revelation (Rev 5:6). In all probability, the Lamb's attributes were not multiplied because doing so would violate, on one hand, traditions of Greco-Roman naturalism and, on the other hand, traditions of the shepherd allegory established in earlier Christian art.¹⁷

Many such theologically sophisticated compositions developed after about 350 are infused with the compositional principles of non-Christian Roman art. For instance, flanking Christ in this fresco are Saints Peter and Paul, and on the level below are four lesser saints, whose relics lay in the catacomb: Gorgonius, Peter, Marcellinus, and Tiburtius.¹⁸ All six saints gesture with veneration toward Christ or the Lamb. As has been frequently noted, such compositions recall Late Roman court ceremonial.¹⁹ As in the emperor's distribution of largess on the Arch of Constantine,²⁰ figures in two ranks and in virtually identical poses gesture toward an authoritative, central figure.

While the composition makes use of the formal language of non-Christian art of the time, biblical sources dictate many of the basic relationships and actions. Christ may be enthroned and wear clothing of purple, but unlike Christian emperors of the fourth to sixth centuries he has a long beard and long hair, and he wears no crown. In the presence of the apocalyptic Lamb, he evokes the enthroned God of Rev 4:2. He may have a book in his left hand, not a scroll in his right as in Revelation, but the composition remains apocalyptic in structure if not in detail. In a similarly loose sense, the six saints of the fresco evoke the twenty-four elders of Revelation

¹⁷ Kinney, "Apocalypse," 202.

¹⁸ For a gold-glass medallion Oxford with Christ seated between Peter and Paul and six saints who are not the customary apostles (the preserved names are Timothy, Sixtus or Justus, Simon, and Florus), see Charles Rufus Morey and Guy Ferrari, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library with Additional Catalogues of Other Gold-Glass Collections* (ed. Guy Ferrari; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), cat. no. 364; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, fig. 171; Frazer in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 472. On the saints on gold glass, see Umberto Utro, "Le immagini e il culto dei santi sui vetri dorati romani durante il pontificato di Damaso e Siricio (366–399)," in *387 d.c., Ambrogio e Agostino, le sorgenti dell'Europa*. Exhibition catalogue Museo Diocesano, Milan (ed. Paolo Pasini; Milan: Olivares, 2003), 137–141, 294–295, cat. nos. 162–164, 170–176.

¹⁹ Johannes Deckers, "Constantin und Christus," in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (ed. Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol; Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), 274, fig. 113. Kinney, "Apocalypse," 203.

²⁰ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 44, fig. 116; Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1992), 452, fig. 413.

who adore the enthroned one.²¹ The garlands (*serta*), fillets (*vittae* or *taeniae*), and flowers in the field around them recall the crowns (*coronae*) that the elders cast down before him (Rev 4:10–11). On another level, these festive ornaments may also symbolize homage to the burials and relics in the catacomb, but the two references do not exclude one another.²² Thus the composition of the fresco as a whole can be considered a structural parallel to Revelation. The composition is broadly inspired by the text but modifies it according to local traditions and interests.

Christ Coming through the Clouds and the Traditio Legis

Some compositions created around or not long after 350 show a high degree of theological manipulation of biblical sources, and apocalyptic material is worked into them to present activity in paradise. In one of these conceptual (rather than biblical) compositions—usually called the *traditio legis*—Christ is shown standing between Peter and Paul, handing the scroll of the law to Peter. The scroll is frequently inscribed “Dominus legem dat,” as in the mosaics of the baptistery of Naples (pl. 58a, fig. 3).²³ This composition, which was popular primarily in the second half of the fourth century, is generally regarded as non-biblical or biblical in only an indirect sense.²⁴ On one hand it is thought to conflate Christ giving the keys of paradise to Peter and God giving the law to Moses,²⁵ and on the other it represents Christ giving the new law through the Gospels.²⁶ The first *traditio legis* may have been created for a redecoration of the apse of St. Peter’s around the middle of the

²¹ Dale Kinney also sees the acclamatory context influenced by Rev 5:8 (“Apocalypse,” 203). For an extension of the elders’ gesture of homage to other figures in Early Christian art, see Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975), 16.

²² On the polyvalence of Early Christian art, see Eduard Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1954), 66; Brenk, *Mosaiken*, last paragraph of the foreword (no pagination); Engemann, “Images,” 79.

²³ Jean-Louis Maier, *Le baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1964), 42–43, 108–120, pl. 8; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 42, fig. 102; Hugo Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 22a. For the theme in apses, see Ihm, *Programme*, 33–39.

²⁴ Walter Nikolaus Schumacher, “Dominus legem dat,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 54 (1959): 1–39; Frazer in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 556, 559–560, cat. no. 503; Lucrezia Spera, “Traditio legis et clavium,” in *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (ed. Fabrizio Bisconti; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000), 288–293 with bibliography; Fabrizio Bisconti, “Le basiliche cristiane e i nuovi programmi figurativi,” in Ensolì and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 188–189.

²⁵ The *traditio legis* has also been viewed as a contamination of the assembly of the apostles with the giving of the law to Moses; see Utro, “Immagini,” 137.

²⁶ Maier, *Le baptistère de Naples*, 109–111.



Fig. 3. *Traditio legis*, mosaic, ca. 400. Baptistery, Naples, detail.

fourth century. Others have viewed the *traditio* as the creation of workshops producing marble sarcophagi at that time.²⁷ In any case, the setting for the scene is otherworldly and in some sense apocalyptic, in spite of the absence of a clear biblical source.

In the *traditio legis* in the Naples baptistery, dated around 400, traditional imperial imagery is also used to evoke an ideal world above time and space, since Christ stands on the globe of the heavens (pl. 58a).²⁸ In pagan art, the celestial sphere can have a variety of iconographic settings but it usually includes the meanings of eternity and universality.²⁹ In coinage, the globe is

²⁷ M. Sotomayor S.J., "Über die Herkunft der 'Traditio legis,'" *RQ* 56 (1961): 215–230.

²⁸ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 42, figs. 103–104.

²⁹ Ernst Künzl, M. Fecht, and S. Greiff, "Ein römischer Himmelsglobus der mittleren Kaiserzeit," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 47 (2000): 495–594.

usually small and held in the hand of Aeternitas, various other personifications, or the Roman emperor. On coins issued to commemorate the death and deification of the Empress Faustina I, Aeternitas sits on the globe, which clearly represents the heavens, since stars and the zodiac are indicated (fig. 4).³⁰ The emperor Alexander Severus (222–235) is seated on the celestial globe on a bronze medallion, inscribed “temporum felicitas.”³¹ Virtually the only pagan divinity or personification who actually stands on the globe is Victoria.³² Most commonly, she awards emblems of triumph—a wreath and a palm branch—as on a denarius of Augustus (fig. 5).³³ In late Roman times, the emperor, Jupiter, or Roma holds a small globe with Victoria. The image was perpetuated well into the fifth century, as an issue of Theodosius II in 408 attests (fig. 6).³⁴

There was undoubtedly a carry-over of the composition's traditional meaning in the Naples baptistery. The globe on which Christ stands evokes his eternal victory over death, and he awards the law to Peter as a prize for martyrdom and primacy. The palm trees at the side of the Naples mosaic (pl. 58a, fig. 3) continue the Graeco-Roman triumphal symbolism of the palm tree and palm branch.³⁵ The palms also place the scene in paradise, a symbolic meaning that has different roots, as will be seen below.

A biblical and apocalyptic element has been added to enrich the setting depicted in the Naples baptistery. Clouds that are tinted red above and blue

³⁰ Sutherland and Carson, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, 3:1159. For this and other types of coins included in this study, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

³¹ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 42, fig. 104; Johannes Deckers, “Constantine the Great and Early Christian Art,” in Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, 96, fig. 70.

³² LIMC 8, s.v. Victoria (Rainier Vollkommer) cat. nos. 56–82. On rare occasions, the gods of the week can be shown on globes, as in bronze appliquéés with Helios/Sol and Venus from Sion, Switzerland; see LIMC 4, s.v. Helios/Sol (Cesare Letta), cat. no. 290; LIMC 8, s.v. Venus (Evamaria Schmidt) cat. no. 142.

³³ H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 1: *Augustus to Vitellius* (London: Spink, 1926), Augustus, no. 255. An aureus of Carus (282–283 CE) has the same large victory on a globe. For other examples of these types, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

³⁴ R.A.G. Carson, John Kent, and Andrew Burnett, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10: *The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts, AD 395–491* (London: Spink, 2004), cat. no. 1320. The precise year of the issue can be determined since three *augusti* are indicated by the legend on the reverse. Roma holding the victoriola appears on a siliqua coined by a Vandal king of Africa in the name of Honorius between 450 and 484; see Cécile Morrisson in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, cat. no. 287.

³⁵ DACL 13 pt. 1, col. 949, s.v. “Palm, palmier”; Schumacher, “Dominus legem dat,” 7; Paola De Santis, “Palma,” in Bisconti, *Temi*, 238–240.



Fig. 4a–b. Bronze As of Faustina the Elder, after 141 CE.



Fig. 5a–b. Denarius of Augustus, ca. 32–29 BCE.



Fig. 6a–b. Solidus of Theodosius II, 408 CE.

below appear around Christ. These are inspired by Christ's prediction of his second coming: "They will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds with power and great glory" (Matt 24:30). The statement has a very similar form in Mark 13:26 and Luke 21:27. The words are then echoed at Christ's return in Rev 1:7: "Look, he is coming with the clouds."³⁶ Colorful clouds become a staple of apocalyptic representations in the West. In this case, the precise meaning of the apocalyptic motif seems ambiguous; it may set the scene either at Christ's second coming or in the stable glory of heaven.

*The Heavenly Jerusalem,
the Heavenly Bethlehem, and the Traditio Legis*

A gold-glass bowl fragment in the Vatican, dated between 366 and 399 CE, adds another element of apocalyptic origin to the *Dominus legem dat* theme (pl. 58b).³⁷ Christ stands on Mount Zion, hands a scroll to Peter, and gestures toward Paul. Water, designated as the river Jordan by the inscription IOR/DANES below the ground line, flows from the mountain. In the palm tree behind Paul is a phoenix, a mythological symbol of resurrection, and another palm would have appeared behind Peter in the missing part of the glass. The bird's presence reinforces the paradisiacal meaning of the palms, without excluding the triumphal meaning. In the exergue, the Lamb of God stands on the mountain of paradise (or Mount Zion once again), from which emerge the four rivers of Eden or the water of life. On each side three more lambs, representing apostles, proceed from two small and highly abbreviated city walls with crenellated towers labeled ERVSALE and BECLE. This conception must surely have been inspired by the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev 21:9–14. The names of the "apostles of the Lamb" are inscribed on the city's foundations (Rev 21:14), a concept that may well have stimulated the procession of lambs in this gold-glass and other similar monuments.³⁸ Nowhere in Revelation, however, is there mention of the descent

³⁶ Frederik van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini. Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Studi di antichità cristiana, pubblicati per cura del Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana 13; Città del Vaticano, Roma: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1938), 179–185, fig. 40.

³⁷ Morey and Ferrari, *Gold-Glass*, cat. no. 78; Ihm, *Programme*, 36, fig. 6; Utro, "Immagini," 137, fig. 2.

³⁸ In the mosaic of S. Costanza, the two round huts seem to allude to the two cities: Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, fig. 101; Bisconti, "Programmi" in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 189, fig. 10; H. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century* (trans. Andreas Krupp; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), fig. 40; Deckers, "Constantine the Great," 86, 95–96, fig. 68. Also illustrated below, p. 530, pl. 44a.

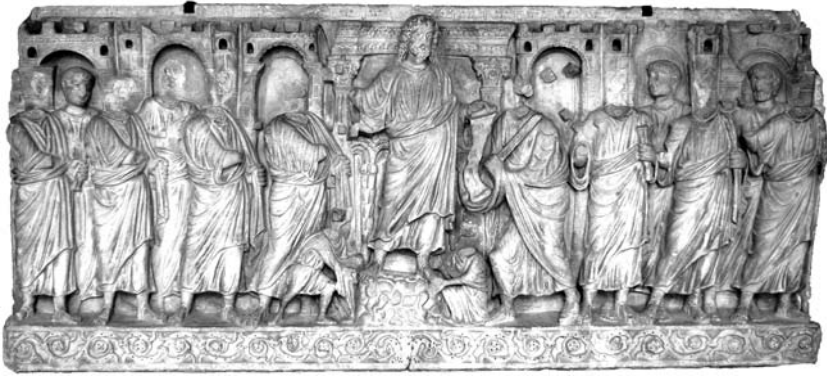


Fig. 7. Sarcophagus with the *traditio legis*, late 4th century. Louvre, Paris, Ma 2980.

of a heavenly Bethlehem. The addition of this second city, which is seen in other examples of the *traditio legis* as well,³⁹ must have been made in response to contemporary theological needs: that is, to articulate the distinction and the harmony between the churches *ex circumcissione* and *ex gentibus*.

Palm Trees and Ezekiel

The heavenly Jerusalem is visualized more forcefully on a late-fourth-century sarcophagus in the Louvre from the Mausoleum of the Anicii (an appendage of Old St. Peter's), and the *traditio legis* takes place with a grander cast of characters (fig. 7).⁴⁰ The central triad is essentially the same: Christ stands on the mountain of paradise/Mount Zion with its four rivers and hands the scroll of the Law to Peter, who carries the cross of his martyrdom and receives the sacred scroll with covered hands, as in other examples of the scene (pl. 58a, b).⁴¹ Paul and a palm tree appear at Christ's right. Two

³⁹ See above, note 38.

⁴⁰ François Baratte and Catherine Metzger, *Musée du Louvre, catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époque romaine et paleochrétienne* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1985), 316, n. 212, 312–316 with bibliography; and Metzger in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, cat. no. 308. For the typology, see J. Dreskan-Weiland, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarcophage, 2. Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien*, Museen der Welt (Mainz: Zabern, 1998), 52–64.

⁴¹ Usually considered a custom transferred from Roman court ceremonial: see, for example, Josef Engemann, "Die imperialen Grundlagen der frühchristlichen Kunst," in Beck and Bol, *Spätantike*, 265, fig. 95.

tiny figures at Christ's feet are probably the original owners of the sarcophagus. The other ten apostles now flank the central unit, and behind them are stretches of simulated masonry with towers, archways, and the crenellations of a fortress or a city wall. This architectural backdrop must again have been inspired by the heavenly Jerusalem in biblical revelation. In the text, twelve angels, symbolizing the twelve tribes of Israel, stand at the twelve gates of the city (Rev 21:12). Here, however, apostles replace the angels. There is a gap in the city wall at the center of the composition, where Christ is framed by a pair of columns carrying an entablature. This unit links the two sections of city wall, and the division suggests that not one but two cities may have been intended: Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as on the gold glass in the Vatican (see pl. 58b).

Details of this and other "city gate sarcophagi"⁴² suggest that the book of Revelation was not the only biblical apocalyptic source behind the *traditio legis*. The palm tree between Christ and the column on the Louvre sarcophagus seems out of place in the urban setting evoked by the architectural background (fig. 7). The tree could perhaps be regarded simply as a motif transferred from *traditio legis* compositions without architectural backgrounds, such as the Naples mosaic and the Vatican gold glass (pl. 58a, b). The palm tree, however, takes on a specific meaning in the context of one of Ezekiel's visions. In his last vision, God reveals the future walled temple of Jerusalem to the prophet (Ezek 40–42). This extensive structure, which is like a city, has many gates and on the jambs of these gateways there are palm trees (Ezek 40:16, 22, 26, 31, 34, 37). This embellishment goes back to the palm trees at the doors of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6:29, 32, 35; 7:36). The palm trees, however, are left out of John's vision. In Early Christian art, including other examples of the *traditio legis* (pl. 58a, b), palm trees define location (the heavenly Jerusalem and paradise) at least as much as they proclaim victory. This in itself evokes Ezekiel, where the palms are characteristic of the Lord's temple in an ideal future, rather than the Lord's victory. The palm was associated with Judaea in Roman and Jewish art,⁴³ but a geographic symbol

⁴² For the *Traditio legis* on sarcophagi at Rome with bibliography, see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, Giuseppe Bovini, and Hugo Brandenburg, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, 1. *Rom und Ostia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), cat. nos. 28, 200, 675–677, 679, 724, 1008.

⁴³ Beat Brenk, "Die Christianisierung des jüdischen Stadtzentrums von Kapernaum," in Doula Mouriki et al, *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of K. Weitzmann* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1995), 24–26; S. Fine, "On the Development of a Symbol: The Date Palm in Roman Palestine and the Jews," *Jewish Studies Program*

could not by itself have reached such potent levels of eschatological symbolism in Christian art. In Greek, the palm is named phoenix (φοῖνιξ), like the bird of resurrection, and this pun may have played a role in turning the tree into a symbol of eternal life and paradise.⁴⁴ The palm's association with the historical and future temples may also have contributed to its enhanced symbolic meaning.

The parallel between Ezekiel's vision and the composition on the sarcophagus of the Anicii (fig. 7) goes even further. After describing the temple, God details the practices that the Israelites must follow in the temple, and he delineates the land of Israel and his own land and city (Ezek 43–48). He moreover charges Ezekiel with transmitting these ordinances and laws (*leges*) to the Israelites (Ezek 43:10–12). Transmission of the law, of course, is depicted on the Louvre sarcophagus, although Peter—not Ezekiel—is the recipient. It seems likely that the idea of connecting the heavenly Jerusalem with the transmission of the law to Peter could have been inspired by Ezekiel. In this context the transmission of the law in the heavenly Jerusalem finds its best biblical foundation, and it becomes less of an arbitrary theological invention tending to usurp Moses' historical function in favor of Peter's. Moses' reception of the law on Mt. Sinai may lie somewhere in the background, but the composition is much more a conflation of the apocalyptic visions of both Revelation and Ezekiel—modified, of course, by replacing the recipients and witnesses in those visions with figures from the New Testament.

Sarcophagi depicting city gates, such as that of the Anicii, date from late in the fourth century, several decades after the *translatio legis* made its first appearance. Nonetheless, the theological thought and the apocalyptic sources behind the composition seem to be formulated more clearly in them than in other redactions, and these thoughts and sources may have been involved from the inception of the theme.

4 (1989): 105–118; Idem, *JSP* 4 (1989): 105–118; Idem, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), 140–145; Moshé Fischer, “Kapharnaum. Eine Retrospektive,” *JbAC* 44 (2001): 142–167, esp. 152.

⁴⁴ De Santis, “Palma,” 238–240. Edward Bleiberg derives the palms of paradise from the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life in Gen 2:16; see Edward Bleiberg, *Tree of Paradise: Jewish Mosaics from the Roman Empire* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2005), 37. The species of these trees, however, is not defined; they are called *lignum*, not *palma*, and there were many other fruitful trees in the original paradise.



Fig. 8. Monogrammatic cross in sky, ca. 400 CE. Baptistery, Naples. Hand of God, detail.

The Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven and the Four Living Creatures

Around the year 400, two new apocalyptic elements appear in the mosaics of the baptistery at Naples. In the center of the dome are a starry sky and a monogrammatic cross; that is, a “Latin” cross with the rho of Christos (pl. 59, fig. 8). The rho is surrounded by a halo as if it were the head of Christ. The cross is flanked by the apocalyptic letters, and the hand of God places a wreath on it as an emblem of victory. As Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann and others have noted, the basic elements of such a composition evoke Matt 24:29: “Immediately after the suffering of those days the sun will be darkened and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken. Then the sign of the Son of man will appear in heaven.”⁴⁵ The text prescribes the elimination of the stars. Without

⁴⁵ À propos of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia: F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Kommentar, 1. Teil* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974), 84–86; Engemann, “Images,” 92–93, fig. 15.

the stars, however, it would have been impossible to establish a location for the cross, and it seems fair to consider their inclusion as poetic license. Once again, the composition seems to be apocalyptic both in structure and inspiration even though it does not follow the text literally in every detail.

In the squinches or quarter-domes supporting the baptistery's vault are the living creatures of Rev 4:6–8. Only two are well preserved, the winged man and the winged lion (pl. 60a). They each have six feather-like wings, but they are not quite as much like a peacock's tail as the text of Revelation would have them: the wings are not covered with eyes.

A similar apocalyptic conception appears in the Mausoleum of Empress Galla Placidia (400–450). In the dome, a plain Latin cross floats in a starry sky, and the four living creatures circle around it (pl. 61a, figs. 9, 10).⁴⁶ The creatures have two wings rather than the six mentioned in the apocalyptic text, a modification that became standard in the Latin West during Early Christian times.

Some versions of the sign appearing in heaven exclude the four creatures. A gold cross emerges in a field of stars in the dome mosaic of a small memorial chapel at Casaranello, near Lecce in southern Italy.⁴⁷ And a triple chrismon (three monograms, one superimposed on the other) floats in a starry sky in a niche mosaic of the baptistery at Albenga on the Ligurian coast. At Albenga each monogram has an alpha and omega, and around the triple chrismon are twelve doves and a small Latin cross.⁴⁸

Images of the sign of Christ in heaven were also taken up in liturgical silver. In a fifth-century paten in the Ferrell collection (pl. 71c), rosette-like stars along with the alpha and omega appear in the fields between the arms of the chi-rho.⁴⁹ The enriched symbolism elevates the chi-rho emblem from a mere declaration of Christian identity to a subtly apocalyptic apparition.

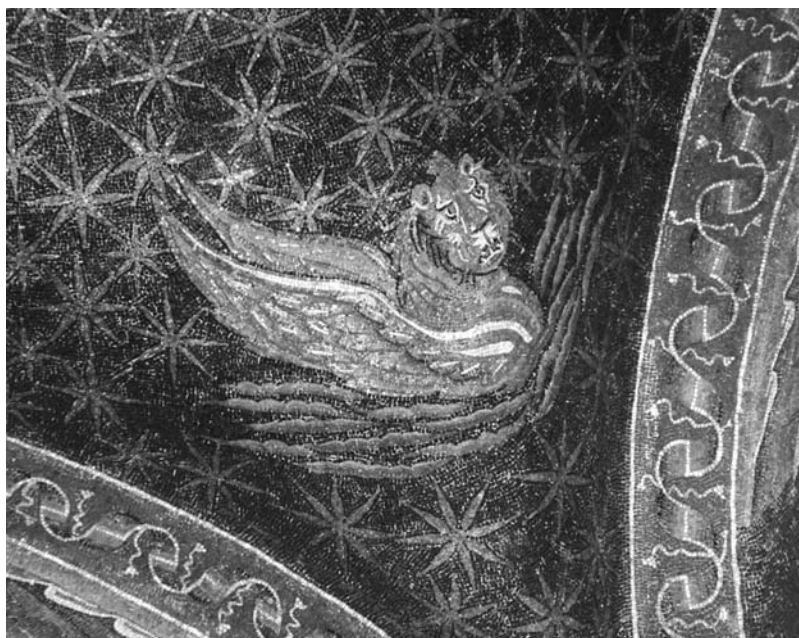
Images of the sign of Christ in heaven spread beyond courtly and monumental art into the popular realm. The sarcophagus of Aemiliana from Capi

⁴⁶ For a full discussion of the various interpretations of the mosaic, see Deichmann, *Ravenna. Kommentar*, 1, 84–86. For the date, see 66. For illustrations, see Deichmann, *Bauten*, pls. 19–25.

⁴⁷ Renato Bartocchini, "Casanarello e I suoi mosaici," *Felix Ravenna*, new series 4 (45) (1934): 157 ff.; Frederik van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (trans. Mary Hedlund and H.H. Rowley; London/Edinburgh/New York/ Paris: Nelson, 1959), 144–145, fig. 469; Deichmann, *Kommentar*, 1. Teil, 85–86; Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 19a.

⁴⁸ van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, fig. 415; Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 20.

⁴⁹ Spier, *Treasures*, cat. no. 189. On the date, see above, p. 331, note 15.



Figs. 9–10. Dome mosaic, 400–450 CE. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, details.

dated to the fifth or sixth century has three crosses carved on a starry field.⁵⁰ The multiple crosses clearly emphasize the trinitarian aspect of the apparition. In this funerary context an announcement of the second coming bears a particularly clear message of hope and anticipation. A graffito in the marketplace of Thessaloniki places the annunciatory christogram in a highly informal, profane setting (fig. 11).⁵¹ Clustered together with apparently secular images of a panther and a boat, is a monogrammatic cross enclosed in a starry ring. Other graffiti in the cluster are also unmistakably Christian: a cross with alpha and omega, and a short prayer ("Lord God, help Elpidios").⁵²

African Red Slip Ware, Popular Art, and Imperishable Crowns

Some apocalyptic themes turn up on African Red Slip ware (ARS), a very widely distributed type of ceramics produced in the area of modern Tunisia. Ceramics are earthy and popular by nature, and in general their imagery is concrete rather than literary or visionary. By and large, the influence of the book of Revelation is mild. The apocalyptic letters attached to a monogrammatic cross, a popular motif throughout Early Christian art in the West, also appears on ARS ware in the fifth century (fig. 12–13).⁵³ Strangely, the alpha and omega are almost never associated with the chrismon or the Latin cross on African ceramics.⁵⁴ The Lamb of God (who is identified

⁵⁰ Deichmann, Bovini, and Brandenburg, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I, cat. no. 813 (Rome: Musei Capitolini).

⁵¹ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18 1963 (1965) B2, 199, figs. 2–6, 19; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 19 1964 (1967) 330; Stylianos Pelekanidis, "To theatron to kaloumenon stadion tes Thessalonikes," in *KERNOS. Timetike prosphora ston kathegete Georgio Mpakalake* (ed. D. Pander-malis, K. Romiopoulou, X. Mayropoulou-Tsioume; Thessaloniki: Tsibanake, 1972), 122–133, 246 (with German summary); E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens: Kapon, 1997), 151, fig. 174. On the secular images, see Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Late Antiquity and Christianity in Thessalonike: Aspects of a Transformation," in *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike* (ed. Laura Nasrallah, Charalambos Bakirtzis, Steven Friesen; Harvard Theological Studies 64, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 407, fig. 5.

⁵² Κύριε ὁ θεός βοήθισ[ο]ν Ἐλπίδιου, *SEG* 24:564b.

⁵³ John Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972), 272–274, types 289–290, fig. 54a–d; Abdelmajid Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie (Musées du Bardo et de Carthage)* (Paris: CNRS, 1976), cat. nos. 996–1004; Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. nos. 113, 124; J.J. Herrmann, Jr. and A. van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa (Tunisia)* (1st ed.; Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2002; 2nd ed., Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins at the University of Texas at Austin, 2003), cat. nos. 14, 53.

⁵⁴ For a rare exception, see a lamp reflector with a chrismon and the apocalyptic letters in Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. no. 152.



Fig. 11. Graffiti, ca. 5th century CE. Agora, Thessaloniki.

by a chrismon or a cross), appears on plates and lamps produced 350–530 (fig. 14), but he does not stand on Mount Zion.⁵⁵ The living creatures and Christ's ring of radiance that are mentioned in apocalyptic texts are cited on a type of African lamp showing the ascension (pl. 11a), but this unusual composition is better treated in the context of other objects showing the same subject.

⁵⁵ Ibid., cat. nos. 89–91; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 39.



Fig. 12. Fragment of an ARS trial piece with monogrammatic cross, 400–440 CE. Formerly collection of Sir Charles Nuffler, Bart.

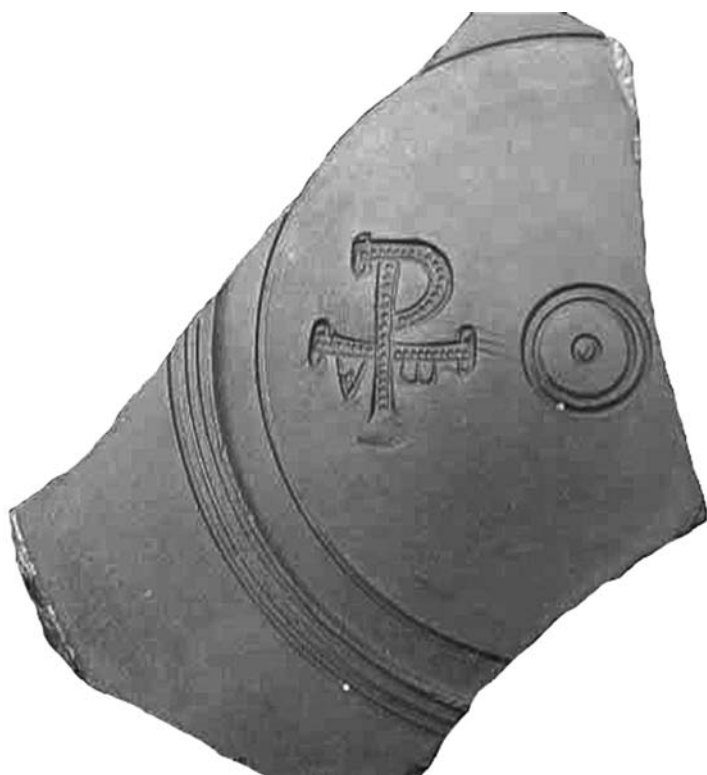


Fig. 13. Fragment of an ARS plate with monogrammatic cross, 440–510 CE. Harlan J. Berk, Ltd, Chicago.

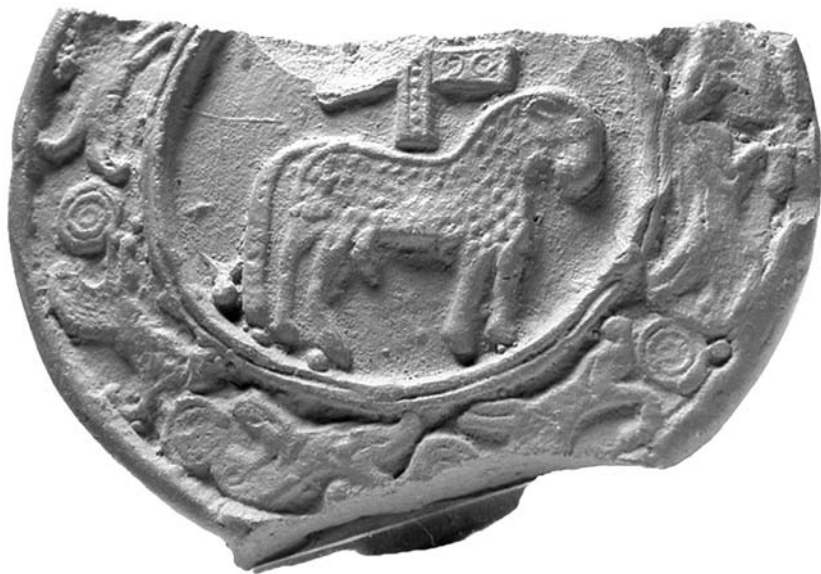


Fig. 14. African lamp reflector with the Lamb of God, 420–530 CE. Formerly, collection of Sir Charles Nuffler, Bart.

Visionary texts from the Epistles seem to have influenced the designers of ARS. A fragmentary bowl in Djemila, Algeria presents the best example (fig. 15). A long-haired youth lounges casually on a chair and holds out a wreath in his right hand. To his left, a balding, bearded man wrapped in a *pallium* makes a gesture of acclaim. A second such figure probably completed the scene to the right of the youth. Jan Willem Salomonson has recognized the agonistic character of this scene, seeing a victorious poet in the seated youth and an actor in the old man.⁵⁶ In depictions of Greek award ceremonies for victorious athletes and poets, however, judges are often seated while the winning competitor stands, both to compete and to receive his award.⁵⁷ Thus the seated youth on the vase fragment seems to be

⁵⁶ Jan Willem Salomonson, "Spätromische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten," *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke beschaving* (1969): 59–60, 65, fig. 86. The suggestion that the old man is an actor seems unlikely since he does not seem to be wearing a mask.

⁵⁷ E. Kakarouga-Stassinopoulou, in D. Vanhove, ed., *Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique. Du Jeu à la Compétition* (Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1992), cat. no. 125; E. Kephaliidou, "Victory Ceremonies and Post-Victory Celebrations," in Nicholas Kaltsas, *Agon*, ed. (Athens: National



Fig. 15. Apostle and Christ or a martyr with a wreath. ARS bowl fragment, 350–430 CE. Archaeological Museum, Djemila, Algeria.

the judge awarding the prize and not the contestant. This is nevertheless an abnormal situation, since judges are usually old and competitors young.

This role reversal seems to have been projected into the Christian realm. Since the old man resembles St. Paul and the youth wears his hair long like Christ, the composition could well represent Christ rewarding his faithful apostle. Paul speaks metaphorically of athletic training to receive an imperishable crown in 1 Cor 9:25. In more concrete terms the Pastoral Letters have Paul declare “I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. From now on there is reserved for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will award to me on that day, and not only to me but also to all who have longed for his appearing” (2 Tim 4:7–8).

Archaeological Museum, 2004), 77; L. Utkina in Kaltsas, *Agon*, cat. no. 159; John J. Herrmann, Jr., Christine Kondoleon, and Lisa Buboltz, *Games for the Gods: The Greek Athlete and the Olympic Spirit* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 144, 148, 189–190, cat. nos. 140, 150.



Fig. 16. Apostle and Christ or a martyr with a wreath. ARS bowl fragment, 350–430 CE. Private collection.

As Thomas Mathews points out, Ambrose used the metaphor of Christ awarding a crown to his athletes in connection with baptism.⁵⁸ On gold-glass cups of the fourth century, Christ was frequently shown placing wreaths on the heads of Peter, Paul, other saints, and married couples.⁵⁹ Rewards for the saints surely locate the scene in the afterlife and make the composition eschatological if not apocalyptic—in a small-scale, personal sense, not necessarily tied to the fate of the entire world at the second coming.

It is very likely that the same action of heavenly reward is represented on an ARS platter rim where Christ stands as he extends a wreath to an aged apostle or martyr (fig. 16). Numerous fragments exist of bowls and platters depicting this scene.⁶⁰ The figure of Christ standing and holding out

⁵⁸ Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 163–164. On wreaths, see Karl Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1940); cited in Christa Ihm, *Programme*, 20 note 28.

⁵⁹ Morey and Ferrari, *Gold-Glass*, cat. nos. 29, 37, 50 (Christ identified by label), 66, 74, 102, 109, 241, 272, 278 (Christ identified by label), 286, 314, 397, 450; Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 507; Utro, "Immagini," 136–137.

⁶⁰ A rectangular platter (lanx) with the old apostles and the young martyr or Christ

a wreath appears on a well-preserved lamp in a private collection (fig. 17).⁶¹ To some degree the action parallels imperial ceremonies, as on Roman coins where the Emperor Caracalla, wearing military costume and standing on a high platform, awards wreaths in various *fora* of Asia Minor,⁶² but award ceremonies at athletic and theatrical festivals must have been much more common occurrences. In mosaics, martyrs receive crowns of victory from the hand of God, as in the dome of St. Victor, Milan (late fifth century)⁶³ and from the hand of Christ in the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna (547 CE, pl. 66b).

On another bowl fragment St. Paul venerates the wreath of Jesus's victory or reaches out for his own leafy crown (fig. 18).⁶⁴ A crown or the *chrismon* is frequently shown above or between saints or married couples on gold-glass produced in the fourth century. The wreath can be a substitute for the figure of Christ, and the composition suggests both a transcendent reward and unity in Christ.⁶⁵ The ARS tradition seems to present much the same transcendent thoughts as the gold-glass but formulates them in its own distinctive manner.

After ca. 390: Saints Offer Their Crowns to Christ

In Early Christian art after ca. 390 saintly victors not only receive wreaths, they also return them to Christ as an act of homage. This action has prototypes in pagan tradition, but it may also have roots in apocalyptic thinking and biblical texts. Early examples of the motif can be seen in the Naples baptistery. Between the squinches with the living creatures are windows flanked by apostles or martyrs holding out their crowns of golden leaves fastened with gems (pl. 60b–c).⁶⁶ Saints offering crowns to Christ have been interpreted as mimicking the imperial tradition of *aurum coronarium*: conquered peoples or the Senate offering tribute to the emperor in the form of

has been reconstructed on paper from fragments; see Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. nos. 93–94; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. nos. 45–46.

⁶¹ Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 47.

⁶² Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 42, fig. 103. See also the coin from Laodicea in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1971.45, viewable at <http://www.mfa.org/search/collections?keyword=1971.45/> (consulted 25 August 2013).

⁶³ Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 27.

⁶⁴ Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 44. For more examples of same basic idea, often called the “Kreuzwache,” see Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, cat. nos. 92, 98–100; above, 136–137, fig. 3.

⁶⁵ Ševčenko in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. nos. 506, 508; Utro, “Immagini,” fig. 1.

⁶⁶ Maier, *Le baptistère de Naples*, 45–52 (apostles); Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 22b.



Fig. 17. African lamp with Christ holding a wreath, 440–530 CE. Private collection.



Fig. 18. St. Paul venerates a wreath. ARS bowl fragment, 350–430 CE. Private collection

gold wreaths.⁶⁷ It is difficult to see this theme as the sole source for the action of these saints. Bringing tribute is tinged with an evocation of barbarian submission, and senatorial tribute is scarcely documented in Roman Imperial art before the column of Arcadius, dated around 400 CE.

Thomas Mathews has suggested that ancient religious traditions of bearing wreaths, garlands, or ritual vessels to cult images could have played a part in this development.⁶⁸ Could not the Elders of the Apocalypse, who cast their crowns before the throne of Christ (Rev 4:10), have also influenced the sudden popularity of this action in Christian iconography? The biblical text would have bestowed both prominence and highly positive connotations to the gesture of offering crowns. Beat Brenk has argued that the four living creatures offering crowns in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore also draw

⁶⁷ Theodore Klauser, "Aurum Coronarium," *Römische Mitteilungen* 59 (1944): 129–143; Engemann, "Grundlagen" in Beck and Bol, *Spätantike*, 264, 266, fig. 91.

⁶⁸ Citing Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (New York: Cambridge University Press: 1986), 19, 210; Mathews, *Clash*, 200–201 note 20.

their inspiration from the Elders.⁶⁹ Thus, while saints offering crowns are not a literal citation of a text from Revelation, they again present what can be called an apocalyptic structure and betray the influence of Revelation. The motif became very widespread in Early Christian art of the Latin West, as in the Baptistery of the Arians at Ravenna, where the apostles present their crowns to the throne of Christ (pl. 64b).

The Row of Living Creatures and the Throne with Symbol

A tradition of stately apocalyptic imagery develops in Italy in the late fourth century and evolves toward more literal biblical citation throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. The key element is a row of apocalyptic monsters from Revelation centered on either a symbol or a bust of Christ. The main vehicle of this Italian tradition is mosaic decoration in the churches of Rome and Ravenna. In the apse mosaic of St. Pudenziana in Rome (390–398), the four living creatures (Rev 4:6–7; 5:6) hover in the sky on both sides of a jeweled cross rising from Golgotha (pl. 61b).⁷⁰ Below the creatures are the buildings of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:9–14), and probably the heavenly Bethlehem.⁷¹ Within the holy cities, a majestic Christ is enthroned among his apostles, who gesture toward him in acclamation. Peter and Paul are crowned by the *ecclesia ex gentibus* and the *ecclesia ex circumcisione*. Formerly visible in the lower part of the mosaic were the Lamb of God on Mount Zion and the dove of the Holy Spirit.⁷²

The row of apocalyptic monsters is normally centered on a roundel with a symbol or a bust of Christ. This composition is usually located at the end of the nave above the apse (a surface for convenience called the “triumphal arch”). Under Pope Sixtus III (432–440) the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore was decorated with events from the childhood of Christ, but an

⁶⁹ For the four living creatures of the apocalypse, see Brenk, *Mosaiken*, 16.

⁷⁰ Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 130; Ihm, *Programme* 130–132, pl. 3; Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, v. 3 (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1967), 279, fig. 248; Mathews, *Clash*, 97–114, figs. 71, 72, 74; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 139–142, figs. 66–68; Kessler, “Bright Gardens of Paradise” in Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, 112–113, fig. 81.

⁷¹ Richard Krautheimer has identified the basilica with pyramidally-roofed annex in the mosaic as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* [Harmondsworth/Baltimore: Penguin, 1965], 38, pl. 8b). Thomas Mathews mentions only Jerusalem; see *Clash*, 98, fig. 71. Ecclesia and Synagoga, however, should be balanced by the two cities.

⁷² Recorded in drawings of 1595 and ca. 1630: Krautheimer, *CBCR*, v. 3, 279, fig. 248; Mathews, *Clash*, 99–100, fig. 72.

apocalyptic composition largely based on the book of Revelation interrupts it at the center and at the lower corners.⁷³ Over the apex of the arch, the row of living creatures flanks a roundel that encloses a throne (pl. 62a). The roundel is bordered with blue, green, and white rings, which evoke “the rainbow that looked like an emerald” that surrounds the throne in Rev 4:3.⁷⁴ In the mosaic, the throne is empty except for the cross and a wreath. Crosses or chrisma are often used as replacements for a depiction of Christ in human form.⁷⁵ On the footstool below the throne lies a scroll with seven seals (Rev 5:1). Jerusalem and Bethlehem appear at the lower corners of the triumphal arch, and their walls are bejeweled as in Rev 21:18–21 (pl. 62b–c). As pointed out by Beat Brenk, the mosaics display many variations from the text of Revelation. The living creatures hold out crowns, which, as noted above, must have been inspired by the action of the twenty-four elders (Rev 4:9–10).⁷⁶ As is customary in Rome, the princes of the apostles are present. Twelve sheep crowd around the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, evoking the names of the “apostles of the Lamb” inscribed on the foundations of the gates (Rev 21:14).

The throne surmounted by symbols at S. Maria Maggiore (pl. 62a) is an image patently borrowed from pagan or secular Roman art of earlier times. The empty throne could be used as an emblem of an invisible God, as in the Hadrianic marble reliefs with the thrones of Neptune and Saturn (fig. 22).⁷⁷ In the latter, cupids carry the pruning hook and another symbol of the divinity toward the throne, which is draped with the god’s mantle, and the celestial globe is placed below it. An empty throne could also be an emblem of worldly power and office, as on a denarius of Titus minted between 79 and 81 (fig. 19b).⁷⁸ A throne with symbol could symbolize the heavenly reign

⁷³ Ihm, *Programme*, 12–15, 132–135; Brenk, *Mosaiken*, 14–19; Bisconti, “Programmi” in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 189–190, fig. 11; F. Betti, “La pittura a Roma dal IV al IX secolo,” in *Roma dall’antichità al medioevo: archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2001), 123, fig. 85; Kessler, “Bright Gardens,” 122–123, fig. 89.

⁷⁴ On biblical and non-biblical sources for the mosaic, see Brenk, *Mosaiken*, 15–19.

⁷⁵ Cf. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Kommentar*, 1, 41.

⁷⁶ Brenk, *Mosaiken*, 16.

⁷⁷ Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); Guido Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1958), 1:172–173; Idem, “Rilievi romani di Ravenna,” *XV corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna: Edizioni Dante, 1968), 205–215, figs. 2–5.

⁷⁸ H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2. *Vespasian to Hadrian* (London: Spink, 1926), Titus, no. 24a, p. 119, pl. III, 48; I.A. Carradice and T.V. Buttrey, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 2, pt. 1, *Vespasian to Domitian* (2nd rev. ed.; London: Spink,

of dead and divinized emperors and empresses. The Empress Faustina the Elder was commemorated numismatically as *diva* in 146, five years after her death (fig. 20b). Her throne has the attributes of Juno: the peacock and the scepter. The legend is *aeternitas*: evoking her eternal blessedness and authority.⁷⁹ On a denarius of Septimius Severus, which was issued not long after his death in 211, the throne is shown with the oak wreath of Jupiter and a footstool (fig. 21b).⁸⁰

While the symbolic thrones on coin and mosaic are highly similar formally, their allegorical message differs in several important respects. While both the pagan and the Christian throne and wreath imply an eternal and celestial reign, the Christian image also signifies Christ himself and his eventual return to the earth. This kind of symbolism must have been widely recognized, since at the Council of Ephesus in 431 a throne with the gospels was placed in the hall for deliberations.⁸¹ In Syria in the fifth century, stone stands for biblical books took the form of thrones and were an integral part of the *bema* or *exedra* for the clergy and elite members of the congregation.⁸²

Fifth and Sixth Centuries:

Apocalyptic Images in Italy with Symbolic Thrones

Impressive compositions including thrones without occupants in human form appear throughout Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries. A program with many of the core elements of Rev 4–5 appears in the vaulting zone of the fifth-century chapel of S. Matrona attached to S. Prisco at S. Maria in Capua Vetere (north of Naples).⁸³ In the mosaics of one lunette, two of

2007), Titus, no. 24a, pl. 87. For other examples of the type, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

⁷⁹ Carl-Otto Nordström, *Ravennastudien: Ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über die Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1953), 51, pl. 12f–j, 13j; H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 3, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (London: Spink, 1930), Faustina the Elder, no. 353. For other examples of the type, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

⁸⁰ H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 4, pt. 1, *Pertinax to Geta* (London: Spink, 1936), Septimius Severus, no. 191E. For other examples of the type, see <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

⁸¹ Nordström, *Ravennastudien*, 51; Spiro Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 80.

⁸² As at Qirgibizzé, Kfeir, and the West Church at Behyo: Jean Lassus and Georges Tchalenko, “Ambones syriennes,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 5 (1950): 75–122, esp. 103 ff.; J. Lassus, “Syrie,” *DACL* 15.2, 1865, 1880–881, figs. 11001, 110011, 11012; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* (Paris: Geuthner, 1953), I, 328; III, pl. 10; 103, 105–106, 111, 113.

⁸³ Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 23.



Fig. 19a–b. Empty throne. Silver denarius of Titus, 79–81 CE. Rome.



Fig. 20a–b. Throne with symbols. Silver denarius of Faustina the Elder, after 141 CE.



Fig. 21a–b. Throne with wreath. Silver denarius of Septimius Severus, 211 CE.



Fig. 22. Marble relief with the throne of Saturn, 117–138 CE. Louvre, Paris.

the living creatures—here having six wings—flank a throne, which in this case is not enclosed in a roundel (pl. 63a). In the background are gloriously colorful clouds inspired by the synoptic apocalypse and Rev 1:7. On the throne are the scroll with seven seals (Rev 5:1) and the dove of the Holy Spirit, which is not mentioned in the book of Revelation. Facing this mosaic is a lunette with a bust of Christ in a blue, green, and white roundel, which recalls the “rainbow that looked like an emerald” in Rev 4:3, flanked by α and ω (pl. 63b). Two more living creatures were in the side lunettes of the chapel. Elements extracted from Revelation and from pagan tradition have been skillfully distributed throughout the small chapel to create an elegant vision of the second coming.

An ivory reliquary dated about 440, from Pola in Istria, now in the Venice Archaeological Museum, depicts an empty throne with the Lamb of God below it (fig. 23).⁸⁴ A cross may have surmounted the throne, as in S. Maria Maggiore (pl. 62a). In the Roman church Peter and Paul flank the throne, while on the casket four other saints join them. The gesturing martyrs, who do not carry wreaths, are in the tradition of the fourth century. The Lamb of God on Mount Zion is below the throne, and palms of paradise form the backdrop for the figures.

In the two baptisteries at Ravenna, thrones with symbols are stripped of explicit references to biblical apocalypses, but they project an apocalyptic vision nonetheless. On the dome of the Baptistery of Orthodox dated about

⁸⁴ Anna Angiolini, *La capsella eburnea di Pola* (Bologna: Patron, 1970), 52–66, 101–104, fig. 9; Maria Cristina Dossi in Pasini, *Ambrogio e Agostino*, cat. no. 14.



Fig. 23. Ivory reliquary from Pola, about 440 CE. Archaeological Museum, Venice.

458, four thrones—empty except for crosses—are placed in the four cardinal directions of the building and, according to Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, they allude to Christ's dominion throughout the universe (pl. 64a).⁸⁵ They are lodged in fanciful garden pavilions that represent the architecture of paradise. In the Baptistery of Arians dated the early sixth century,⁸⁶ a single symbolic throne has become the goal of the procession of apostles (pl. 64b), as it had been on the Pola Casket (fig. 23), and again the procession takes place among the palms of paradise. In the mosaic, however, the Lamb

⁸⁵ Deichmann, Ravenna. *Kommentar*, 1, 42. For illustrations, see Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 140–141; Deichmann, *Bauten*, pls. 62–71; and Kessler, “Bright Gardens,” 110, 126, fig. 93.

⁸⁶ Deichmann, *Bauten*, pls. 251, 256–273.

is missing, and the apostles do not gesture but present crowns and other emblems (the keys of St. Peter and the scrolls of St. Paul). The throne is surmounted by a cross, which is draped with the purple mantle of Christ.⁸⁷ The action offers a distant echo of the elders of the Apocalypse and increases the suggestion that the mosaic presents a vision of the second coming.

Finally, an actual throne of marble too small for a human occupant was covered with apocalyptic images. The throne from Grado, which is now in Venice and dates from the late sixth century, would, as in Syria, have been a stand for a biblical manuscript. It has the six-winged living creatures distributed in starry fields on the back and sides, and two angels with trumpets make the allusion to the second coming unmistakable (Rev 8:6–9:14).⁸⁸

The Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse, Angels, and Trumpets

The burial church of St. Paul at Rome was burned in 1823, but it is clear from a print made in 1693 that it had an apocalyptic image on the archway between the nave and transept (fig. 24).⁸⁹ After the fire the church was rebuilt in a Classicizing style, which transformed the imagery stylistically but not iconographically. The mosaic, which was created between 440 and 450 under Pope Leo I, again has the row of living creatures, and a bust of Christ fills the central roundel. The local favorites Peter and Paul have been moved well below to make space for the twenty-four elders of Revelation. Inclusion of the elders represents a new detail from the text, but even so there are deviations; the elders do not fall on their faces or actually cast down their crowns: they offer them up. Two angels now flank Christ; they evoke the angels who give commands in Rev 14 or the angels who gather the elect in Matt 24:31. They genuflect in adoration as they approach, perhaps inspired by the angelic voices praising God in Rev 5:11–12.

The façade of Old St. Peter's was also decorated by Pope Leo I (440–461) with an apocalyptic mosaic based on selected details from Revelation. A drawing from the eleventh century in Eton College gives an approximate idea of the composition, which included the Lamb, the row of four living creatures, and the twenty-four elders.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Deichmann, *Ravenna. Kommentar*, 1, 254–255.

⁸⁸ Engemann, "Images," 96–97, figs. 19–22.

⁸⁹ Giovanni Giustino Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta*, I (Rome: Komarek, 1693), pl. 68; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5:98–99, 138, 162–163, fig. 132; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 291, fig. 25.

⁹⁰ Kinney, "Apocalypse," 204, fig. 18. The mosaic is also documented in Renaissance drawings by G.A. Dosio and Domenico Tasselli; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, XI, 18, 22.

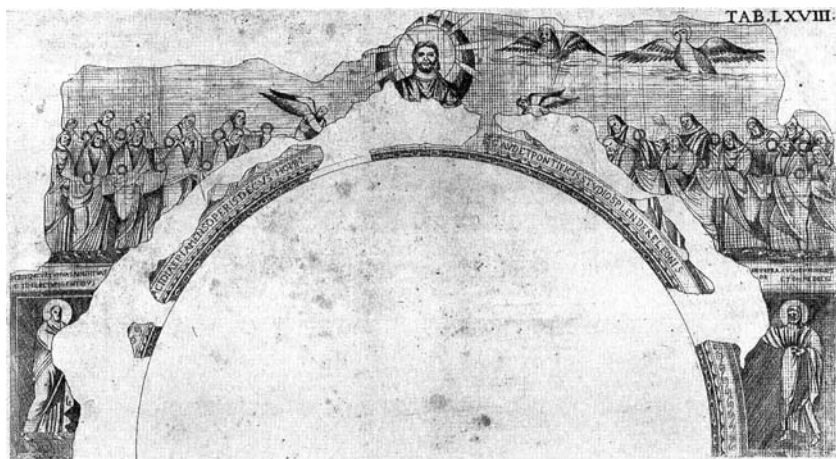


Fig. 24. Drawing of mosaic of triumphal arch, 440–450 CE. St. Paul's Outside the Walls, Rome: G. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta*, 1693.

Angels with a clearer relationship to the text of Revelation appear in the mosaic of S. Michele in Africisco, Ravenna (now in Berlin) dated 545.⁹¹ On the triumphal arch Christ sits enthroned between two angels carrying lances and the seven angels with trumpets of Rev 8:2. Two angels with trumpets appear along with the living creatures on the marble throne from Grado in Venice.⁹²

The Seven Candelabra

The mosaic decoration of the triumphal arch of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Rome, which dates from 527 to 530, builds on the composition at S. Paolo (fig. 24) and incorporates new motifs from Revelation (pl. 65).⁹³ The mosaic is topped by a row of apocalyptic motifs floating on colorful clouds. At the center of the row is a roundel enclosing a throne with the cross and the Lamb of God. The colors of the roundel again evoke “the rainbow that looked like an emerald” around the throne in Rev 4:3. On the footstool is the scroll with seven seals. For the first time seven candelabra accompany the throne, as in Rev 4:7. Pairs of angels flank the candelabra. Beyond them are the four living

⁹¹ Ihm, *Programme*, 161–163, pl. 8.2.

⁹² See above, note 88.

⁹³ F. Betti, “La pittura a Roma,” 124, fig. 86.

creatures. In this case, they carry books, which characterize them as the four evangelists.⁹⁴ Two of the symbolic monsters were concealed when the church was remodeled in 1632. At that time, the original nave was narrowed and chapels were added on both sides. Below the band of clouds are the remains of the twenty-four elders, who were almost entirely concealed in the remodeling.

Seven lampstands had already appeared along with the living creatures in the (lost) mosaic of the triumphal arch of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna (ca. 430).⁹⁵ Seven lampstands are also shown in mosaic between the windows of the façade of the Basilica Euphrasiana at Poreč (Parenzo), Croatia (543–553).⁹⁶

Reduced Rows of Living Creatures in Sixth-Century Italy

In the sixth and seventh centuries, the row of monsters centered on a theophoric roundel did not always aim at such an ambitious and detailed citation of Revelation. The mosaic on the triumphal arch above the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe of 533–549 (pl. 66a) displays the apocalyptic elements depicted at S. Maria Maggiore (pl. 62), with one significant alteration:⁹⁷ the roundel at the center of the row of living creatures contains a bust of Christ rather than a symbolic allusion to him. The new Jerusalem and the new Bethlehem are again present, but the twenty-four elders are missing. This time the lambs (apostles) march in procession toward the bust of Christ at the center. The palms of paradise complete the apocalyptic composition. The apse of S. Apollinare has a version of the Transfiguration (Matt 17:1–6), in which the cross and a tiny bust in a roundel replace the full figure of Christ and lambs replace the disciples witnessing the scene. Below the cross, St. Apollinaris prays in paradise.⁹⁸ The east end of the church thus carries a double revelation of Christ in majesty.

⁹⁴ On Irenaeus's role in establishing the link between the creatures and the evangelists, see Robin Jensen, "Of Cherubim and Gospel Symbols," *BAR* 21.4 (July/Aug. 1995): 42, 65.

⁹⁵ Ihm, *Programme*, 15–17, 169–171, fig. 2.

⁹⁶ Pairs of apostles flank the windows but the main, pedimental zone of the mosaic is largely missing. In all probability, however, it displayed an apocalyptic composition: see van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, fig. 272; Nenad Cambi in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 373. See also <http://www.mein-kroatien.info/Euphrasius-Basilika> (consulted 7 August 2013).

⁹⁷ Deichmann, *Bauten* pls. 383, 410–413; Kessler, "Bright Gardens," 128–129, fig. 95.

⁹⁸ Deichmann, *Bauten* pls. XII–IV, 385–393; Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 36; Mathews, *Clash*, 150, figs. 119–120; Jensen, *Understanding*, 110, fig. 36; Kessler, "Bright Gardens," 128–129, fig. 95.

*Coming through the Clouds and Gathering the Elect:
The "Gospel" Apocalyptic Tradition*

There is an alternative, more naturalistic apocalyptic Roman tradition in which Christ in human form comes through the clouds without the extravagant trappings of Revelation. These images seem to evoke the parousía or second coming of the synoptic apocalypse (Matt 24:29–31; Mark 13:24–27; Luke 21:21–28). Here, Christ is not enthroned nor is he surrounded by a ring of radiance—other than a halo. In these compositions the influence of the gospel parousía may well have gone beyond the central motif. Saints and donors flank Christ in a way that suggests the gathering of the elect, as in Matt 24:31. The act of gathering may have been transformed in terms of contemporary court ceremonial, but the way the saints are actively guided toward Christ is a structural parallel with the text. These simpler, synoptic conceptions usually appear in the apses of churches. Some details of their composition may also be taken from the book of Revelation, and compositions inspired by this book can appear on adjoining wall surfaces.

This synoptic conception of the second coming can already be traced in *traditio legis* scenes, as in the Naples Baptistery (pl. 58a), where Christ's majesty is enhanced by colorful clouds. Colorful clouds are frequently present in triumphal arches depicting the four living creatures (pls. 61b, 62a, 63a, 66a). In the apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Rome, decorated in 527–530, Christ floats down in even more impressive and more illusionistic fashion through intensely colored clouds (pl. 65a).⁹⁹ The clouds form a pathway for him so that they are not simply background: they are, as the gospel texts imply, the means by which he arrives. On each side of him, Sts. Peter and Paul introduce Sts. Cosmas, Damian, and Theodore, who bear wreaths of martyrdom, and Pope Felix IV, who offers a model of the church. The princes of the church in a sense take over the roles of the angels who gather the elect.

The assemblage of "local" saints and dignitaries harks back to earlier local pictorial traditions, such as the fresco in Ss. Marcellino e Pietro (pl. 57), but the action of gathering and Christ's descent through the clouds casts the scene more in terms of the Gospel of Matthew than Revelation. The action of gathering the elect has, of course, been translated into contemporary terms. Christa Ihm has pointed out how such scenes correspond to late

⁹⁹ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 32–33, fig. 66; Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 37–38; Mathews, *Clash*, 169, fig. 133; Bisconti, "Programmi," in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 190, fig. 12; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 223–230, figs. 134–140; Kessler, "Bright Gardens," 136–137, figs. 101–102.

Roman court ceremonial: the official *praesentatio*.¹⁰⁰ Martyrs venerated in the church (or an adjoining catacomb, when one is present) are the usual subjects of these presentations. Active introductions, however, had not been seen previously. Processions of saints, as in the Arian Baptistry at Ravenna (pl. 64b) represent a different situation, which finds its biblical justification in the offerings of the twenty-four elders and its existential inspiration in (different) court and religious ceremonies.¹⁰¹ In both cases, however, a biblical text has been translated into a contemporary social form.

While the gospel parousía is the dominant source for the apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the imagery of Revelation is also present within the apse, as on the triumphal arch. In the zone below Christ (and segregated from him by the River Jordan) the Lamb of God stands on the mountain of paradise, from which gush the Geon, Fison, Tigris, and Euphrates Rivers (concealed by the Baroque altar in pl. 61b).

A variation on the synoptic parousía appears in the chapel of St. Venanzio, attached to the Lateran Baptistery. In the apse of this structure, dated 640–649, a bust, rather than a full figure of Christ, appears in a field of gaudy polychrome clouds (pl. 67a, b).¹⁰² Flanking him are the busts of two angels, who raise both hands in a gesture of prayer or appeal. The angels may be interceding for the seventeen saints that have gathered in the row below. At the center of the row, which extends from the apse onto the triumphal arch, is Mary, whose presence was probably inspired by Eastern representations of the Ascension and the second coming (pls. 14, 70b, 72). On the triumphal arch, the evangelists' symbols, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem set the scene at the second coming.

Christ Seated on the Celestial Globe

The apse of S. Vitale, dated 547, has a composition derived from the Gospel parousía, but it is given a more supernatural tone through the addition of abstract symbolic elements (pl. 66b).¹⁰³ Echoing the gospels, gloriously col-

¹⁰⁰ Ihm, *Programme*, 25, 27.

¹⁰¹ Mathews, *Clash*, 150–157.

¹⁰² Sergio Ortolani, *S. Giovanni in Laterano* (Rome: Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, N. 13 no date), 109, fig. 48; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 43, 133, fig. 107, 322; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 53–54, fig. 22.

¹⁰³ Deichmann, *Bauten*, pls. 8, 351–357; Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 158; F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantike Abendlandes. Kommentar, 2. Teil* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), 178–180; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 43, fig. 106; Mathews, *Clash*, 150, figs. 112, 116.

orful clouds hover above Christ's head, and angels gather the elect, which in this case consists of only two persons of local interest: the martyr St. Vitalis, who receives his crown of victory from Christ, and Bishop Ecclesiarius, who presents a model of the church. Christ has the scroll with the seven seals in his hand (Rev 5:1), placing the scene at the second coming. The lovely landscape with its four rivers (as well as the gold background) identifies the location as paradise.¹⁰⁴ Anti-naturalistic elements are the gold background and the celestial globe on which Christ sits.¹⁰⁵ The latter scheme had already appeared at S. Costanza in Rome in the fourth century¹⁰⁶ and S. Agata dei Goti, Rome between 460 and 470.¹⁰⁷ Figures seated on the celestial globe represent the survival of a pagan iconographic tradition (fig. 4). In a Christian context, the composition evokes Isaiah's vision of the Lord, who declares that "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool" (*Caelum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum*, Isa 66:1).¹⁰⁸

Christ is seated on a globe in a composition similar to that of S. Vitale in the apse mosaic of S. Teodoro in Rome (sixth century); clouds are above him, and a martyr is introduced on each side of him.¹⁰⁹ As in the Roman church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (pl. 65a), Peter and Paul rather than angels do the introducing. Christ, seated on a globe, soon appears on the triumphal arches. The clouds disappear, diluting the connection with gospel texts and increasing the sense of abstraction. In S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura, Rome, built by Pope Pelagius (579–590) (pl. 68a, b), Peter and Paul introduce four of the elect who have Roman connections.¹¹⁰ The heavenly Jerusalem and Bethlehem at the sides are the only notes from traditional Johannine triumphal arch iconography. In the triumphal arch of the Euphrasiana at

¹⁰⁴ The paradise of the martyrs (based on passages of Cyprian), see Ihm, *Programme*, 27, 37–38.

¹⁰⁵ At times misleadingly called the globe of the world: Ihm, *Programme*, "Weltkugel"; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 43 ("sphere of the world": more properly "universe" on the same page).

¹⁰⁶ Ihm, *Programme*, 18, 129–130, pl. 5.2; Volbach, *Early Christian*, pl. 33a; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 86, fig. 41.

¹⁰⁷ Ihm, *Programme*, 15, 153–154, pl. 4.1; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 219–220, XXXV–5.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted or echoed in Matt 5:34–35; 23:22; Acts 7:49. These biblical connections have generally been ignored or underplayed in the traditional drive to interpret the image as Christ Cosmocrator, on the model of a Roman or Byzantine emperor.

¹⁰⁹ Ihm, *Programme*, 24, 140–141, pl. 6.2.

¹¹⁰ Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 185; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 236–240, figs. 143–144.

Poreç (543–553), Christ is seated on the celestial globe at the center of a row of twelve apostles.¹¹¹

CHRIST WITHIN A RING CARRIED BY FLYING ANGELS:
EAST AND WEST

Symbols and Busts

One of the oldest and simplest ways to represent a Christian theophany is to enclose the image of the holy being in an honorific ring lifted by angels. A wreathed symbol of Christ is carried by angels on several sarcophagi in Istanbul,¹¹² including a fragmentary but richly detailed example in the garden of the Archaeological Museum (fig. 25).¹¹³ The Victories carry the wreath with an honorary veil or napkin hanging below it, perhaps an extension of the custom of receiving a sacred object with veiled hands (pl. 58a–b, figs. 3 and 7). This kind of image is ambivalent; at first glance it appears more triumphant than apocalyptic: a proclamation of Christian victory. On the sarcophagi, the chrismon is enclosed in a victor's wreath and the angels are indistinguishable from Roman Imperial Victories. The scheme of chrismon born by Victories or angels was used around 400 CE on the column of Arcadius in Constantinople, a purely secular victory monument.¹¹⁴ In a funerary context, however, the composition must have both expressed hope for the resurrection and alluded to the sign in heaven before the second coming (Matt 24:30). As pointed out by Josef Engemann, St. Augustine compares the cross as the sign of the *secundus adventus* to the triumphal *vexillum* carried by a victorious army entering a city.¹¹⁵ An apocalyptic meaning was almost certainly intended in the mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna, where flying angels

¹¹¹ Van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, fig. 271; Ihm, *Programme*, 5, 168, pl. 15.2. See also <http://www.mein-kroatien.info/Euphrasius-Basilika> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹¹² David Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (New York: Abrams, 1959), pl. 9; Hans-Georg Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. nos. 112a, b (date is mistakenly made a century too late, as is evident from the author's comparisons).

¹¹³ Nezih Firatli, *La sculpture Byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (ed. and pres. C. Metzger, A. Pralong, and J.-P. Sodini; Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1990), cat. no. 82. The cloth below the wreath is interpreted as the covering of a throne but well-preserved Coptic images, such as fig. 36, make it clear that it is a loose veil or napkin.

¹¹⁴ Known only from Renaissance drawings; see Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 46–47, figs. 128, 129, 131; and Engemann, "Grundlagen" in Beck and Bol, *Spätantike* 1983, 263, figs. 92–93.

¹¹⁵ Augustine, *Sermon* 155 (PL 39, col. 2051 f.); Engemann, "Images," 83–84, fig. 6.



Fig. 25. Chrismon elevated by Victories. Marble sarcophagus front, early 5th century. Garden of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, 5478.

carry a radiant monogram of Christ above the triumphal arch (pl. 66b). The allusion to the second coming is explicit since the heavenly Jerusalem and Bethlehem appear on each side.¹¹⁶ The imagery is also depicted in Coptic Egypt, where in limestone reliefs angels fly holding wreathes with equal-armed crosses.¹¹⁷

A rich development of this symbolism appears in the incised decoration of the crossguard of a decorated sword, probably made in Constantinople in the first half of the sixth century (pl. 71a).¹¹⁸ Two angels hold a roundel containing a lyre-backed throne, which is surmounted by an open book and a cross. A second cross appears below the roundel. The lyre-backed throne was a new image at this time, and it was frequently used as a setting for pairs of emperors.¹¹⁹ In this sword-fitting the two crosses and the book amplify the throne's suggestion of joint rule. Christ's return is signaled as the manifestation of a triune god.

Christ himself is often shown in human form in a roundel carried by angels or cherubim. This non-biblical scheme for a theophany was popular in Coptic Egypt from the fifth to the seventh century. Busts of Christ in

¹¹⁶ Deichmann, *Kommentar*, 2. Teil, 180; Kessler, "Bright Gardens," 129–130, fig. 96.

¹¹⁷ For example, Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 279b. Severin's mid-fourth-century date is surely too early.

¹¹⁸ Spier, *Treasures*, cat. no. 102.

¹¹⁹ James Breckenridge, "Christ on the Lyre-backed Throne," *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981), 247–260.



Fig. 26. Bust of Christ or an Evangelist carried by angels. Limestone relief from Bawit, 1st half of 5th century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 7102.

wreaths or rings carried by angels appear on wooden door panels,¹²⁰ limestone reliefs,¹²¹ and in frescos. In a relatively early relief, a pair of angels carries a medallion enclosing a bust of either Christ or an evangelist who holds a book with a cross at his left shoulder (fig. 26). Another book with cross is attached to the veil hanging below the wreath. The veil is like that seen in the marble relief in Istanbul (fig. 25). A relatively late example of the medallion with bust carried by angels is provided by a sixth- or seventh-century lunette from Bawit (pl. 69a).¹²²

True seraphim with six wings carry a bust of Christ in an oval wreath on the portal of the Evangelists' Basilica at Alahan, Cilicia (on the southern coast of Turkey), dated the fifth or sixth century (pl. 12a).¹²³ The apparition may represent either the ascension or the second coming. The seraphim are biblical, but no biblical text describes them carrying Christ nor is God surrounded by a wreath. In biblical visions God is surrounded by "brightness" (Ezek 1:27–28) or a "rainbow that looked like an emerald" (Rev 4:3). The

¹²⁰ From St. Barbara, ca. 500, in the Coptic Museum, Cairo: *L'Art Copte* (Paris: Petit Palais, 1964), cat. no. 92; Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 286b; Gawdat Gabra and Anthony Alcock, *Cairo: The Coptic Museum, Old Churches* (Cairo: Egyptian International Publishing Company/Longman, 1993), cat. no. 45.

¹²¹ Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 279b.

¹²² Gabra and Alcock, *Coptic Museum*, cat. no. 39.

¹²³ Gerard Bakker, "Buildings at Alahan," in *Alahan, An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (ed. Mary Gough; Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), 87–88, pl. 19; John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek, "Two Men in White: Observations on an Early Christian Lamp from North Africa with the Ascension of Christ," in *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions, and Symbols* (ed. David H. Warren et al.; Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003), 304, fig. 6; above, fig. 117; below, pl. 12a. <http://www.pbbase.com/dosseman/alahan/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

artistic scheme employed at Alahan goes back to pagan sarcophagi in which a pair of Cupids transports to celestial immortality a roundel with the bust of the deceased.¹²⁴ Even without biblical authority, the composition effectively conveys an apocalyptic message.

Full Figures in a Mandorla

Frequently Christ is shown in full figure within a roundel or mandorla carried by angels. He is usually seated on a throne, as in a fifth- or sixth-century limestone relief from Bawit (pl. 69b). In the Coptic relief, curtains are pulled back at the sides to reveal the revelation. The curtains could be intended to dramatize the exceptionality of the sacred event and were probably modeled on court ceremonial.¹²⁵ In another reflection of court custom, each angel holds the mandorla with one covered hand. On two fifth-century sarcophagi in Marseille, the enthroned Christ is enclosed in a ring carried by angels.¹²⁶ On one of the sarcophagi, Peter and Paul look on with excitement at each side. In lamps produced in Tunisia about 440–470, Christ stands in a mandorla, which is supported from below by two flying angels (pl. 11a).¹²⁷ He is ascending to heaven, since the hand of God at his right assists him upward. The “two men in white” of Acts 1 are shown below. Although the ascension is depicted on the lamp, the four living creatures of Revelation are present, arranged, as in Italian tradition, in a curving row at the top of the composition. The apocalyptic trappings are justified, since the two men in white declare that “Jesus ... will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven” (Acts 1:11). Jesus’s return in the book of Revelation provided the model and the source for the living creatures and the mandorla.

¹²⁴ See for example, a sarcophagus dated about 230 CE in the Gardner Museum, Boston; see Cornelius Vermeule in Cornelius C. Vermeule, Walter Cahn, Rollin Hadley, *Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1977), cat. no. 62; Herrmann and van den Hoek, “Two Men in White,” 304, fig. 8; above, 119–120, fig. 6; Vassiliki Gaggadis-Robin, *Les sarcophages païens du Musée de l’Arles antique* (Arles: Éditions du musée de l’Arles et de la Provence antique, 2005), cat. no. 71, with bibliography.

¹²⁵ Theodore Klauser, “Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes,” *JbAC* 3 (1960): 141–142; Julie Märki-Boehrer, F.W. Deichmann, and Theodor Klauser, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage in Bild und Wort*, Antike Kunst, Beiheft 3 (Olten: Urs Graf, 1966), 88, pl. 39,2.

¹²⁶ Geneviève Drocourt-Dubreuil, *Saint Victor de Marseille. Art funéraire et prière des morts aux temps paléochrétiens (IVe–Ve siècles)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1989), 70–79; Herrmann and van den Hoek, “Two Men in White,” 304, fig. 7; above, 117, 119–120, fig. 5.

¹²⁷ Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 76, 138; Fathi Bejaoui, *Céramique et religion chrétienne. Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997), 141–142, fig. 77; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, cat. no. 37; Herrmann and van den Hoek, “Two Men in White,” 293–318; above 107–132.

In sixth-century theophanies from the eastern Mediterranean, four angels usually support the mandorla enclosing the enthroned Christ, as in an icon in the Vatican,¹²⁸ lead ampullae in Monza,¹²⁹ and a gold medallion in a private collection.¹³⁰ Four angels support the image of divinity in a roundel when it is located at the center of a dome or vault. In S. Vitale in Ravenna, the Lamb of God appears in a wreath of fruit supported by four angels on celestial globes (pl. 70a).¹³¹ The angels are inspired by Roman Victories, who also stand on globes (figs. 5b, 6b). While this relationship of angels and Lamb corresponds to nothing in biblical texts, the starry sky behind the Lamb makes it clear that this is a celestial apparition of God and, as Josef Engemann put it, alludes to the end of time according to Rev 21.¹³²

In the mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, probably dated between 424 and 436, Christ stood in a huge roundel enclosed by a ring of stars, a wreath or garland of fruit, and a rainbow, all supported by four gigantic angels at the apex of the dome. A phoenix appears between two of the angels. Unfortunately much of the majestic mosaic has been lost.¹³³ Martyrs praying in golden colonnaded structures on a lower level, which is better preserved, are clearly located in the heavenly Jerusalem (and Bethlehem).¹³⁴ The whole vast composition represents a vision of heaven. Whether it is a static image of paradise or, as seems more likely, an active image of the second coming could be debated. In any case, it is an apocalyptic composition with only a loose relationship to textual sources.¹³⁵

¹²⁸ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 102, fig. 260.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 114, 132, fig. 275, 319 (two angels); Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 306–307, fig. 10; above, 121–122, fig. 7.

¹³⁰ Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 307, fig. 11; above, 122, pl. 13.

¹³¹ Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 133–135; R.F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (London/New York: Macmillan, 1963), 173–179, pls. VI, VII, 48; Deichmann, *Kommentar, I Teil*, 177–178; Jürgen Christern in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 159; Mathews, *Clash*, 115–121, figs. 112–113.

¹³² Engemann, "Images," 94–95, fig. 17–18.

¹³³ Beautifully illustrated in Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki*, 63–65. For the date, see Aristotle Mentzos, "Reflections on the Interpretation and the Dating of the Rotunda of Thessaloniki," *EFNATIA* 6 (2001–2002): 76–79.

¹³⁴ Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 122–127; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 112–121; Christern in Brenk, *Spätantike*, pls. 154b–55; Slobodan Ćurčić, "Christianizing of Thessalonikē: The Making of Christian 'Urban Iconography,'" in Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, and Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian*, 218.

¹³⁵ For recent interpretations, see Mentzos, "Reflections," 70–76; Hjalmar Torp, "Dogmatic Themes in the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki," *Arte medievale* n.s. 1.1 (2002): 11–34. For a review of these and other theories about the monument and a reading of the Rotunda in terms of local literary and historical traditions, see Laura Nasrallah, "Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda," *JES* 13 (2005): 465–508.

THE TETRAMORPH IN THE EAST:
A CREATURE WITH FOUR HEADS AND FOUR WINGS

In the eastern Mediterranean, apocalyptic visions often show unmistakable signs of a source in Ezekiel rather than Revelation. The clearest evidence of the source is provided by the monsters that accompany the vision of God. In Revelation, the four living creatures each have three pairs of wings and each takes a different form: that of a winged lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle (Rev 4:6–8). In Ezekiel, on the other hand, each of the four living creatures has four faces, which are those of the same four species, and each has two pairs of wings (Ezek 1:5–10). In several works of art from the eastern Mediterranean, single composite beasts have the four different faces and must have been inspired by Ezekiel.

One such tetramorph appears on the underside of the lintel of the Evangelists' Basilica at Alahan Monastery near the southeast coast of Turkey, dated about 450–550 (pl. 12b).¹³⁶ The bust of a man forms the dominant central axis of the cluster, the forepart of a lion projects at his right, and a bull spills out at his left. As in Ezekiel, the lion is at the proper right and the bull at the left. In the text, the man was at the front and the eagle at the back, a situation resolved in the sculpture by placing a small eagle at the man's waist. Each face has one pair of wings rather than the two pairs for the entire tetramorph specified in Ezekiel's text. The tetramorph is probably to be read in connection with the bust of Christ on the front of the same lintel (pl. 12a); as in Ezekiel, the tetramorph appears below the "firmament" with the Lord.

On each side of the creature, a mantled figure stands beside a tree and gestures toward the apparition. These figures are puzzling, since Ezekiel's vision was a private one. They might allude to the multitude of prophets in the Hebrew Bible who at various times saw God. It is also possible that the two men were inspired by Rev 11:3–12, where two witnesses prophesy for 1,260 days and are murdered and resurrected.¹³⁷ At the beginning of the passage they are identified with the olive trees in the courtyard of the temple of God, perhaps explaining the trees depicted on the lintel at Alahan.

A source in Ezekiel is strongly evident in an "apocalyptic ascension" in the Syriac Rabbula Gospels, made by the priest Rabbula at Zagba in 586 (pl. 14).¹³⁸ A true tetramorph with four faces and two pairs of wings supports

¹³⁶ Bakker, "Buildings at Alahan," 87–88, pl. 19; Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 304; above, 119, note 38. <http://www.pbase.com/dosseman/image/95773798> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹³⁷ An interpretation suggested by Margaret Butterworth (personal communication).

¹³⁸ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 35, pl. 1; Herbert Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spiritu-*

Christ in his mandorla. This time the apparition has wheels, and fire bursts out around it, as in Ezek 1:4, 15. The sun and moon, symbols of eternity¹³⁹ and echoes of Luke 21:25, appear in the upper corners. Christ carries an unrolled scroll (Ezek 2:9–10). Not mentioned in biblical texts are two angels that help carry Christ in his mandorla. Two more angels with covered hands present wreaths, thereby alluding perhaps to the presentation of *aurum coronarium* (but they may also be mimicking the acts of veneration of the elders of Revelation). The lower zone of the miniature is an embellished version of the ascension according to Acts 1:2; the men in white are interpreted as angels, and each addresses a group of six apostles. The Virgin Mary is added at the center between the two groups.

LIVING CREATURES CLUSTERED AROUND THE RING OF LIGHT: EAST AND WEST

Flanked by Two Men in Mantles

There is yet another artistic tradition for representing the apparitions of Christ. The full figure of Christ holding an unrolled scroll or a book is enclosed in a ring or mandorla, and the foreparts of a winged lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle emerge radially around the ring. The nature of and sources for this apparition are ambiguous, since the protomes can be interpreted either as four separate living creatures, as in Revelation, or as the four faces of a single creature, as described by Ezekiel. The creatures may be transporting the throne of Christ, as in Ezek 1, or simply surrounding it and giving praise, as in Revelation.¹⁴⁰ Figures emerging from a mandorla appear in a variety of narrative contexts, including the second coming and the ascension. Although there are Western examples, the scheme is usually associated with the Greek-speaking East. In the East, Christ is enthroned, while in the sole Western example he stands.

An early and especially beautiful example appears in the mosaic of the fifth-century chapel of Hosios David in the Stonecutters' Monastery,

ality, 454–455, fig. 68; Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 307, fig. 12; above, 122; Luisa Musso, "Governare il tempo naturale, Provvedere alla *felicitas* terrena, Presiedere l'ordine celeste figurative," in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 380–381. Herbert Kessler, "The Word Made Flesh in Early Decorated Bibles" in Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, 140, 164–166, fig. 122; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. no. 82.

¹³⁹ Heads of the sun and moon are carried by Aeternitas on coins of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian. See <http://pro.coinarchives.com/> (consulted 1 July 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Ihm, *Programme*, 42–51, "Die liturgische Maiestas."

Thessaloniki (pl. 70b).¹⁴¹ The creatures have eyes on their wings, and Christ is seated on a rainbow and surrounded by a radiant disc of light. In a very general way, the image is compatible with Ezekiel's text (Ezek 1:4–28). The rainbow on which Christ sits visually renders Isaiah's vision of God seated in heaven (Isa 66:1).¹⁴² Nonetheless the book of Revelation seems to be the dominant influence. The four creatures have books and symbolize the Evangelists. They thereby represent four separate creatures with only one face, as in Revelation. Each head has three pairs of wings and different faces, as in Rev 4:6, rather than the two pairs for the entire tetramorph, as in Ezek 1:6, 11.¹⁴³ Moreover, the springs of the rivers of Eden flow out from below Christ, evoking Mount Zion (Rev 14:1) and the water of life (Rev 22:1). As Christa Ihm has pointed out, the composition is a kind of synthesis of common features from Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Revelation; conspicuous and unique features from the book of Revelation that are not included in the other prophetic works, such as the Lamb, the scroll with the seven seals, the Elders, and the candelabra, have been omitted.¹⁴⁴ Ezekiel's wheels and flames also do not appear.

In the landscape at each side of the apparition are two dignified men in white mantles, who are usually identified as the prophets Ezekiel and either Habakkuk,¹⁴⁵ Isaiah, or Zacharias, to whom the monastery was dedicated. One crouches down in awe, while the other calmly consults his book. Symmetrical prophets, saints, or angels are frequent complements to holy visions, as at Alahan (pl. 12b), on North African lamps (pl. 11a), and in Marseille, where they represent Peter and Paul.¹⁴⁶ Pairs of witnesses or prophets might have been inspired by the two witnesses who prophesy for 1,260 days and are murdered and resurrected in Rev 11:3–12. Since the two prophets of Revelation were left nameless, it would have been tempting for the designers of works of art to have projected biblical names onto them (pl. 70b).

¹⁴¹ Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 133–135; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 173–179, pls. VI, VII, 48; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 44, fig. 117; Christern in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 159; Mathews, *Clash*, 115–121, fig. 88; Laura Nasrallah, “Early Christian Interpretation in Image and Word: Canon, Sacred Text, and the Mosaic of Moni Latomou,” in Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, and Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian*, 361–396.

¹⁴² Ihm, *Programme*, 44.

¹⁴³ Not one pair as in Ihm, *Programme*, 42. Triple pairs of wings are visible in Christern in Brenk, *Spätantike* cat. no. 159; Mathews, *Clash*, figs. 88–89; and Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou and Tourta, *Wandering*, 92–93.

¹⁴⁴ Ihm, *Programme*, 45.

¹⁴⁵ In favor of Habakkuk, see Bissera V. Pentcheva, “Imagined Images: Visions of Salvation and Intercession in a Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 139–153, esp. 143–144.

¹⁴⁶ See above, note 126.

The scroll that Christ extends to Ezekiel in his vision contains “words of lamentation and mourning and woe” (Ezek 2:10). This language is typical of apocalyptic visions, which usually promise misery and suffering for the faithful before retribution strikes evildoers. Texts in mosaics, such as this one, however, make it clear that the message of Early Christian works of apocalyptic art was far different and much more comforting. In the mosaic, Christ’s scroll reads “Behold, our God in whom we hope, and we rejoiced over our salvation, for he will give rest to this house.”¹⁴⁷ As Denis Feissel has pointed out, this text is a literal quotation from Isa 25:9–10, except for an additional verb and the last words.¹⁴⁸ Isaiah had God bestow eternal rest on Mount Zion, while the inscription substitutes the church (“this house”). The text in the seated prophet’s book is equally positive: “This whole honorable house [is] a life-giving source that receives and nourishes faithful souls.”¹⁴⁹ In this case there is no clear biblical background. The same thought is expressed more fully and clearly in the donor’s dedication below the figures. The focus on this very church as a source for God’s nurture is common to all three inscriptions.

A similar reassuring tone and almost domestic perspective emerges in the inscription in Christ’s codex in the mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome: “The Lord, conservator of the church of Pudens” (pl. 61b). The passage from Isaiah quoted in Hosios David occurs in the context of an apocalyptic vision that promises peace. Visual imagery has been transferred from more threatening passages to dramatize prophecies of God’s benevolent power and majesty. These and other works of apocalyptic art synthesize a variety of biblical visions to concentrate image and text on a promise of bliss rather than punishment.

The Virgin Mary in an “Apocalyptic” Ascension

The apparition of Christ on a wooden door lintel in Cairo, from the fifth or sixth century, has a “semi” or “implied” radial scheme; the winged lion

¹⁴⁷ Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἡγαλλιώμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν ὅτι ἀνάπαυσιν δώσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον. For the text, see Feissel, *Recueil*, 97–99, no. 103B, pl. XXIII. For a slightly different translation, see Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 176.

¹⁴⁸ Feissel, *Recueil*. Isa. 25:9–10: καὶ ἐροῦσιν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἡγαλλιώμεθα, καὶ εὐφρανθήσόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν ὅτι ἀνάπαυσιν δώσει ὁ θεός ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ... (“On that day they will say ‘behold, our God, in whom we hoped and rejoiced, and we will be joyful over our salvation, for God will give eternal rest on this mountain,’ ...”). The connection with Isaiah has also been discussed by Ihm, *Programme*, 42, 46.

¹⁴⁹ πηγὴ ζωτικὴ, δεκτικὴ, ἑρεπτικὴ ψυχῶν πιστοῦν [sic] ὁ (π)πανέν(τι)μος οἰ(κ)ος ο(ὔ)τος.

and bull project obliquely from the lower part of Christ's mandorla, but the winged man and the eagle are not visible above (pl. 69c).¹⁵⁰ This may be because two large flying angels carry the mandorla, and their wings and hands cover the space beside and above it. Martin Karrer, however, has pointed out that two living beings are beside the image of the Lord in the Septuagint version of Hab 3:2 and he sees the influence of this text on the lintel's composition.¹⁵¹ Curtains, here attached to (Ionic?) colonnettes, are pulled back at each side to increase the sense of revelation, as in other Coptic theophanies (pl. 69b). Bystanders appear in architectural structures beyond the curtains; to Christ's right is a woman and beyond her a man with long hair, dressed in a tunic and pallium, carries a staff topped with a small crossbar. To Christ's left stands another robed and bearded man with a crossed staff. Beyond them at each side are figures gesturing with great animation. At Christ's left, the towers of a city wall separate the six figures, while to his right towers separate the first four figures, and the columns of a portico form a background for another six. At the far right end, Christ makes his entry into Jerusalem. The structures clearly represent Jerusalem on Christ's right and Bethlehem to his left. The architectural backdrop could well have been inspired by theophanies in Italy, as on city-gate sarcophagi (fig. 7) or mosaics (pl. 61b). As in the West, the structures on the Egyptian lintel may have evoked the apocalyptic incarnations of the two holy cities, if only as a second meaning.

The woman can be identified as the Virgin Mary, since the hymn inscribed above the scene invokes her as mother of God (Θεομήτωρ Μαρία).¹⁵² Marina Sacopoulos maintains that no text includes Mary at the ascension and that she appears on the lintel as a consequence of a pious tradition. Martin Karrer has pointed out, however, that her presence was (ultimately) inspired by the woman who gives birth in Rev 12:1–6.¹⁵³ Her child was caught up to God, and the awesome ascent of Christ here could be connected with that apocalyptic event.

The two men with crossed staffs may well reflect further influence from Revelation. Normally only Christ carries the crossed staff in Early Christian

¹⁵⁰ Ernest Dewald, "The Iconography of the Ascension," *AJA* 19 (1915): 277–319, esp. 291; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 451; Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 287; Gabra and Alcock, *Coptic Museum*, cat. no. 41; Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 304, fig. 9. Dated 735 by B. Ratliff, in Evans and Ratliff, *Byzantium and Islam*, cat. 42.

¹⁵¹ Karrer, "Review."

¹⁵² Marina Sacopoulou, "Le linteau copte dit d'Al-Moallaka," *Cahiers archéologiques* 9 (1957): 99–115, esp. 108; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 451.

¹⁵³ Karrer, "Review."

art, though at times consuls, martyrs, and angels may have this mark of distinction.¹⁵⁴ Peter alone carries it in the ascension in the Rabbula Gospels (pl. 14). The unusual duplication of the staff on the Coptic lintel may again be due to the influence of the two martyred prophets in Rev 11:2–13.

It has been argued that the hymn inscribed above identifies the scene as the ascension,¹⁵⁵ but this is far from clear. The hymn praises Christ's radiance and glory, which he projects from a celestial Sinai, and it mentions his descent to earth.¹⁵⁶ On the lintel Christ is seated in his mandorla, suggesting his permanent glory or his return in majesty rather than his departure from the earth. Only the presence of the entry into Jerusalem projects this apparition into the realm of Gospel narrative. Insofar as there is a narrative, it has been transformed by an infusion of the majestic imagery rooted in Revelation and perhaps other apocalyptic texts.

The emphasis on the divinity of Christ and the absence of traces of monophysitism in the inscription have led Sacopoulos to date the lintel before the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹⁵⁷ If so, it should not precede it by much, since the earliest datable appearance of an oval mandorla is in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, dated 422–440.¹⁵⁸

The Sun and Moon

The scheme of Christ in a ring with faces of the four living creatures on the diagonals appears in the Latin West at least as early as it does in the East. In the apocalyptic image on the wooden doors of St. Sabina (dated 422–432), Christ stands, holding a scroll with the letters ΙΧΥΘC (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Υἱὸς Θεοῦ Cωτήρ; fig. 27).¹⁵⁹ The letters A and Ω flank him. The ring enclosing him is a circular victor's wreath, perhaps of laurel. The wreath has its Christian ancestor in the wreaths that enclose the chrismon on passion sarcophagi

¹⁵⁴ Vollbach, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 97 (consul of 480, staff topped by cross on globe as substitute for bust of emperor); 222 (angel), 249 (St. Sergius); Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 476 (angel); 488 (St. Peter); 494 (unidentifiable saint); 532 (apostle with staff topped by cross on globe); 554 (St. Peter). In the West, St. Peter and St. Lawrence at times carry a full cross over their shoulder.

¹⁵⁵ Sacopoulo, "Le linteau copte," 108; Kessler in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 451.

¹⁵⁶ For the text and translation, see Sacopoulos, "Le linteau copte," 99–100.

¹⁵⁷ Sacopoulo, "Le linteau copte," 108–109.

¹⁵⁸ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 117–118, figs. 274, 286.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 76, fig. 195; Elisabetta Lucchesi-Palli in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. 438; Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980), 80–88, pls. 68–69; Herrmann and van den Hoek, "Two Men in White," 302, fig. 5; above, 113, 117, fig. 3; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 176, fig. 93, XXV, 6.

of the mid-fourth century.¹⁶⁰ The composition draws on apocalyptic visions from the three major sources: Ezekiel, Revelation, and the Gospels. Christ carries an unrolled scroll, as in Ezek 2:9–10. The tips of the wings of the four creatures touch, as in Ezek 1:11, but they are clearly separate creatures with single faces, as in Revelation. They are directed toward—rather than emerging from behind—Christ’s wreath. Below is a hemisphere with the sun, moon, and stars, which evoke the “signs in sun and moon and stars” in Luke 21:25. As noted above, the sun and moon are Roman symbols of eternity.¹⁶¹ Below this, Peter, Paul, and Mary look up, echoing Luke 21:28: “Now when these things begin to take place, stand up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near.” They hold up a wheel with a cross, perhaps displaying the sign of Christ to demonstrate that they are among the saved.

The presence of Mary must again be due ultimately to the influence of the woman who gives birth in Rev 12:1–6.¹⁶² Her child was caught up to God, and the Christ in the wreath could again be interpreted as an allusion to that event. The passage also mentions sun, moon, and stars. The figures of Peter and Paul could equally well have been inspired by the two prophets of Rev 11:2–13, here given a Roman interpretation.

Chariots of Fire and the Trisagion

Four living creatures emerge radially around Christ’s mandorla in apse paintings dated the fifth to the seventh centuries from the Monastery of Saint Apollo at Bawit, Egypt.¹⁶³ A particularly fine example, now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, comes from Chapel 6 (pl. 72, 73, fig. 28).¹⁶⁴ In these paintings, Christ is usually enthroned and carries a codex. The compositions are a mixture of influences from the books of Revelation, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. The living creatures or seraphim each have six wings covered with eyes, as in Rev 4:8 and Isa 6:2. Wheels appear below the mandorla, and flames burst out, as in Ezek 1:4, 15. In Christ’s codex appear the words “hagios, hagios, hagios,”

¹⁶⁰ Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 125, figs. 298–300. A divine figure standing within a wreath is a motif on Eastern Hellenistic Greek coinage, and that design tradition suggests an Eastern origin for the Christian version of the composition. The Zeus Ouranios series of Antiochos VIII of Syria (121–196 BCE) has a composition that is particularly similar.

¹⁶¹ See above, note 139.

¹⁶² Contra Jeremias, *Holztiir*, 182.

¹⁶³ Ihm, *Programme*, 42–52, 198–205, pls. 13.2, 14.1, 18.1, 23.1, 24, 25; and Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 44, 134–135, figs. 84, 118–119, 323–327.

¹⁶⁴ Severin in Brenk, *Spätantike*, cat. no. 291a; Gabra and Alcock, *Coptic Museum*, cat. no. 9.



Fig. 27. Second coming, wooden doors, 422–440 CE. S. Sabina, Rome.

a phrase that was not only a fixture in the orthodox Christian liturgy since the first centuries but also in Talmudic and other Jewish prayer traditions of late antiquity.¹⁶⁵ This trishagion alludes to the angelic words of Isa 6:3 and possibly to the blessing of God's glory in Ezek 3:12 (in the Masoretic text and the Septuagint). It was sung by the seraphim (Isa 6:3) and subsequently by the four creatures (Rev 4:8). In extended form the hymn became praise to the holy Trinity in the Byzantine liturgy.¹⁶⁶

This hymn of praise was in all probability intoned in the liturgy performed in front of such pictures. Egyptian liturgies also describe Christ as seated on the cherubic, flaming throne or chariot. Such liturgical evocations of the majesty of God may have stimulated theologians and artists to create the syntheses of apocalyptic visions painted in the apses.¹⁶⁷ In these paintings angels usually flank the central apparition. In this case the angels are labeled as Michael and Gabriel, and they bow to Christ with conspicuous deference. The eternal sun and moon are regular components of such paintings, and here they appear as small busts in roundels above the archangels.

Below the apparition in the apse are the apostles, two local saints, and Mary, who is enthroned with the Christ Child. This confident row of holy persons may be assembled to pass judgment at the second coming, as the apostles do in a Coptic homily of the sixth century.¹⁶⁸ Such apocalyptic scenes are nourished not only by biblical texts but also pictorial traditions, liturgy, and evolving local beliefs about the heavenly realm.

The iconographic nucleus of such monumental paintings appears in small-scale works in the private realm. A gold pendant of the sixth or seventh century in the Ferrell collection (pl. 71b) presents an incised bust of Christ, who blesses, holds a book, and is adored by two angels with covered hands. The angels, who bow deeply, may be thought of as singing the words "hagios, hagios, hagios," which are inscribed between them.¹⁶⁹ Jeffrey Spier,

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Esther G. Chazon (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/5th/chazonoo.html> (consulted 17 February 2010).

Stefan C. Reif (Genizah Research Unit of the University of Cambridge), "Jewish Liturgy in the Fourth Century," <http://www.liturgica.com/html/lit/LitHisti.jsp?hostname=null#Fourth> (consulted 17 February 2010).

¹⁶⁶ "Ἁγίος ὁ θεός, Ἁγίος ἰσχυρός, Ἁγίος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. See Andrew Louth, "Trishagion," *TRE* 34 (2002): 121–124.

¹⁶⁷ Ihm, *Programme*, 48–50.

¹⁶⁸ Françoise Morard, "Homélie copte sur les apôtres," in D. Warren et al., *Early Christian Voices*, 417–430.

¹⁶⁹ Spier, *Treasures*, cat. no. 161.



Fig. 28. Second coming, detail of fresco from Bawit, Monastery of Apollo, Chapel VI, 6th or early 7th century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 7118.

who published the pendant, has pointed out how the image alludes “to the resurrected Christ in heaven and the prospect of the second coming.” He also points to other small-scale examples of the scene: a gold plaque in Naples, gold rings in the British Museum, an ampulla from the Holy Land, and a cameo in St. Petersburg.

CONCLUSIONS

Biblical apocalyptic texts provided material to enhance the visionary experience of paradise in funerary art, and in the minor arts. The process of enhancement took place in an evolutionary way and in different parallel traditions. In the second half of the fourth century relatively unobtrusive borrowings are worked into traditional themes, such as Christ teaching his apostles. But in the fifth and sixth centuries borrowings from apocalyptic texts become more detailed, extensive, and conspicuous, and they set the stage for highly biblical presentations of paradise and the second coming. Apocalyptic material is also used to enhance presentations of Christ’s ascension.

A variety of biblical writings provided material for artistic compositions. In the Latin West the book of Revelation was dominant. From this text came the alpha and omega, the Lamb of God on Mount Zion, the enthroned one in a rainbow ring, the scroll with seven seals, the seven candelabra, and the four living creatures with six wings. Ezekiel’s vision of the future temple with its palm trees was also an important source: his vision contributed to the formation of the concepts of paradise and the transmission of a new law to a Christian authority. Designers of Christian works of art interpreted Ezekiel’s reception of God’s *leges* before the temple of Jerusalem as a model for Christ’s delegation of divine justice to Peter. Isaiah may have provided authority for placing Christ on the celestial globe. The synoptic apocalypse was a source for artistic compositions throughout the Mediterranean world, although its influence may have been strongest in Italy. The sign in heaven before the second coming, Christ coming through the clouds, and the angels gathering the faithful were all important themes inspired by gospel texts. In popular art, representations of rewards in heaven were inspired by Paul’s vision of his heavenly crown (2Tim 4:7–8). On the model of rewards for athletic or military victory, Christ presents wreaths to apostles, martyrs, and happily married couples on gold glass bowls, African lamps, and ARS vessels.

In the East, where the book of Revelation was often regarded with suspicion, Ezekiel played a more prominent role as a source for apocalyptic works

of art. His distinctive tetramorph—one creature with four faces (lion, ox, man, and eagle), four wings, wheels, and emitting flames—appears in several Eastern works. Four separate creatures with one face and six wings according to Revelation were popular in the West, where they became symbols for the evangelists.

The book of Revelation was a significant source in the East, but allusions to it were often veiled. Unambiguous borrowings from Revelation, such as the Lamb of God on Mount Zion and the twenty-four elders, were generally avoided. In compositions with the four living creatures on the diagonals, unique features from Ezekiel are also excluded, and the resulting apparition is a synthesis of features common to several biblical apocalyptic visions.

Non-Christian pictorial sources also provide many models for formulating otherworldly imagery. At times, schemes of Roman origin are the bearer of Christian apocalyptic messages in compositions that lack any biblical reference: the thrones with symbols in the Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna and busts or symbols of Christ in wreaths of victory carried by flying Victories are the prime examples. Other motifs, such as the celestial globe, could be taken over from Roman art with very little change in meaning.

Early Christian apocalyptic works tend to be flexible in their treatment of sources. Biblical inspiration can at times be quite specific and literal, but usually apocalyptic works of art display conspicuous divergences from the texts. Contemporary political, social, aesthetic, and theological concerns obviously lay behind many of these manipulations. The desire to translate biblical visions into more specifically Christian terms led to the addition of apostles, martyrs, and contemporary ecclesiastics where they were not called for in the biblical texts. The desire to balance gentile Christianity with Jewish Christianity frequently led to innovations. The heavenly Jerusalem of biblical visions was balanced by a non-textual heavenly Bethlehem, possibly to deal with the same ethnic concerns. Undignified details of texts were altered; the twenty-four elders offer their crowns to Christ rather than casting them down before him.

In these flexible compositions, biblical sources are often veiled. The characters of Revelation can be replaced by figures of greater contemporary or local interest. Apostles and martyrs venerate Christ or offer their wreaths of victory to him, taking the place of the twenty-four elders. The elect who are gathered to Christ at his second coming are given specific identities as local martyrs and bishops. Peter and Paul replace angels as the agents of gathering. The details are changed—often radically—but the structure is still apocalyptic in inspiration.

The designers of these visions of paradise and the second coming were extremely selective in their borrowings from apocalyptic texts. Artists omitted some features that violated the canons of traditional Greco-Roman naturalism too flagrantly, such as the seven eyes and seven horns of the Lamb of God (Rev 5:6). Nor does God appear as jasper and carnelian (Rev 4:3).

Scenes of punishment and disaster were completely avoided. Biblical apocalyptic texts are terrifying and promise a dreadful fate to all but the most faithful and pure, but this frightening message is not what is communicated by apocalypses in Early Christian art. The intention is explicitly expressed in the inscriptions of mosaics at S. Pudenziana in Rome and the Monastery of the Stonecutters in Thessaloniki. The texts underscore that God is there to be viewed, he is present in the building, and he brings salvation. The message could hardly be more comforting. Apparitions from threatening visions were used to illustrate prophecies of peace. Apocalyptic texts have been mined to extract material for images of a benevolent God who is in heaven and returning to earth. Apostles, saints, bishops, and churches are presented as parts of a system that mediates between heaven and earth; one that offers safety, hope, and joy to the faithful individual. In the terrifying world of the late Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages, carefully crafted apocalyptic works of art were intended to provide the viewer with gratification and freedom from anxiety.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ODYSSEUS WANDERS INTO LATE ANTIQUITY*

Annewies van den Hoek

The images on African Red Slip Ware (ARS) hold special significance for scholars of late antiquity and its religious history. This imagery reflects the competition between established beliefs and the new Christian religion.¹ In ARS the visual vocabulary of the Greco-Roman world, with its vast range of mythological, political, and athletic motifs, stands side by side with legendary heroes and heroines of Judeo-Christian origin. ARS was also liberally decorated with neutral subject matter from the natural world, such as land and sea creatures, which respected no religious boundaries and inhabited both traditional and Judeo-Christian realms. This unifying neutral iconography provides vivid evidence that the various religious audiences formed part of the same social and artistic network. A corollary of this diverse yet unified artistic culture is that one and the same workshop could serve a variety of religious clienteles.²

Odysseus, the most celebrated of all Classical seafarers, was a popular subject for artists and artisans throughout most of antiquity, but relatively few of the hero's appearances have been assigned to the Early Christian period (from the time of Constantine onward).³ These rare late illustrations,

* An earlier version of this article is being published in *Poikiloï Karpoi (Récoltes variées)*, études réunies par Mireille Loubet et Didier Pralon en hommage à Gilles Dorival (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2013), forthcoming. I am indebted to Vickie Garagliano (San Simeon), Christine Kondoleon (Boston), Mette Moltesen (Copenhagen), Lucille Roussin (New York), Peter Schertz (Richmond), and Dagmar Stutzinger (Frankfurt), for their advice and help with photographs. Special thanks go to John Herrmann for his tireless assistance and enthusiastic support.

¹ See van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Celsus' Competing Heroes: Jonah, Daniel, and their Rivals" in this volume.

² See also J.J. Herrmann, Jr. and A. van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa (Tunisia)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Divinity School, 2002), *passim*.

³ The article on Odysseus by Odette Touchefeu-Meynier in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* makes this evident; see *LMC* 6.1: 963–964 (text); 6.2: 632–637 (plates). Late pieces are nos. 45, 172, 189, and 216. See also Kurt Weitzman, *Age of Spirituality: Late*

furthermore, tend to spotlight Odysseus' role in the Trojan War rather than his wanderings afterwards, as described in *The Odyssey*. A little noticed ARS bowl not only shows that stories from the Odyssey entered the late ceramic repertory, but it also adds another representation of this Classical hero in a vivid scene taken from his eponymous epic. An examination of the ARS bowl, moreover, will show that the episode in question may have owed its popularity to distinctly late Roman and early Christian perspectives.

The shallow bowl formerly on the art market,⁴ displays two identical images of a ship on opposite sides of its interior (pls. 74, 75a).⁵ Six sailors show their heads above the bulwarks, in the stern a helmsman reveals his chest and arms, and an eighth figure is tied to the mast—undoubtedly Odysseus. He wears a sailor's *exomis*, a short tunic with one bare shoulder, and a floppy hat, the so-called Phrygian cap (rather than the pointed *pilos* customary in earlier times). Between the ships, a cupid (now headless) stands on two dolphins, driving them with reins like a charioteer. The bowl is reconstructed from original pieces, with gaps along the rim. Like most ARS bowls decorated with applied figures, this piece dates between 350 and 430 and was produced in what is now central Tunisia.

The survey in the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* makes it clear that the theme of Odysseus tied to the mast was very popular. It can be found on a vast spectrum of media, ranging from vase painting through wall painting, mosaics, ceramic lamps, gemstones, and large- and small-scale sculpture in stone and bronze.⁶ An ARS image of Odysseus, however, was not included in the *LIMC* list. Most of the known representations of the scene show Odysseus in the company of the Sirens, from whose lure he protected himself, on the advice of Circe, by stuffing the ears of his men with wax while he himself remained firmly bound to the mast. Strikingly enough, the Sirens are nowhere in sight on our bowl. They have been replaced by the team

Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1979), cat. nos. 197, 199, and 202. J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum* (Munich: Staatssammlung München, 1989), cat. nos. 192, 193, 194, 200, and 201. A fourth-century bronze contorniate showing Odysseus with the Scylla is published in Diane Buitron, Beth Cohen et al., *The Odyssey and Art An Epic in Word and Image* (Annandale-on-Hudson, New York: The Edith C. Blum Institute, Bard College, 1992), cat. no. 54.

⁴ American private collection. Published in Royal-Athena Galleries, *Art of the Ancient World 2008*, cat. no. 140; formerly English private collection.

⁵ For the form, see J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972), 78–83 (Hayes form 53).

⁶ Touchefeu-Meynier, "Odysseus," *LIMC* 6.1: 963–964 (text); 6.2: 632–637 (plates).

of dolphins, who in size—and thus perhaps in importance—take up space equal to one of the boats. But before trying to interpret the representations in relation to one another and to the surrounding culture that created them, a further look at the bowl's images is needed.

Although a complete ARS image of Odysseus' boat was previously unknown, a small fragment of this appliqué was found in a Roman archaeological excavation along the Tiber some thirty years ago. Roberto Meneghini published the fragment for an audience interested in nautical archaeology (fig. 1).⁷ He compared it to another shard that was found in Sabratha on the Libyan coast and published by the great Dutch specialist on ARS, Jan Willem Salomonson (fig. 2).⁸ Both authors noticed a visual tradition of such ships on ARS and pointed out the resemblance to the ship from which Jonah is thrown. Unlike the Odysseus image, scenes of the Jonah cycle are rather common on ARS wares and have been abundantly preserved (pls. 26, 75b).⁹

The ship of Odysseus on the ARS bowl can be identified as a *navis oneraria*, a merchant ship, which under normal circumstances carried cargo.¹⁰ In the middle of the hull rises a mast supported by stays and topped with some kind of ornament. The mast seems to lack a yardarm or sail. A bowsprit with a yardarm and rigging (*artemon*) is situated on the elevated and curved prow. Small arcs indicate a furled sail. The curved prow rises to the left of the rigging and ends in an ornamental scroll.¹¹ Two large steering oars project

⁷ R. Meneghini, "An Ancient *Navis Oneraria* with the Myth of Odysseus and the Sirens Represented on a Late Roman Sherd," *IJNA* 12.4, 333–335. The drawing of Meneghini (fig. 2) has the head of Odysseus turned in the wrong direction. For an earlier discussion of the motif, see L. Casson, "Odysseus and Scylla on a Roman Terracotta Mould," *IJNA* 7.2 (1978): 99–104.

⁸ The fragment is from a plate (Hayes form 55). J.W. Salomonson, "Spättrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara 'C,'" *BABesch* 44 (1969): 45–108, fig. 53; Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 83; M. Armstrong, *A Thesaurus of Applied Motives on African Red Slip Ware* (Ph.D. diss, New York University, 1993), 368, no. 55.11; pl. XLVII no. 8.211.

⁹ Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 217, pl. 47 no. 8.211; Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 41, no. 29; A. van den Hoek and J.J. Herrmann, Jr., "Celsus' Competing Heroes: Jonah, Daniel, and Their Rivals," in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (ed. Albert Frey and Rémi Gounelle; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007), 319, pl. 2–4. See also the revised version of the article in this volume.

¹⁰ For a classification of Roman vessels from North Africa, see P.-M. Duval, "La forme des navires romains d'après la mosaïque d'Althiburus," *MAH* 61.1 (1949): 119–149, pl. 1. See also L. Basch, *Musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, p. 477–488; online edition at <http://www.marine-antique.net/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

¹¹ L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 193.



Fig. 1. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Odysseys tied to the mast. From Lungotevere Testaccio, Rome.

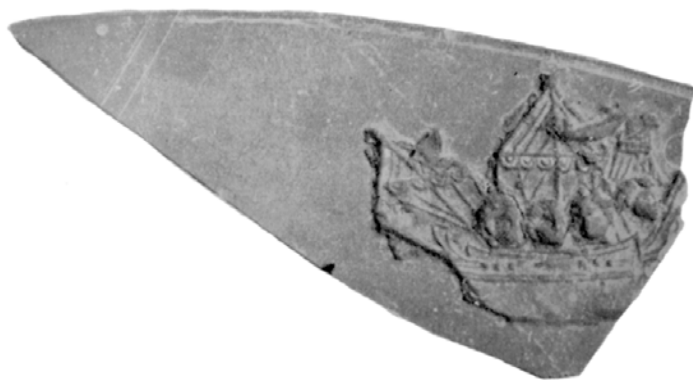


Fig. 2. Fragmentary ARS bowl with a ship and crew, 350–430 CE. Archaeological Museum, Sabratha.

out on either side of the curved stern, while the helmsman seems to grip a projecting top piece of the stern. The additional six crewmembers are positioned for rowing; that is, they have their backs turned in the direction the boat is headed. There are, however, no signs of oars in this image, so that it may be an abbreviated depiction of a ship with oars and a lowered mainsail.¹² The upper sides of the hull where the oars would have emerged show only ornamental dots.

Odysseus's ship resembles other images of sailing ships on ARS, which are all merchant ships of slightly different types. The handles on a handsome plate in Frankfurt show two ships made from the same mold, while various fish and dolphins swim along the rim (pls. 75c, 76b).¹³ One fish eats a smaller fish, a popular theme not only on ARS ceramics but also in North African mosaics (pl. 76a).¹⁴ The boats, which lack a crew, are a little more detailed and better preserved than the boats on the Odysseus bowl (pl. 75a). One of the two Frankfurt boats shows the upper border of the stern or perhaps an oar projecting obliquely upwards. The appliqué on the other handle must have had this detail as well but lost it, either during the process of fabrication or over time. It is missing on the Odysseus boats. Like the Odysseus boats, the Frankfurt boats have a mainmast and artemon, but their rigging is more elaborate. The yard of the mainmast has been lowered, and the system of pulleys (or deadeyes) used to raise and lower it is indicated. Both Odysseus' vessel and those in Frankfurt have prows that rise to a fern-like scroll, but the prows of the Frankfurt ships have a ram-like shape below. Other examples showing this kind of prow with ram can be seen on mosaics in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia and on a sarcophagus from Ostia, now in Copenhagen (figs. 3 and 4).

A large bowl in Boston has an array of biblical figures and in its center a full Jonah cycle (pls. 26, 75b). There Jonah's ship has shrunk compared to Odysseus' vessel and the ships on the Frankfurt plate (pl. 75a, c). Only three very disproportionate heads are left on board, two of whom face backward like Odysseus' crew and one forward. The ship itself has some features of Odysseus' vessel: a curved bow and stern, and similar rigging, but the yard

¹² As in P.-M. Duval, "Forme des navires romains," 136–138.

¹³ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (Hayes, form 51B).

¹⁴ For the ARS, see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 561, nos. 5.52–53. The mosaic floor came from a synagogue in Hammam Lif, Tunisia, now in the Brooklyn Museum in Brooklyn, New York. Edward Bleiberg, *Tree of Paradise: Jewish Mosaics from the Roman Empire* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2005), 27, fig. 10.



Fig. 3. Mosaic, station 46, Piazzale delle Corporazioni. Ostia, 190–200 CE.



Fig. 4. Marble sarcophagus with three ships and their crews, 3rd century. From Ostia. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, IN 1299.

of the main mast has been hoisted, with sails still furled. There also seems to be a kind of crossbar or crow's-nest on top of the main mast, a feature absent from the other two ships. Most of the Jonah scenes appear on bowls and lanxes, but on rare occasions Jonah's ship can be shown in rudimentary form on the tondo of a lamp (fig. 5).¹⁵

The ship in the Jonah scene (pl. 75b) has much in common with the small fragment from Sabratha (fig. 2), which however shows five figures: three positioned like Jonah's crew, while a fourth one, presumably the helmsman, is shown at the stern. Above the head of the helmsman appears another

¹⁵ The hull and second mast are missing because of the restricted space. The image is an example of a stamp used on a bowl that was later used on lamps, after production of relief-decorated bowls had ceased. There are several other examples of this phenomenon.



Fig. 5. African lamp with Jonah's ship, 430–530 CE.
Formerly art market.

small figure, which Salomonson has suggested might be a Siren. Since the figure of Odysseus himself is not present, however, the identification of this elevated figure remains uncertain. In a mosaic from Althiburus now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis, a vessel is shown with a figure standing on high, apparently the lookout (figs. 6–7, boat 5).¹⁶ Beside the ship is the label “cata-scopiscus” which indicates that its primary function was for reconnaissance or scouting. The elevated figure on the fragment from Sabratha could likewise be a lookout.

¹⁶ Duval, “Forme des navires romains,” 134 and pl. I, no. 5. Althiburus (modern Henshir Medina) is located on the road from Carthage to Tebessa in Central Tunisia.



Fig. 6. Mosaic with various types of ships named in Latin and Greek, late 3rd to early 4th century. From the baths of Althiburus (Medeina). Bardo Museum, Tunis.

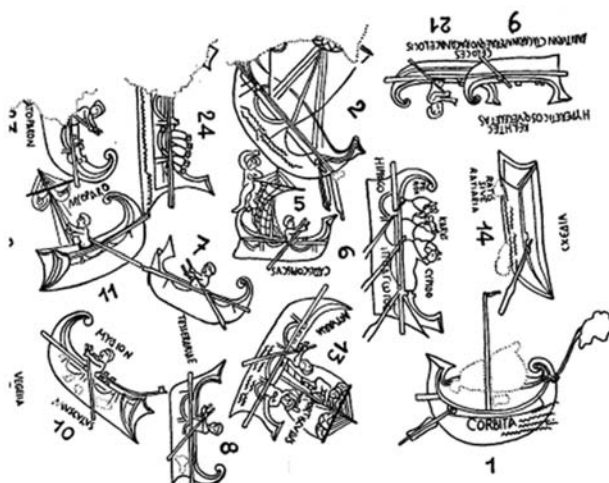


Fig. 7. Schematic drawing of the mosaic from Althiburus. The standing figure in boat no. 5 is a "catascopiscus."

Although depictions of Odysseus are rare on ARS (limited to only a few examples),¹⁷ dolphins are abundant, just as they are on North African mosaics. The dolphins may appear alone or in groups and they can be shown without further accompaniment or be mounted by cupids or young boys. In ancient literature there were numerous folk tales about boys riding on dolphins and miraculous rescue operations.¹⁸ A legend, in fact, existed that Telemachus, the son of Odysseus himself, had fallen into the sea as a child and was saved by dolphins. For this reason it was said that Odysseus' shield bore the emblem of a dolphin.¹⁹ A variant of the riding boy is a figure holding a lyre, which often has been interpreted as the poet Arion. In this legend the poet had charmed his audience with his songs, winning a contest that took place in Italy. On his return to Greece, Arion was forced to jump into the sea after a brush with greedy sailors who were after his prize money. A dolphin attracted by Arion's music rescued him and brought him safely to shore. The tale reverberated both in North African writing and in the visual arts, as shown on a large, fragmented marine mosaic from Thina on display in the museum at Sfax, in which Arion is the centerpiece (pl. 77a).

An ARS bowl in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston also displays a scene of a young boy on a dolphin, while two other dolphins display their flexibility while a magnificent fish swims by (pl. 78a).²⁰ An octagonal bowl in Amsterdam has a similar stamp of a young dolphin-rider, but this time the boy has wings and is therefore conceived as a cupid. On the Amsterdam bowl there are multiple dolphin-riding cupids, some with lyres, perhaps with a wink to Arion or similar tales (pls. 78b, 79a–b).²¹ The cupid riding the twin dolphins on the Odysseus bowl adopts a different pose; he stands upright with both feet on one dolphin's back while holding two sets of reins that go around the dolphins' bodies, like a driver controlling a team of horses (pl. 74).²² On

¹⁷ Odysseus also appears in a group of small-scale panels moulded on the rim or the floor of ARS lanxes. The panels depict Odysseus' encounter with Circe, who is identified by an inscription. The main image of these lanxes is Pegasus and the nymphs. For a discussion of the scene and the origin of the panels, see Salomonson, "Late Roman Earthenware," 85–87, Pl. XXXI; also Garbsch and Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum*, 180.190–193. Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 501, nos. 56.97; 56.104; 56.220; 56.227; 56.243; 56.305; 56.313; 56.321.

¹⁸ E.B. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (Menasha, Wis: The George Banta Publishing Company, 1929), 59–96; E. Dietz, "Delphin," *RAC* 17: 667–682.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *On the Cleverness of Animals* (*Mor.* 985B).

²⁰ For the image, see Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 572, 8, 20; Pl. XXXIV 8.20.

²¹ Hayes, form 54. Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, p. 572, 8, 21; Pl. XXXIV 8.21 (various museums).

²² A fragment of a bowl with this dolphin-rider group is in the Römisch-Germanisches

the Arion mosaic from Thina a similar idea is conveyed. A pair of dolphins is harnessed to a chariot guided by a charioteer in the characteristic gear of the circus (pl. 77b). Other maritime mosaics have variations on this theme, such as cupids racing on fish.²³

Considering the popularity of dolphins in North African art, their appearance on the Odysseus bowl should come as no surprise, were it not for the fact that Sirens would have been expected in this epic setting. By and large all visual representations of Odysseus tied to the mast whether on mosaics or ceramics are in the company of Sirens. On this bowl there would have been ample space if the Sirens had been considered essential. It is hard to find other cases where the bound Odysseus is not paired with Sirens. A Late Antique example of the theme is presented by a fourth-century bronze sculpture in the Virginia Museum of Art (pl. 80).²⁴ This Roman bronze attachment in Virginia lacks Sirens, but it could have been complemented by other attachments with these monsters.²⁵ An early Roman terracotta relief in the Louvre shows Odysseus gesturing to his helmsman, presumably imploring him to untie him (pl. 81b).²⁶ Dolphins frolic at the ship's bow and stern. No Sirens are in sight, but they do appear on a separate plaque of the same series that complements the scene.²⁷

North Africa had a legendary connection to Odysseus and his crew. The *Odyssey* recounts that after setting sail for Ithaca the ship was driven by adverse winds and carried off course for nine days, until it reached the land of the Lotus-eaters. Some of his men ate the lotus, which seems to have been a narcotic flower or plant. The result was that they would stay

Museum, Cologne: Armstrong, *Thesaurus*, 572, 8.18; Pl. XXXIII 8.18. Another fragment is in the Michael C. Carlos Museum in Atlanta, no. 1996.5.81.

²³ K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Pl. XXXVI no. 94.

²⁴ M. Bell, in K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), 222, cat. no. 199; A. Gonosová and C. Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond: The Museum, 1994), 238–241.

²⁵ Gonosová and Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium*, 238–241. John Herrmann suggests that the object could have been mounted atop the leg of a tripod; cf. John J. Herrmann, Jr., “Folding Tripod,” in *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum in association with the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1994), 320–322, no. 167. Theoretically the Sirens could have appeared on one of the other legs. For additional objects without Sirens, see *LIMC* 6: nos. 178, 185, 186.

²⁶ Homer, *Odyssey* 12, 53–54 and 193–194.

²⁷ Paris, Louvre, S. 747 and 754.

in the area forever, forgetful of their mission and return home. Herodotus located the ill-fated place on the coast of Libya, but other traditions imagine it on Tunisian shores, including the island of Jerba. This episode, which in literature is often described together with the encounter of the Sirens, is rarely depicted in the visual arts. In contrast, the image of Odysseus tied to the mast gained great popularity in later Roman Imperial times. In North Africa it appeared most often in mosaics. Of the eleven surviving Roman mosaics that show this scene, five originated in Tunisia or Algeria.²⁸

The most famous Odysseus mosaic stems from Dougga and is prominently on display in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (pl. 81a). It was excavated together with other maritime mosaics surrounding a pool in a house, dated the second half of the third century. The other mosaics show fishing scenes and the legend of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates.²⁹ The Odysseus scene is evidently much richer and more detailed than would be possible in a small ceramic stamp. The expressions on the faces of Odysseus and his companions show the emotion of the moment. The Sirens display the full attraction of their femininity except for their ominous birds' feet below. Other examples of the bound Odysseus—some of them rather fragmentary—occur in mosaics from Haïdra, Thina, Utica, and Cherchel.³⁰ Like the Dougga mosaic, all are connected with water installations. The Cherchel example is positioned on the side of a fountain basin so that the boat would seem to ride on the surface of the water (pls. 82–83a). The Sirens in Cherchel are more bird-like than the mantled and relatively anthropomorphic creatures from Dougga. The imagery at both Dougga and Cherchel includes dolphins alongside Odysseus' boat. In the fountain of Cherchel they almost seem to shield the ship and its voyagers protectively, and the bow of Odysseus' ship bears a small dolphin as an emblem of good luck. A boat with a ram-like projection formed as a dolphin and an apotropaic eye is in the Archaeological Museum

²⁸ Two of the others come from Italy, two from Portugal, and one from Israel. *LIMC* 6: nos. 163–172. O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseïens dans l'art antique* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1968), 164–167, nos. 292–299 with descriptions and bibliography. In 1998 in Italy a third mosaic was discovered in Quarto di Corzano in the neighborhood of Rome (SAR, inv. 519957). The black-and-white mosaic shows Odysseus bound to the mast and three of his companions rowing. Two Sirens stand above the boat. The figures are accompanied by Greek inscriptions with names: Leontis, Felix, Victor (twice), and Ermione. A Latin inscription in the border names Domnus Perrecionus Faorus; see *Roma. Memorie dal sottosuolo. Ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006*, M.A. Tomei (ed.) (Milano: Electa, 2007), 321–322.

²⁹ Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 42, Pl. VIII nos. 15–16. Dunbabin comments on some overly symbolic interpretations, 147–149.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 255 (Cherchel), 261–262 (Haïdra), 273 (Thina), 276 (Utica), and bibliography.

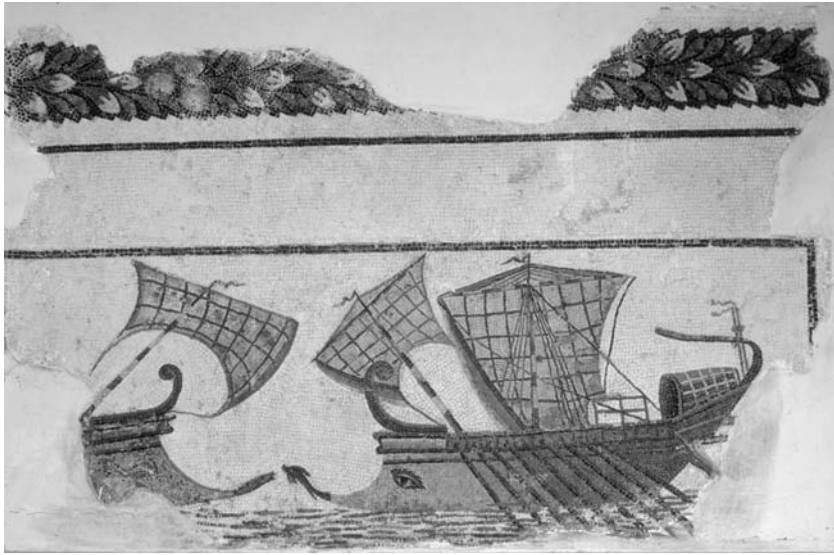


Fig. 8. Mosaic with a boat with a bow in the form of a dolphin, 2nd century CE. Archaeological Museum, Sousse.

in Sousse, Tunisia (fig. 8). In general, these mosaics showing Odysseus tied to the mast are all connected with water installations, whether in baths or fountains, and play on the presence of water in these pleasant environments.

The tradition of mosaics with Odysseus bound to the mast continued as late as the second half of the fifth century in Palestine (pl. 83b–d). A remarkable mosaic was discovered in a building in Beth Shean (Skythopolis/Nyssa). The mosaic consists of three panels, the uppermost showing Odysseus bound to the mast of his ship and a Siren. Below Odysseus is another ship with a figure, possibly Odysseus, fighting a sea monster, which may be the Skylla confronting Odysseus' ship.³¹ The middle panel shows pigeons with ribbons and a Greek donor's inscription, which includes traces of a small menorah.³² The lower panel shows a personification of the Nile

³¹ Compare with the scene on a fourth-century bronze contorniate, in Buitron, Cohen et al., *Odyssey and Ancient Art*, cat. no. 54.

³² The Greek inscription refers to a Leontis Kloubas, who donated the floor at his own expense and wanted to be remembered for his benefaction—for his own salvation and that of his brother Jonathan; see N. Zori, "The House of Kyrios Leontis at Beth Shean," *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966): 123–134. For an insightful article on the eschatological aspects of

carrying a duck in his hand and surrounded by various animals, birds, another boat, a building, a nilometer, and the inscription "Alexandria." The presence of the Odysseus scene is intriguing in a Jewish context. The function of the building is not clear, since only three rooms around a courtyard have been excavated. The donor's inscription indicates that it was not a private house but a public environment, which might have included a place for worship. The building is dated to the mid-fifth century,³³ but the inscription "Lord help Leontios" beside the Siren (pl. 83d) suggests that the mosaic could have been laid in the following decades.³⁴

On sarcophagi of the third century the scene of Odysseus bound to the mast serves a different function.³⁵ All examples seem to have come from Rome. A splendid example in the Hearst collection is unusual in having the scene of Odysseus bound to the mast on one end of the main box. The front of the sarcophagus shows the Muses and may allude to the legend in which the gods persuaded the Sirens to engage in a singing contest with the Muses (figs. 9–10).³⁶ The Muses won the competition and plucked out the Sirens' feathers, which they wear in their hair. The Sirens themselves are absent from both the front and the Odysseus scene on the end. They were probably missing from the other end as well, but this is uncertain because of its poor preservation.³⁷ They appear on a sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which illustrates their defeat in the competition with the Muses, but the sarcophagus lacks a connection with Odysseus (fig. 11).³⁸

Most scenes of the bound Odysseus on sarcophagi stem from lids and not from the box itself. The lids usually had two panels separated by a *tabula ansata* or a square panel for an inscription, while a mask finished the composition at each end (figs. 12–15).³⁹ Three relatively well-preserved examples

the imagery, see Lucille Roussin, "The Beit Leontis Mosaic: An Eschatological Interpretation," *JJA* 8 (1981): 6–19.

³³ Zori, *op. cit.*, 125–126, fig. 3.

³⁴ This type of inscription is characteristic of the sixth century (and later): see Spier, *Gems*, 137.

³⁵ Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseïens*, 167–171. Touchefeu counted seventeen fragments but did not include the sarcophagus from the Hearst collection (see below).

³⁶ Pausanias IX 34, 3. M. Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage* (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 83–84, no. 219.

³⁷ Only a prow and sail survive, but there is little reason to believe that they belonged to a second Odysseus scene, this time with Sirens, as Wegner conjectured; see above.

³⁸ Wegner, *Musensarkophage*, 31–32, no. 61.

³⁹ Fig. 24 from the Villa Albani had been described by Robert as a mismatch of two parts, but C. Reinsberg discovered that the *tabula ansata* was integral to the piece; see C. Reinsberg, in *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (ed. P.C. Bol; Berlin: Mann, 1998), 630–632, no. 1075. Tafel 342.



Fig. 9. Marble sarcophagus with nine Muses, 225–250 CE. Previously Palazzo Barberini and Palazzo Sciarra, Rome; presently Hearst Castle, San Simeon.



Fig. 10. Short side of the sarcophagus with nine Muses, with Odysseus at the mast.



Fig. 11. Marble sarcophagus depicting the contest between the Muses and the Sirens, 3rd century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.104).



Fig. 12. Marble sarcophagus lid dedicated to M. Aurelius Romanus with a portrait of the deceased between two philosophers and Odysseus and the Sirens. From the via Tiburtina, Rome, 240–280 CE. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, 113 227.



Fig. 13. Odysseus and the Sirens (detail).



Fig. 14. Fragmentary lid of a marble sarcophagus with Odysseus and the Sirens, 2nd half of 3rd century. Found in the Hypogaeum of Lucina. Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican, 31663.



Fig. 15. Fragmentary lid of a marble sarcophagus with Odysseus and the Sirens on the left and a philosophical scene on the right, 250–270 CE. Villa Albani, Rome, inv. 565–566.



Fig. 16. Now-lost sarcophagus lid, with Odysseus' boat and a group of seated philosophers: drawing commissioned by Cassiano dal Pozzo.

amplify the context. They show the Odysseus scene paired with male figures wearing a *pallium* and holding a scroll. These figures must be philosophers or *litterati* (figs. 12, 14, 15). The most complete example shows two cupids holding drapery (*petasma*) as a kind of frame around the portrait bust of the youthful deceased. A lost lid known from a seventeenth-century drawing also shows Odysseus' boat paired with a group of seated philosophers (fig. 16). Cumont and Courcelle have suggested that the philosophical figures might evoke a paradise for intellectuals.⁴⁰

An intriguing exception to, or variation on, these patterns of usage appears in a sarcophagus formerly on display in the gardens of the Vatican and now known only through late Renaissance drawings (fig. 17).⁴¹ Odysseus was shown being tied to the mast. Three music-making Sirens are perched on a rock. To the left of Odysseus' ship, Mercury places his hand on a man in a shroud, while two women make gestures of grief. To the right of Odysseus' ship and the Sirens, Hercules drags Cerberus from the underworld as one of his twelve labors.⁴² Further on the right a satyr plays the double flute and a maenad strikes her tambourine, suggesting a Bacchic Thiasos (fig. 18). Three women with jars—probably the Danaids—follow. At either end caryatids terminate the frieze. The Odysseus scene clearly belongs to the same context as the representations of the Danaids and Mercury and Hercules in missions to the underworld. Here, as on the sarcophagus lids, Odysseus' voyage should be seen in relation to death and the voyage to the underworld.

The sarcophagus fragments showing Odysseus tied to the mast have been in collections for centuries, and there is usually sparse information on their provenance.⁴³ Some of them, however, came from the catacombs and for this reason have sparked scholarly debates about the significance of their imagery and their connection with Christianity.⁴⁴ Literary sources shed

⁴⁰ F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1942), 263–265. P. Courcelle, "Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin," *RÉA* 46 (1944): 65–93, esp. 84–85.

⁴¹ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, 2 (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), 152–159, Pl. LII, nos. 140. 140'. 140".

⁴² Hermes guided Hercules on his mission to the underworld and assisted Odysseus in his encounter with Circe, which preceded the episode with the Sirens.

⁴³ Some that were known and documented are now lost; see Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseens*, nos. 302, 304, 311.

⁴⁴ Four examples were found in the catacombs. *Ibid.*, nos. 305, 308, 314, 315. For a discussion, see H.I. Marrou, *Mousikos anēr. Études sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble: Didier & Richard, 1937), 253. Courcelle, "Quelques symboles," 93. Th. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst VI," *JAC* 6 (1963): 71–100, esp. 96–100. F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie*

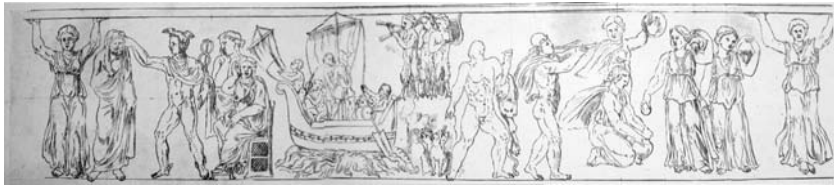


Fig. 17. Now-lost sarcophagus with Mercury, Odysseus' ship, Hercules, and Danaïds: drawing preserved in the Codex Pighianus.

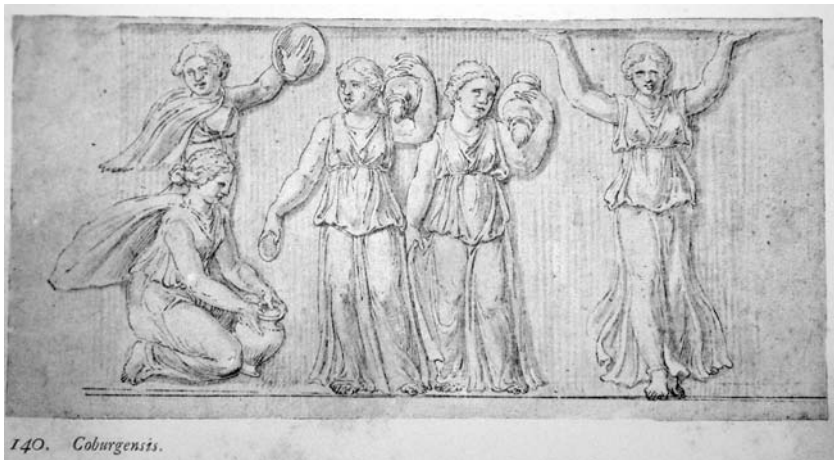


Fig. 18. Now-lost sarcophagus with the Danaïds: drawing preserved in the Codex Coburgensis.

additional light on the later reception of the Odysseus' scene. They offer interpretations of the wandering Odysseus and his crew that not only present their maritime stories as adventures but also as starting points for allegorical interpretation. Many ancient authors speculated about the seductive powers of the Sirens and the restraint of Odysseus. A few highlights serve to illuminate this subject.⁴⁵

(Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 182–183. They argue against interpreting the sarcophagus lids as Christian allegories.

⁴⁵ For a survey of literary sources, see G. Weicker, *De Sirenibus Quaestiones Selectae* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Lipsiae, 1895), *passim*; and G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst. Ein mythologisch-archaeologische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1902),

Homer's treatment of Odysseus and the Sirens itself offers multiple evocations of peril and death. In graphic terms the Sirens are said to sit in a meadow surrounded by "a huge heap of bones of moldering men with their skin shriveling away."⁴⁶ The Sirens are also seen as personifications of lamentation, mourning and wailing for the dead.⁴⁷ Later traditions claim that the Sirens' defeat leads to their own demise. In some accounts of Odysseus outwitting them or Orpheus overpowering them with his lyre to save the Argonauts, the Sirens threw themselves into the sea or were metamorphosed into rocks.⁴⁸ The Sirens' defeat in the contest with the Muses also led to their self-destruction. The Sirens have other associations with death as companions of Persephone, the queen of the underworld. After her abduction from earth, they call on her continually with their wailing song. According to some accounts, the Sirens received wings for their efforts, while according to others they became birds as punishment for failing to find her.⁴⁹ Greek philosophers also associate the Sirens with the underworld. In the *Cratylus* Plato has Socrates speak about Pluto and the binding power of death. In this dialogue Socrates maintains that no one was willing to depart from that other world, not even the Sirens themselves, all having fallen under the spell of Pluto.⁵⁰

Plato, however, elevated the Sirens from the underworld to a higher level when he interpreted them as cosmic entities. In his description of the wanderings of souls through the universe, he spoke of eight cosmic Sirens who accompany the Fates and provide the universe with harmonious songs.⁵¹ Later philosophers expanded this symbolic interpretation. Plutarch viewed the Sirens as cosmic figures, whose music instills love for the heavenly and divine in wandering souls. The souls forget their mortality and follow the Sirens in their celestial circuits.⁵² Numenius interpreted the figure of Odysseus himself as the rational soul passing through the created world.

passim. S. de Rachewiltz, *De Sirenibus: An Inquiry into Sirens from Homer to Shakespeare* (New York: Garland, 1987), 45–120.

⁴⁶ Homer, *Odyssey* 12, 45–46.

⁴⁷ Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 5. 12. The word "siren" in modern languages usually refers to the sound rather than the appearance of the creatures.

⁴⁸ Lycophron, *Alexandra* 712 ff.; Strabo, *Geography* 6.1.1; Hyginus, *Fables* 141; Orphica, *Argonautica* 1284–1290.

⁴⁹ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.896–898; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.552–563; Hyginus, *Fables* 141.

⁵⁰ Plato, *Cratylus*, 403d.

⁵¹ Plato, *Republic* X.617 b–c (the myth of Er); Courcelle, "Quelques symboles," 78; de Rachewiltz, *Sirenibus*, 52.

⁵² Plutarch, *Table talk* (*Mor.* 745 d–e).

The sea represented the realm of matter and sense perception, from which the soul has to free itself in order to return to its origin.⁵³ The purified soul (by implication Odysseus) who escapes safely from the surging seas and the passionate storms becomes a well-known image in later Platonic writing.⁵⁴ Late antique philosophers tried to solve the paradox of Plato, who associated the Sirens both with the underworld and perhaps even more with the cosmic upperworld. Proclus brought these contradictory views into a more comprehensive system, distinguishing three different kinds of Sirens: those belonging to the heaven of Zeus, those belonging to the created world of Poseidon, and those belonging to the underworld of Pluto.⁵⁵ The celestial Sirens come close to the activities of the Muses and are sometimes identified with them.⁵⁶

The songs of the Sirens and their fatal attraction have been interpreted as emblems not only of the desire for knowledge—an obvious connection based on the Homeric text itself⁵⁷—but also of other insidious lures, such as the lusts of the flesh or the dangers of flattery.⁵⁸ Christian authors tended to follow the latter line of interpretation, viewing the Sirens largely in a negative way and projecting onto them everything that was problematic—heresy, perversion and, of course, the lure of the flesh.⁵⁹ According to Clement of Alexandria, people should avoid their traditional behavior, which he metaphorically called the “threatening Charybdis” and the “legendary Sirens.” In his view “custom” was “strangling humans, turning them away from the truth, and leading them away from life.” With clear reference to the Homeric myth, Clement called this behavior an “ensnaring trap, a ruinous pit, and a lewd pest.” The Sirens embodied lust, which, like a beautiful prostitute, gave delight with vulgar music.⁶⁰ In medieval times this was

⁵³ Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* 34; Courcelle, “Quelques symboles,” 81.

⁵⁴ Porphyry, *On the Life of Plotinus* 22. For Neoplatonist allegorical reading of Homer, see R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Readings and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 54–77 (Numenius), 83–107 (Plotinus), 162–197 (Proclus).

⁵⁵ Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* 2, 239.

⁵⁶ Already in Alcman, *Poetae Melici Graeci, frag.* 30 (ed. Page).

⁵⁷ Homer, *Odyssey* 12, 154.156.188.

⁵⁸ For lusts: *passim*; for flattery, see Origen, *C. Celsus* II 76.

⁵⁹ de Rachewiltz, *Sirenibus*, 41. H. Rahner, “Antenna Crucis. Odysseus am Mastbaum,” *ZKT* 65 (1941): 123–152. H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), 328–390. For the relationship between Homer and early Christian sources, see D.R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: The Odyssey, Plato, and the Acts of Andrew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 257–263.

⁶⁰ Clement, *Protrepticus* XII n8, 1–2. Elsewhere Clement offers a very different interpreta-

the main role allotted to them: as harpists and courtesans who may have spared the lives of passers-by but robbed them of their money and provisions.⁶¹ Other authors, however, continued the tradition of interpreting them in natural terms, explaining that in reality they represented certain straits of the sea narrowed by mountains, in which the compressed rush of water sent out a whistling sound.⁶²

Thus while in late antiquity the Sirens tend to be portrayed in gradually more negative terms as seductresses of all trades, Odysseus gained a more positive reputation. Although Plato had dealt with him in a rather ironic way because of his ruses, later traditions viewed him as the embodiment of prudent courage and fortitude in suffering, someone who mastered the perils of life. Odysseus approached the island of the Sirens knowingly, without yielding to its temptations.⁶³ For Greek-speaking Christians, for whom Homer had been prime reading in school, Odysseus continued to be viewed as the personification of wisdom, even being named the “wise man from Ithaca.”⁶⁴ As a matter of course the identification of the ship of Odysseus as the ship of the church was to be expected. The symbolic language already present in late antiquity migrated smoothly to the evolving language of educated Christian writers; the wise soul stands by the wood of the mast, and the wood of the mast can signify the mast of faith or the wood of the cross.⁶⁵

Christian Latin writers refer to the Homeric scene with a hermeneutic versatility equal to that of their Greek colleagues, mostly drawing on the interpretations described above. In one of his early works, Augustine continued the neo-platonic line when he described the wanderings of human souls in maritime terms, pointing out how their courses may vary. Some arrive easily at their destination, but many more wander or become distracted on their way to the blessed life. All have to face an immense and frightful mountain placed in front of their final harbor. Many prefer to linger not only because of the difficulty of the voyage but also because of their own vanity. Augustine counts himself among the lingerers who postponed their return, charmed not only by the vanities of life but also by academic and

tion, comparing the song of the Sirens to Greek wisdom, to which Odysseus opens his ears, *Stromateis* VI 89, 1.

⁶¹ Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* (ed. Stallbaum; 4 vols.; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 2:5.

⁶² Suida, *Lexicon*, Σ 280.

⁶³ See Rahner, *Greek Myths*, 337.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 339, referring to the *sapiens Ithacus*.

⁶⁵ For more examples, see MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer*, 257–262.

philosophic attachments.⁶⁶ In the ancient imagination, the Sirens resided along the southwestern coasts of Italy. Everyone who, like Augustine, had recently traveled from Carthage to Naples would have been reminded of the Homeric story.⁶⁷

After wandering among ceramics, mosaics, sarcophagi, and literary sources it is time to return to the images on the ARS bowl with which this article began. The ceramic stamps of Odysseus at the mast are redundantly applied twice, while the Sirens are conspicuously absent. Their omission might be explained as an oversight or an idiosyncratic preference of the potter, who for some reason just preferred dolphins. It could also be argued that the dolphin team is a substitution for the Sirens. As we saw above, Sirens had gradually become ever more disreputable. In the moralizing climate of late antiquity, they were viewed in overtly negative terms, being interpreted as prostitutes and petty thieves. To avoid these troubling associations and to make the merchandise more attractive, the ceramic entrepreneur could have decided to design bowls with more playful and more positive connotations. Cupid mounted on dolphins seems to have fit this role. On a literal level Cupid, a god of love, could be viewed as escorting or even inspiring the safe return of the sage of Ithaca, who continued to long for his beloved wife and son over many years. The scene could also be explained in a more profound and sophisticated way as the wandering soul guided to its final destination, since dolphins and cupids were not only perceived as warrantors of a safe and quick journey at sea but also as reliable guides of souls to the isles of the blessed.⁶⁸ In this way, the images might become acceptable to a wide range of customers regardless of their religious background. The bowl could even take on a funerary meaning and become a suitable gift for a tomb, a context in which it probably survived into modern times.

⁶⁶ Augustine, *On the Happy Life* I 1–4 (dated to 386/387). See also Courcelle, “Quelques symboles,” 87–88.

⁶⁷ For the Sirens and the western coast of Italy, see Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.8. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.85. In modern times, see Melchior Trigilia, *I Viaggi ed i Luoghi di Ulisse in Sicilia* (Città di Ispica, 2011).

⁶⁸ Klauser, *RAC* 17: s.v. Delphin (E. Dietz, *RAC* 17: 667–682, esp. 675).

CHAPTER TWELVE

EXECUTION AS ENTERTAINMENT: THE ROMAN CONTEXT OF MARTYRDOM*

Annewies van den Hoek

Arena spectacles with high levels of violence were an important component of the social and political fabric of Roman life, especially in the urban areas of the empire.¹ Although the people who were featured in these entertainments were mostly very low ranking—slaves, captive prisoners, and convicted criminals—they performed for citizens of the highest level, including emperors and their families. In fact, the entire spectrum of society was assembled for these spectacles, and were seated in a highly classified fashion according to their social status.² These performances had a long and evolving history, and they ranged from gladiatorial combats, wild beast hunts, aquatic displays, and mock sea battles to various kinds of public executions. There were also brutal sporting contests of Greek origin, such as boxing, free-style fighting and racing.³ For various reasons to be discussed

* Another version of this paper is being published in the Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford in 2011 (*Studia Patristica*: Peeters, Leuven, forthcoming). With thanks to, Kevin Cahalane, Jared Clark, Pierre Delnoy, Sebastiá Giralt, and Jefferson Henson for their help with some of the illustrations.

¹ Kathleen Coleman refers to the spectacles as “a pervasive cultural force in Roman society,” see Kathleen M. Coleman, “Spectacle,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (ed. A. Barchiesi and W. Schneider; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 651–670, esp. 651. The correlation between violence in Roman society and violence on the “playing” fields is widely discussed; see, for example, Alex Scobie, “Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games,” *Nikephoros* 1 (1988): 191–243, esp. 232.

² Elizabeth Rawson, “*Discrimina Ordinum*: The Lex Julia Theatralis,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 83–114. Jonathan Edmonson, “Public Spectacles and Roman Social Relations,” in *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana* (ed. T. Nogales Basarrate and A. Castellanos; Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2002), 21–43. Kathleen M. Coleman, “Public Entertainments,” in *Social Relations in the Roman World* (ed. Michael Peachin; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 338–342. Scobie, “Spectator Security,” 204–207. Ramsey MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

³ J. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: Phoenix, 1969), 159–168, 336–337. For gladiators in the East, see Louis Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l’orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940).

later, this paper focuses primarily on wild beast hunts and public executions in the later imperial period, with geographic emphasis on the Roman provinces of North Africa.⁴

Huge investments were made for accommodating and staging these events, not least including the building of large amphitheaters and other structures that could hold tens of thousands of spectators.⁵ Estimates of the capacity of amphitheaters in the big cities range from 30,000 to 50,000 spectators and perhaps more. Smaller constructions in provincial towns and military camps may have held only a few thousand.⁶ Circuses could have had a much larger capacity because their design was specifically intended to enclose a large area for races.⁷ The spectacles could also be staged in other venues, such as theaters,⁸ fora, and stadia.⁹ Surviving evidence shows that arena activity existed in almost every part of the Roman world, and, the games themselves appear to have been an effective conduit for the spread of Roman influence and authority.¹⁰

⁴ David Lee Bomgardner, "An Analytical Study of North African Amphitheaters" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1984). Idem, "The Carthage Amphitheater: A Reappraisal," *AJA* 93 (1989): 85–103. Idem, "The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles: A Green Perspective," *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992): 161–166. Idem, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (London; New York, 2000). Idem, "The Magerius Mosaic Revisited," in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th–18th February 2007 (ed. Tony Wilmott; BAR International Series 1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 165–177.

⁵ For a social-psychological perspective on crowds, crowd containment, and violence as entertainment, see Garrett G. Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁶ On the relationship between the military and the games, see Bomgardner, "Analytical Study," 133, 194, 198; Alison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997), 147–152; and Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 26.

⁷ John H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); for the staging of *venationes* in a circus setting, see pp. 182–186 and *passim*.

⁸ For evidence of the multi-functionality of theaters, see Charlotte Roueché, "Inscriptions and the Later History of the Theater," in *Aphrodisias Papers 2: The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin-Types*. Third International Aphrodisias Colloquium held at New York University on 7 and 8 April 1998 (ed. R.R.R. Smith and Kenan T. Erim; Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2; Ann Arbor: Editorial Committee of the Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 99–108, esp. 103.

⁹ For make-shift arrangements and temporary wooden barriers, see Scobie, "Spectator Security," 210–211. Tertullian (*Ad Martyres* 5) indicates that wild animals often escaped, posing a danger to the population. On the safety of the spectators, see Scobie, "Spectator Security," 209–213.

¹⁰ For spectacle and imperial power, see also Coleman, "Spectacle," 663–666.

Sponsoring an arena spectacle was a major investment, which only the wealthy and those in power could afford.¹¹ Public offices, both urban Roman magistrates and local officials, were involved in the staging of games. Organizers were allotted a certain amount of money, which they were expected to supplement with their own funds, presumably for the advancement of their influence and image.¹² In the course of the imperial period the costs of gladiatorial games became so high that they were increasingly difficult for private citizens to afford;¹³ for this and other political reasons, sponsoring spectacles became by and large the prerogative of the imperial administration, which formalized the games into a religious and civic duty.¹⁴ Moreover the games became part of the imperial cult,¹⁵ and the trade in actors, gladiators, and animals grew to an empire-wide business that was subject to official supervision. At the regional level, however, various local arrangements may have persisted. In North Africa, for example, there were touring troops that managed a menagerie of wild animals and *venatores*.¹⁶ Such professional troops and associations seem to have formed rival teams in the animal games.¹⁷ They enjoyed great popularity in the third century and left many traces of their names and their activities in art and artifacts (pls. 8c, 84a).¹⁸

¹¹ See Richard Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (2nd ed.; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Bomgardner, *Roman Amphitheater*, 228–231 (Appendix); M. Carter, “Gladiatorial Ranking and the ‘SC de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis’” (*CIL* II 6278=ILS 5163), *Phoenix* 57 (2003): 83–114; and Coleman, “Spectacle,” 658–659.

¹² Coleman points out that the other side of “Euergetism” is potential blackmail, see Coleman, “Public Entertainments,” 335–357, esp. 343–345.

¹³ Kathleen M. Coleman, “The Contagion of the Throng,” *Herm* 164 (1998): 65–88, esp. 78. See also Scobie, “Spectator Security,” 228; and Fik Meijer, *Un giorno al Colosseo. Il mondo dei gladiatori* (2nd ed.; Roma: Laterza, 2006), 85–91.

¹⁴ For imperial control, see also Coleman, “Public Entertainments,” 350–352.

¹⁵ For the implications for the provinces, see Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 79–93.

¹⁶ On the uncertain ancient nomenclature of *bestiarii*/*venatores*, see Coleman, “Spectacle,” 657.

¹⁷ See also Coleman, “Contagion,” 78.

¹⁸ Jan Willem Salomonson, “The Fancy Dress Banquet: An Attempt at Interpreting a Roman Mosaic from El-Djem,” *BABesch* 35 (1960): 25–55, esp. 50–51. See also Idem, “Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara ‘C,’” *BABesch* 44 (1969): 4–109, esp. 70, pl. 94. The *sodalitates* that Salomonson identified include the Telegenii, Pentasii, Tauriscii, Sinematii, Perexii, Tharaxii, Ederii, and Decasii; see P. La Baume and J.W. Salomonson, *Römische Kleinkunst. Sammlung Löffler* (Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln, Bd. III; Köln: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1976), 128–129; also “Peervormig Kannetje,” in *Het verhaal bij het materiaal. Een kennismaking met de archeologische studieverzameling van de Utrechtse universiteit* (ed. J.W. Salomon-

Gladiatorial combats, that is, man-to-man and in some cases woman-to-woman fights,¹⁹ seem to have disappeared, at least in North Africa, after the third century.²⁰ In Rome itself, such events are recorded well into the Constantinian era, but it remains unclear when gladiators finally disappeared.²¹ Animal hunts or *venationes*, continued throughout late antiquity. They were particularly well suited for the African continent, the source for many of the wild animals.²² In fact, big cats such as panthers, leopards, and lions, were collectively called “Africanæ” in Latin. The presence of elephants and giraffes makes it clear that some came from sub-Saharan regions.²³ Evidence indicates that in the African provinces animal hunts persisted through the Vandal period and into Byzantine times.²⁴ These ever-popular *venationes*

son; *Archaeologica Traiectina* 14; Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1980), 51–53; and A. Beschaouch, *CRAI* (1977) 486–503; (1979) 410–420; (1985) 453–474. Some names, such as of the Pentasii and Decasii, have Greek numerical connotations while others, such as the Tauriscii, reflect names of animals.

¹⁹ Kathleen M. Coleman, *M. Valerii Martialis: Liber Spectaculorum* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), ad epigr. 7. Coleman, “Spectacle,” 656. Hazel Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World: Classical World Series* (London/New York: Bristol Classical Press, 2011), 39–40. Meijer, *Un giorno al Colosseo*, 82–85.

²⁰ Christophe Hugonot, “La disparition de la gladiature en Afrique Romaine,” in *Des déserts d’Afrique au pays des Allobroges*, Hommages offerts à François Bertrand, Tome 1 (ed. Christophe Hugonot; Chambéry: Éditions de l’Université de Savoie, 2010), 207–231.

²¹ Thomas Wiedemann, “Das Ende der römischen Gladiatorenspiele,” *Nikephoros* 8 (1995): 145–159. See also Georges Ville, “Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétien,” *MEFRA* 72 (1960): 273–335, esp. 312–331; Michael Grant, *Gladiators* (London: Weidenfeld, 1967), 122–124; Dorothea R. French, “Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382–525” (Ph.D. diss., The University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 82–110; Richard F. DeVoe, *The Christians and the Games: The Relationship between Christianity and the Roman Games from the First through the Fifth Centuries, A.D.* (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1987), 166–200; Paul Veyne, “Païens et Chrétiens devant la gladiature,” *MEFRA* 111 (1999/1992): 883–917, esp. 898, 909–911; and Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World*, 73–74.

²² For the popularity of animal hunts, see Balsdon, *Life and Leisure*, 336. On the capture and handling of wild animals in the African provinces, see Bomgardner, “Trade in Wild Beasts”; also Roland Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 107–119. Meijer, *Un giorno al Colosseo*, 123–135.

²³ On the introduction of exotic animals to Roman audiences, see Coleman, “Spectacle,” 654.

²⁴ Bomgardner, “Analytical Study,” 134–142. Ridha Ghaddab, “Les édifices de spectacle en Afrique: prospérité et continuité de la cité classique pendant l’Antiquité tardive?” in *Le cirque romain et son image*. Proceedings from an international colloquium held in Bordeaux, Oct. 19–21, 2006 (ed. Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Jean-Michel Roddaz; Bordeaux: Ausonius/Paris: Diffusion De Boccard, 2008), 109–132. Renate Later, “What Can the Inscriptions Tell Us about Spectacles,” in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th–18th February, 2007 (ed. Tony Wilmott; BAR International Series 1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 179–183.

were perhaps more easily managed in terms of costs, since expensive felines and other exotic beasts could be supplemented or replaced by cheaper animals, such as bulls, deer, dogs, ostriches, and hares.²⁵ Convicted criminals and prisoners of war, the damned and the doomed,²⁶ also ranked low on the monetary scale; felons and foreigners were cheap and often in ample supply, although they may not always have satisfied the desires of an audience that was constantly looking for variety in excitement. In this respect, the main cities of the ancient world could present a more diverse range of entertainments, since they had more resources and higher standards;²⁷ their demands would have been harder to satisfy than those of provincial towns.²⁸

Christianity had its own issues with the games.²⁹ In pre-Constantinian times, authors such as Tatian and Clement of Alexandria in the East and Tertullian and Cyprian in the West all railed against the spectacles. They considered them blasphemous and ethically repulsive; the latter was particularly the case for theater performances, which fall outside the discussion here. As is well known, the Carthaginian author Tertullian wrote a polemical treatise about the spectacles, including a historical overview of their origins and development.³⁰ Based on other ancient sources, he spelled out that the games had “pagan” roots and that the festivals were related to “pagan” deities and their cults. Christians should stay away from the games, because they were not only steeped in idolatry but also opposed to Christian morality. Tertullian considered them part of the *pompa diaboli*, to which Christians could

²⁵ Magnus Wikstrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 56; Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992), 20–21.

²⁶ Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 91–95. David S. Potter and David J. Mattingly, eds., *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (new expanded ed.; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 331–333.

²⁷ For the chronology and size of amphitheaters, see Bomgardner, “Analytical Study”; and Idem, *Story*.

²⁸ Bomgardner, “Analytical Study,” 131–134. For the difference between Rome and less important towns, see Coleman, “Contagion,” 76–77.

²⁹ For arena spectacles and Christianity, see Frederik van der Meer, *Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1947); Idem, *Augustine the Bishop The Life and Work of a Father of the Church* (trans. Brian Battershaw and G.R. Lamb; London/New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961); Ville, “Les jeux,” 273–335; French, *Christian Emperors*; DeVoe, *Christians and the Games*; and Veyne, “Paiens et Chrétiens.”

³⁰ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* (ed. E. Dekkers; CCSL 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 227–253. Christine Mohrmann, *Tertullianus, Apologeticum en andere geschriften uit Tertullianus' voor-montanistische tijd* (with introduction, translation and commentary; Utrecht: Spectrum, 1951).

relate since the same language is used in the baptismal rites that require neophytes to renounce the devil, his pomp and his angels.³¹ For Tertullian the word “pomp” (from the Greek *πομπή*) was still closely linked to actual rituals—the ceremonial processions in honor of the Greco-Roman gods. Over the course of time these words also came to be used metaphorically to signify the “splendor” or “vanity” of this world.³²

A few generations later, toward the middle of the third century, Cyprian, who, like Tertullian, was a convert to Christianity, became bishop of Carthage and died a violent death in a persecution under the emperor Valerian. Like his Carthaginian predecessor, Cyprian attacked the games;³³ he called them repulsive and murderous and mocked the idea that the ability to kill is an art, hereby objecting to the traditional Roman ethos of fighting and dying well.³⁴ Negative views about arena spectacles were nothing new, and Christian authors were not alone in raising their voice against the deadly games. From Republican times onward, philosophers and others—even some of the ruling elite—had voiced their concerns about the games for a variety of reasons, not the least being their enormous expense. The idea that the arena’s excitement would stir up too much emotion, however, was due less to monetary than to ethical concerns. For the philosophical establishment irrational emotions were always to be avoided.³⁵

While some may have become overly excited, others seem to have been oblivious or simply bored by the performances. Some noblemen preferred to stay home during the games, enjoying the quiet of their library in order to read or write, rather than enduring the noise in the streets.³⁶ Occasionally, writers voiced legal concerns about people who might have been condemned to the beasts arbitrarily.³⁷ These punishments, on the other hand, were considered perfectly appropriate for low-status criminals in the eyes of the judicial system and everyone else.³⁸ Public executions were staged in

³¹ Mohrmann, *Tertullianus, Apologeticum*, 207.

³² J.H. Waszink, “Pompa Diaboli,” *VC* 1 (1947): 13–41.

³³ Cyprian, *Ad Donatum* 7.

³⁴ On Stoic attitudes toward death, see Catharine Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 144–160.

³⁵ For educated Romans and raw emotion, see Fagan, *Lure of the Arena*, 36.

³⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* 9.6. See Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence*, 41–42.

³⁷ Thomas E.J. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 140.

³⁸ On the status of prisoners, humiliation, and punishment, see Kathleen Coleman, “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions staged as Mythological Enactments,” *JRS* 80 (1990): 44–73; and Idem, “Contagion,” 69. On the disposal of dead bodies, see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*; and Meijer, *Un giorno al Colosseo*, 180–187.

the interval between major spectacles, which were held in the morning and the afternoon. The schedule gave the crowds the opportunity either to see public justice being savagely administered or to avoid those scenes and go to lunch.³⁹

Christian authors, such as Tertullian, built on existing philosophical and social views, but with substantial differences, since their opposition was primarily directed against idolatry. Tertullian also touched on a more partisan aspect, namely that Christians were not only among the *spectators* (something he advised against) but also among the *victims* of the violence. Christians were brought to court for their alleged atheism and disloyalty to the imperial system; some were convicted while others recanted and escaped unscathed. From a Roman perspective, the convicts were considered criminals⁴⁰ who deserved to be punished, but in the eyes of their own constituency they were viewed as heroes or martyrs, as they were called: witnesses for the Christian cause. Tertullian argued that Christians had the endurance to be tortured and put to death, or in his famous words: "yet the more you cut our numbers, the more numerous we become; the blood of Christians is seed."⁴¹

Not everyone in the Christian camp, however, recommended such a strong stance; more conciliatory voices advised Christians not to seek confrontation but to follow the gospel saying: "whenever they persecute you in one town, flee to the next ..."⁴² Both views continued to be heard—those of the hawks, who risked their own lives and the livelihoods of their families, and those of the doves, who tried to avoid violence whenever possible. One can only speculate that when, in the latter half of the third century, persecutions took place on a larger and more official scale, actual recantations may have become more numerous as well. Even centuries later in North Africa, these recantations stirred up spirited debates among Christians, as they tried to define the real successors of the martyrs and thus who constitutes the true church.

³⁹ See also Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence*, 16–18, with reference to Seneca, *Epist.* 7. On food and drinks during games, see Scobie, "Spectator Security," 224–226. For a vivid description of these attractions, see Meijer, *Un giorno al Colosseo*, 136–172.

⁴⁰ On the legal basis for prosecution of Christians, see G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" *Past & Present* 26 (1963): 6–38. Timothy D. Barnes, "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58 (1968): 32–50.

⁴¹ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 50: etiam plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a uobis: semen est sanguis christianorum.

⁴² Matt 10:23.

As pointed out above, after Constantine and his descendants came to power and the tide began to turn toward the Christian persuasion, animal hunts continued to remain popular along with other public entertainments, such as horse races and theater plays. Two centuries after Tertullian had fulminated against the madness of the circus and the savagery of gladiators, Augustine still complained about the unfair competition he faced from various shows; his sermons indicate that on days of high “pagan” festivals his church was virtually empty.⁴³ In Hippo today an amphitheater has not yet been uncovered—a gladiator’s inscription found there may indicate that there was one—but on the slopes of the hill above the forum a theater is still visible.⁴⁴

Many archaeological remains show that beast fights were extremely popular in the North African provinces.⁴⁵ Ruins of amphitheaters exist throughout the territory, from the well-known examples in Carthage, Oudna, and El Djem in modern Tunisia and Leptis Magna in Libya, to those in the lesser-known, or at least less-traveled, areas of Tebessa and Lambaesus in Algeria (pl. 85a).⁴⁶ Even Lixus, a town in the far west along the Atlantic coast in modern Morocco, had its own amphitheater (pl. 85b).

Profuse, vivid evidence of the popularity of animal fighting in North Africa survives in a multitude of mosaics.⁴⁷ The Bardo museum in Tunis has covered its walls with numerous images of this genre. Strikingly, animals are shown with their own stage names, just like the men who fight or goad them. Rich benefactors often highlighted the floors of their villas with these scenes. Some of the patrons were personally involved in sponsoring the games, as is shown in the famous Magerius mosaic from a villa in Smirat in Tunisia, now in the Sousse museum (pl. 84b).⁴⁸ This complex mosaic, which was meant to

⁴³ Augustine, *Ennarat. Ps.* 50, 1; *Sermo* 19, 6: pauci quidem convenistis: sed si bene audistis, abundatis.

⁴⁴ Augustine’s primary nemesis seems to have been the theater, see van der Meer, *Augustine*, 46–56. Inscriptions referring to theaters are fairly abundant in North Africa, see Later, “What Can the Inscriptions Tell Us,” 165–177.

⁴⁵ For a catalogue of the amphitheaters in North Africa, see Bomgardner, “Analytical Study” and *Story*.

⁴⁶ For the relationship between military settlements and games, see Bomgardner, “Analytical Study,” 133; and Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 26.

⁴⁷ Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press/New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). For a more recent publication of mosaics with *venationes*, see Cinzia Vismara, “Amphitheatralia Africana,” *Antiquités Africaines* 43 (2007): 99–129.

⁴⁸ Azedine Beschouch, “La Mosaïque de Chasse à l’amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie,” *CRAI* (1966): 134–157. More recently, see Vismara, “Amphitheatralia Africana”; and Bomgardner, “Magerius Mosaic.”

be viewed from all sides, shows a *venatio* scene with a figure in the middle holding a tray with four moneybags on it. At the sides are the deities Diana and Dionysus. Magerius is identified as the sponsor or *munerarius* of this event—his name appears twice in the vocative: *Mageri*. Four animal fighters are involved in serious combat but seem to have the upper hand over four badly wounded leopards; both animals and fighters are identified by name. The inscription appeals for 500 denarii for the *Telegenii*, the association of *venatores*, as the value of each leopard. The double zero symbol (∞) on the moneybags marks the number 1000, which means that the price for each animal was doubled, a sign of Magerius' generosity. The second inscription records the enthusiastic response of the audience.⁴⁹

Particularly gruesome are mosaics of hunts and arena scenes that show not only beast fighters and animals but also defenseless people thrown to the beasts. A mosaic excavated from the Villa Dar Buc Ammera on the Lybian coast in Zliten, and moved to the Tripoli museum, shows a *venator* pushing a convict or captive forward on a small pushcart to be attacked by a wild animal (pl. 86, fig. 1a, b).⁵⁰ In the corner is another man tied to a stake on wheels being mauled by a panther. Elsewhere in the mosaic, an attendant whips a third man towards a lion (pl. 87b).⁵¹ Originally, the Zliten mosaic included several other such scenes; a reconstruction based on surviving fragments shows how this may have looked (fig. 2).

A mosaic from the Sollertiana Domus in El Djem, Tunisia, shows an arena scene with wild animals, prisoners, and their attendants (pls. 88–89).⁵² In the middle is a platform or scaffold with trophies in the four corners. Attendants push the prisoners, who have their hands tied behind their backs, toward a certain death. Such vivid scenes recall the graphic details of some of the early Christian martyr stories. One needs only think of Tertullian's words: "If the Tiber rises to the walls, if the Nile does not rise to the fields, if the sky is at a standstill, if there is an earthquake, a famine, a plague, right away it goes 'Christians to the lion!' So many to one (lion)?"⁵³ Such

⁴⁹ Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 67–69.

⁵⁰ Salvatore Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Roma: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1926); Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 66, 278. For a similar pushcart on ceramics (with female prisoner, handler, and animal), see Felix Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata* (Liverpool: The University of Liverpool Press, 1936–1937), 83, plate LIV no. 1139 and above, p. 95, fig. 9.

⁵¹ Alex Scobie discusses the risks for attendants, see Scobie, "Spectator Security," 215–216.

⁵² Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 66.

⁵³ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 40: Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in rura, si caelum stetit, si terra mouit, si fames, si lues, statim "Christianos ad leonem!" tantos ad unum? See also Tertullian, *De Resurrectione* 22.

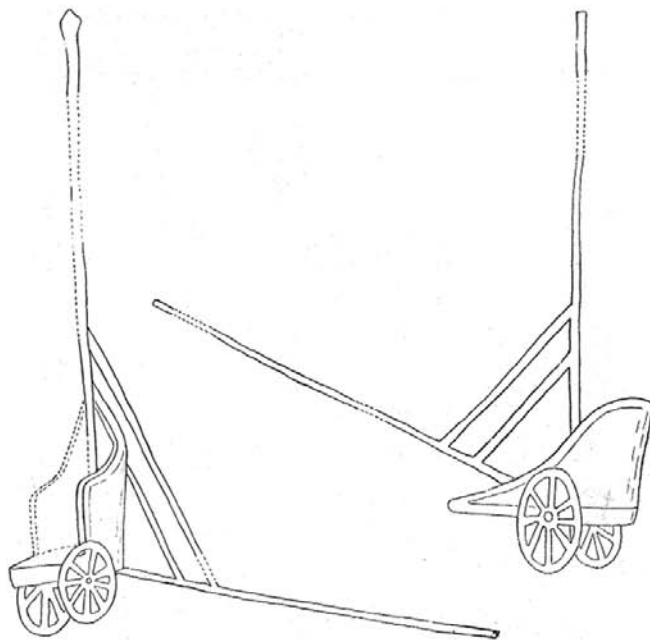


Fig. 1a, b. Gladiator mosaic from Zliten with *damnatio ad bestias* (detail) and reconstruction of pushcart for executions; from Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, 182–183.

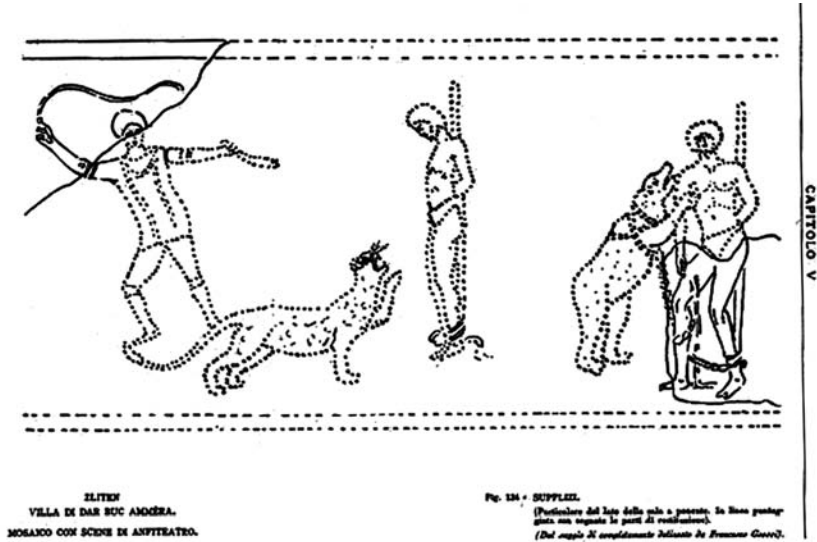


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of damaged parts of the gladiator mosaic from Zliten; from Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, 196–197.

mosaics and architectural remains have been well documented and are well known to specialists: scholars of ancient history, art historians, and archaeologists.⁵⁴

There is, however, another group of ancient artifacts that is often neglected in general discussions of the games. A fair amount of figure-decorated pottery from North Africa, much of it dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, has come down to our times both in complete and fragmentary form. This ceramic production, which originated in pre-Constantinian times, reached a high point as Christianity made inroads into the North African territories; it continued to be produced throughout the Vandal period and into Byzantine times. These ceramics are usually called African Red Slip Ware (ARS), because of the orange-red gloss that coats their surface and slightly distinguishes them from similar wares produced in Italy and Gaul.⁵⁵ ARS is of major interest to the early Christian scholar. Some figure-decorated forms of bowls and *lanxes* virtually coincide with the dates of St. Augustine. The ceramics not only visually bear witness to the evolving Christianization of Roman Africa, but they also show how slowly Roman society changed its habits and its entertainments (figs. 3–5).

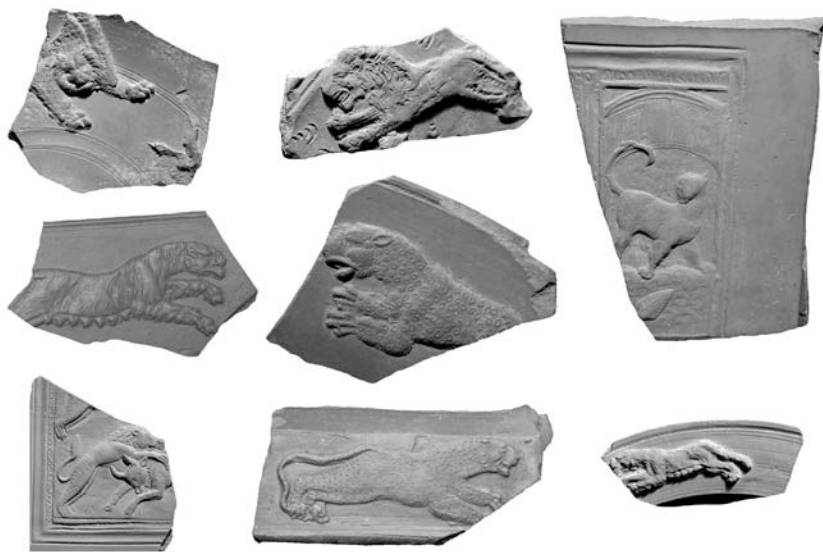
Ceramics would have been more readily available and more affordable to the general public than the luxurious mosaics with which the wealthy elite adorned their villas. The imagery on the ceramics, moreover, has important themes in common with the mosaics: they are equally packed with scenes associated with the games. The images include magistrates presiding over

⁵⁴ For representations (mostly of gladiators) on other materials, such as lamps, vases, and statuettes, see Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Jean-Michel Roddaz, eds., *Le cirque romain et son image*. Proceedings from an international colloquium held in Bordeaux, Oct. 19–21, 2006 (Bordeaux: Ausonius/Paris: Diffusion De Boccard, 2008); Marcus Junkelmann, *Gladiatoren: das Spiel mit dem Tod* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000 and 2008); Eckart Köhne, Cornelia Ewigleben, and Ralph Jackson (eds.), *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Eric Teyssier and Brice Lopez, *Gladiateurs: des sources à l'expérimentation* (Paris: Errance, 2005); Luciana Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 99–105; Adriano La Regina, ed., *Sangue e arena*. (Milano: Electa, 2001), cat. nos. 78. 80–86; Cinzia Vismara and Museo della civiltà romana, *Il supplizio come spettacolo* (Vita e costumi dei romani antichi 11; Roma: Quasar, 1990); and Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon, eds., *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁵⁵ For a general bibliography on decorated African Red Slip Ware, see John J. Herrmann, Jr. and Annewies van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa (Tunisia)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Divinity School, 2002; 2nd ed. Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins at the University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 99–100.



Figs. 3–5. Upper right: ARS lanx with arena scenes, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 86116. Left: African lamp with venator, 420–530 CE. Private collection, New York. Lower right: ARS bowl with amphitheater scene, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41124.



Figs. 6–13. Fragments of ARS of bowls and lanxes with lions and panthers, 350–430 CE. (top right, Benaki Museum, 12410; below left, Benaki Museum, 12419), and private collections.

spectacles (pl. 87a);⁵⁶ dinner parties held on the evening before the games (pl. 90); wild animals of all sorts and stripes (pl. 91, figs. 6–15); speared animals and animals in their death agonies (pls. 91c, e; 92). Exotica such as ostriches appear; these large birds were popular in the arena because of their speed, their aggressiveness, and their comic appearance (pl. 93).⁵⁷ Even minor details could be translated from mosaic into pottery, as for example, a spear that broke off in the heat of battle (pl. 92). Not only animals but also a variety of animal fighters are represented on red ware (figs. 16–26).

Since the pottery workshops producing these wares used their appliqués more than once, some of the images illustrated here survive in multiple examples.⁵⁸ Others, however, are thus far unknown and have not been previously published. Of course, since these ceramic images were made with molds as multiples, there is always the chance of finding another example in the future, whether in museums, excavations, or elsewhere. It should

⁵⁶ See also Anastasia Drandraki, “Fragment of a Clay Dish,” in Anastasia Lazaridou, ed., *Transition to Christianity*, 106, no. 52.

⁵⁷ Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World*, 54.

⁵⁸ This process is comparable to cookie-dough cutting.



Figs. 14–15. ARS bowls with arena scenes, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39581 and O.41124.



Figs. 16–26. African lamps and fragments of ARS lanxes and bowls with a variety of animal fighters, 4th to 5th centuries. Private collections.

be noted that the exportation of ARS, which was produced in what is now central Tunisia, had an enormous reach in antiquity, stretching across the neighboring African provinces and into Egypt. It also reached Italy in great quantities and can be traced as far away as the coast of the Black Sea in the northeast, Roman Britain in the northwest, as well as places in between.

Around the time that these animal hunts and animal fights decorated African ceramics, Christian imagery began to appear on the same type of wares, including biblical, liturgical, apostolic, and legendary scenes. Since the same workshops produced these wares, whether catering to “pagan,” Christian, or Jewish clientele—not to mention worshipers of Mithras, Isis, and so on—some of the same stamps appear on ceramics intended for very different client groups.⁵⁹

Included in this broad range of subject matter on African Red Slip Ware were also images of *damnatio ad bestias*, which were often closely related to

⁵⁹ Herrmann and van den Hoek, *Light*, 6–8.



Figs. 27–33. Upper left: Fragments and an ARS bowl with *Damnatio ad bestias*, 350–430 CE. Private collections. Lower left (bowl): Collezioni storiche, Museo Nazionale Romano, Crypta Balbi, Rome, 56795. Right: Drawings of ARS *Damnati ad bestias*.

those in other media, such as mosaic pavements.⁶⁰ An ARS bowl fragment, not previously published, depicts a scene with a charging bull and two human figures (pl. 94b). A seemingly unarmed and helpless man is thrown to the ground and trampled under the hooves of the beast. A venator dressed in a tunic and carrying a rectangular shield stands in a defensive position behind the bull. A good comparison for this scene can be found on an almost

⁶⁰ It should be noted that other forms of the death penalty for the *humiliores* are not depicted, such as *ad crucem* or *ad flammam*. The *honestiores* (senatorial, equestrian or curial rank) had the 'privilege' of being beheaded by the sword, see Wiedemann, "Das Ende," 68–69. For crucifixion and the Palatine graffito, see John Granger Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion: Light from Several Inscriptions and the Palatine Graffito," *NovT* 50 (2008): 262–285.



Fig. 34. ARS bowl with *Damnatio ad bestias*, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O. 39712.

contemporary mosaic from a villa outside Rome, now incorporated into the floor of the Galleria Borghese (pl. 94a).⁶¹ Although the bull in the mosaic has trampled more victims, the basic composition is the same, and a similar image must have inspired the pottery producer in North Africa.⁶²

A fair number of ARS bowls depict women and men condemned to the beasts and bound to a stake (figs. 27–34). Some women wear a long dress that is belted just below the breasts; others wear only a skirt with their upper body exposed. Some have their hair loose, and others have it pinned up in a fashionable arrangement. The men are all nude except for a loincloth.

⁶¹ Paolo Moreno and Chiara Stefani, eds., *The Borghese Gallery* (trans. David Stanton; foreword Claudio Strinati; introduction Alba Costamagna; essays Anna Coliva, Kristina Herrmann Fiore and Paolo Moreno; Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 2000), 61. Domenico Augenti, *Spettacoli del Colosseo: nelle cronache degli antichi* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 39.

⁶² For another bull-trampling scene on a lamp, see Jean Bussière, *Lampes antiques d'Algérie I* (Monographies instrumentum 16; Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2000), cat. no. 3436 (ca. 225–250 CE).



Figs. 35–37. ARS bowl and fragments of bowls with *Damnatio ad bestias*, 350–430 CE. Upper left and right: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, (35) O. 41962; (36) O. 41495. Below (37): Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL 797.

The scenes vary slightly: in some cases the victim and the animal are far apart, in a situation of anticipated threat; in other cases the bear grabs the prisoner but turns its head as if something alarming is happening behind its back (figs. 46–49). In another position the bear hug is even tighter, while the ferocious beast is still looking backwards. There is also the ultimate situation in which a bear bites its female victim, while another bear is making an assault. A fragment shows something similar happening to a male prisoner (figs. 35–37).

A North African jug called a *lagynos*, dated the late third century around the time of the great persecutions, is a precursor of the images on the fourth-century bowls that we just discussed, but with an even more gruesomely

realistic nuance (pl. 10a–b).⁶³ It shows a man hoisted on a stake and a bear leaping up on him. A venator stands behind the stake with a whip, a short sword, and some protective gear.

Some of the images on the ARS bowls can be found in almost identical terms on other kinds of ceramics at earlier dates. An unpublished ARS fragment shows a frontal view of a male convict wearing only a loincloth, standing at the stake on a kind of platform or scaffold (pl. 95a). Thus far we have not been able to find a parallel to this unique stamp in ARS, but a fragmentary second-century vase made in Trier found at Heerlen in the Netherlands shows arena scenes that include a similar frontal view of a convict who is attacked by a bear (pl. 95b, d, fig. 38).⁶⁴ The shiny dark red ceramic of this vase is termed *terra sigillata*. The Heerlen fragment also shows two gladiators and a feline leaping on a convict shown in profile tied to a stake (pl. 95d, fig. 38), the latter scene is very comparable to the bear leaping on the man in an ARS fragment (fig. 37). Similar scenes have been found on sigillata in the Rheinland.⁶⁵ A mold dated to the late second century in the Colchester museum in England again shows the frontal convict attacked by a bear (pl. 95c, e). In all three fragments the convict facing front is essentially the same (figs. 39–41), but in the ARS example the setting is shown in greater detail. A prisoner on a scaffold about to be attacked by a lion also appeared on a second- or third-century lamp from Italy, in that case, in side view (fig. 42). De Rossi published the lamp and the drawing in 1878, but that is all we have, since its current location is unknown.⁶⁶ The lamp bears a stamp with the artisan's name L. Caecilius Saecularis, which is a workshop well known for its amphitheater scenes. Many lamps produced by his workshop have survived and can be found in various museums, though regrettably not this one.

⁶³ Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr., "Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art," in *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies on Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* (ed. David T. Runia and Gregory E. Sterling; Studia Philonica Annual XIII; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 212–249, esp. 232 and fig. 15; also above, 94–95. Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, 87–90 (ad epigr. 9). For a discussion of violent imagery on household objects, see also Fagan, *Lure of the Arena*, 27 and note 60.

⁶⁴ Thermenmuseum, Heerlen, inv. 6225. Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, *Trierer Reliefsigillata: Werkstatt II* (Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik 12; Bonn: R. Habelt, 1993), 138, A 134 (with bibliography).

⁶⁵ The website of the Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, <http://www.archaeologie-mainz.de/> offers a link to "damnatio ad bestias" and provides additional images of 2nd c. sigillata fragments in Kastell Zugmantel and Kastell Walldürn <http://www.amphi-theatrum.de/1798.html> and <http://www.amphi-theatrum.de/1725.html> (consulted 4 July 2013).

⁶⁶ Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 3/4 (1879): 21–23 and 75, fig. 1.

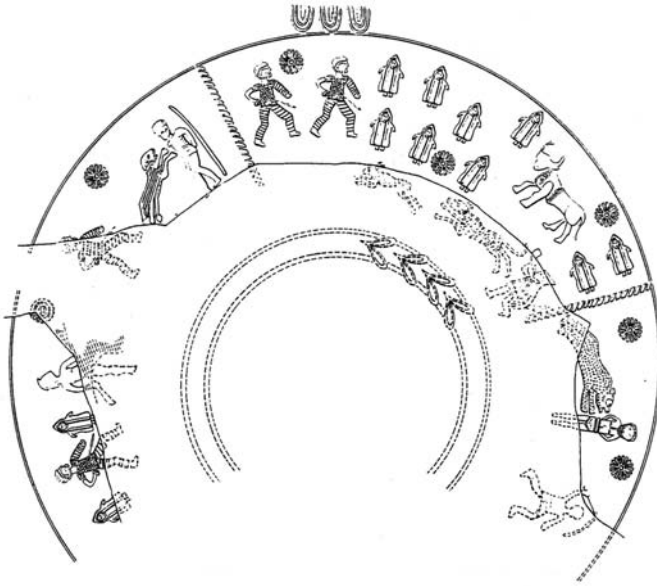
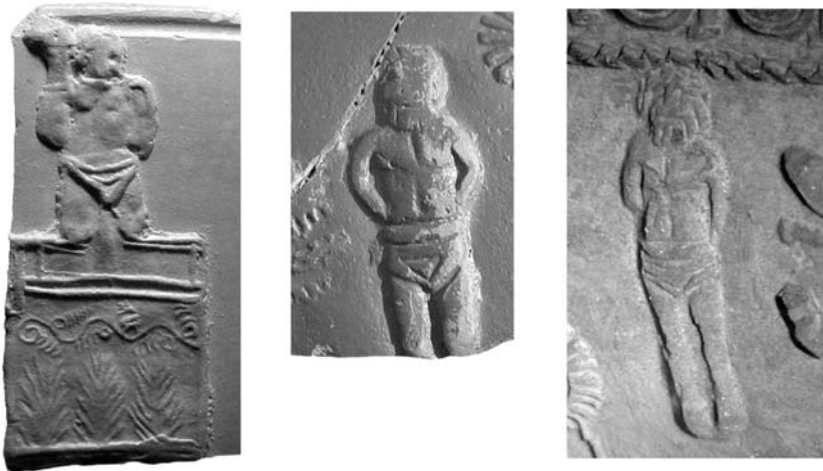


Fig. 38. Terra sigillata fragments of 2nd century in the Thermenmuseum, Heerlen, 6225; drawing by Pierre Delnoy.



Figs. 39–41. Details of pl. 95. Frontal captives (39) ARS, private collection (40) sigillata bowl, 2nd century Heerlen (41) mold, ca. 175, Colchester Museum..



Fig. 42. Lamp with *Damnatio ad bestias*. Italian production, 2nd or 3rd century. Present location unknown.

Representations of *ad bestias* scenes in other categories of the minor arts go back not only into the middle but also to the early Empire. Unfortunates thrown to wild animals in the arena are shown on lamps that date to the first century CE; in an example in a private collection, a bear downs a man as another bestiarius looks on (pl. 96a).⁶⁷ In an example in the British Museum, a man is on his back and kicking as he is bitten by a lion (pl. 96b).⁶⁸ This image was evidently widely diffused throughout the empire at that time since a remarkably similar scene appears on a silver rhyton of Scythian character, presumably from the northern Black Sea region (fig. 43a–b).

⁶⁷ Loeschcke type I: compare to D.M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1975–1996), vol. 2, Q843.

⁶⁸ Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps*, vol. 3, 59, Q3291, East Greek.



Fig. 43a. Silver rhyton with a victim mauled by a wild animal, Romano-Skythian, ca. 1–50 CE. Fortuna Fine Arts, Ltd., New York.



Fig. 43b. Silver rhyton with a victim mauled by a wild animal (detail), compared to a lamp with a similar scene in the British Museum (= pl. 96b).

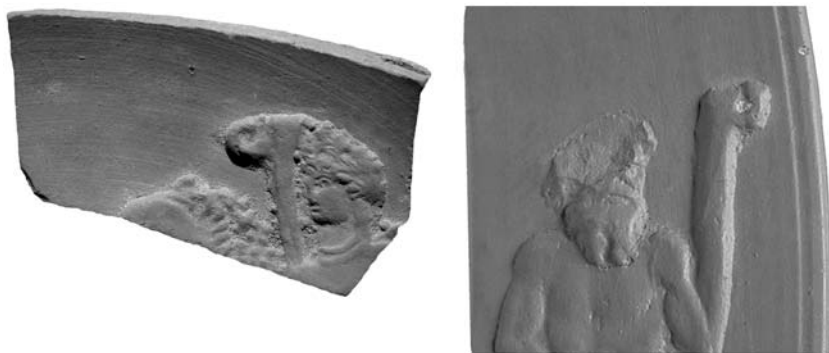


Fig. 44–45. Fragments of ARS bowls with captives at stakes topped by visible hooks. Private collections.

In the ARS scene with the convict standing frontally on a podium, the victim has his hands tied behind his back and is attached to a pole behind him (pl. 95a, fig. 39). His lower legs are invisible and presumably hidden behind a kind of fence or parapet. The pole or stake has a little bulge on top, which—with the help of other images—can be interpreted as a hook. All such scenes with the stake seem to have this detail, in some more clearly than in others (figs. 44–45).

The platform on which the frontal captive stands is embellished with leaves and floral motifs, which could be compared to ornaments on marble, but it is impossible from this image to determine whether it depicts a construction in wood or stone. Literary texts mention docks and platforms being raised in the arena so that the public could have an unobstructed view.⁶⁹ In the *Passio of Perpetua and Felicitas* the word *pons* is used, which aside from its traditional meaning can also mean “scaffold,” “gallery,” or in the plural “planks” or “decks.”⁷⁰ This word suggests a construction made of wood. The same text provides another word, *pulpitum*, which is a staging made of boards (a scaffold, platform) or a pulpit for public representations (lectures, disputations) and especially a stage for actors. Again this word strongly suggests a wooden framework. The Roman writer Petronius, who lived in the time of Nero, used another term to describe the scene in the middle of the arena, namely *carnarium*, a word whose basic meaning is “meat rack.”⁷¹ Most translators render the word in this context metaphorically as a slaughterhouse or butchery,⁷² but the more literal meaning of “meat rack” could have been intended, referring to the distinctive hooks on the poles to which the prisoners were bound.⁷³

⁶⁹ Strabo, 6, 273 mentions a device (a tall contraption) that was put in the forum simulating Mt. Etna; see Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 53; and Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 78. For temporary constructions in general, see Scobie, “Spectator Security,” 196–200.

⁷⁰ *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 19.

⁷¹ See Petronius, *Satyrica* 45, 6. Lewis and Short give two basic meanings: a frame furnished with hooks to hang meats for smoking or drying or a place where meats (and other) foods were kept, that is, a kind of pantry or larder. In medieval Latin, “carnarium” comes to mean a place where human bodies are laid aside or buried. The same word exists in modern Italian as “carnaio,” that is, “charnel house” in English.

⁷² Ibid.: *ferrum optimum daturus est, sine fuga, carnarium in medio, ut amphitheatrum videat*: “He’ll give us cold steel, no way out, the slaughter-house in the middle where all the stands can see it” (trans. Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 59).

⁷³ Plautus seems to use the word *carnarium* in two different ways in a single passage: in one instance as “storage space,” in the other as “meat rack.” Plautus, *Pseudolus* 1, 2, 64 (ed. G. Goetz-F. Schoell, v. 196, p. 16):

(Ballio) Aeschrodora, tu quae amicos tibi habes lenonum aemulos
Lanios, qui item ut nos iurando iure malo male quaerunt rem, aud:
Nisi **carnaria** tria grauida tegoribus onere uberi hodie
Mihi erunt, cras te, quasi Dircam olim ut memorant duo gnati Iouis
Deuinxere ad taurum, item ego te distringam ad **carnarium**:
Id tibi profecto taurus fiet.

“Aeschrodora, you who have for your patrons the butchers, those rivals of the procurers, who, just like ourselves, by false oaths seek their gains, do you listen; unless the three **larders** shall be crammed for me this day with carcasses of ample weight, tomorrow,

In several of the scenes of condemned persons we saw that the animal was facing away, as if distracted or hesitating to perform its grisly task (figs. 46–49. Pl. 96c), while other representations show a more close engagement or the attack itself (figs. 35–37). A possible explanation for images of hesitant animals facing backwards may be the idea that the outcome of wild animal fights could be tricky and unpredictable.⁷⁴ The beast might not have had a good day; some accounts speak about a bear that did not want to leave his cage, so that the performance had to be postponed.⁷⁵ Other stories tell about a boar that did not kill the intended captive but instead attacked his handler. In the wild, some felines do their hunting at night, so they may not always have been in the mood during the day—although starving the beasts may have alleviated this problem.⁷⁶ It may also be that the pottery designer chose to arrange the scene in this way for artistic or dramatic reasons. Because of the dating of these ARS wares to the fourth and fifth centuries, a discussion has arisen among scholars as to whether or not the scenes with hesitating bears were meant to illustrate early Christian martyrdoms. These bowls (and in some cases lamps) could then have functioned as commemorative objects. In support of this interpretation scholars have quoted various episodes of martyr acts that could have provided the literary background for such representations.

Attractive as this line of interpretation may seem, there are strong reasons to argue against it. Historically the criminal justice system did not change overnight in the fourth century, and the method for disposing of low-ranking captives and convicts continued as it did in pre-Constantinian times. Literary sources testify that as late as the sixth century combat games with wild animals could still be used as an instrument of criminal justice.⁷⁷ The scenes of hesitating animals, moreover, hardly differ from those in which the

just as they say that formerly the two sons of Jupiter fastened Dirce to the bull, aye, this day as well, will I tie you up to the **meat rack**; that, in fact, shall be your bull.”

(transl. Henry T. Riley, slightly modified)

For the reenactment of the myth of Dirce in the arena, see also Clement of Rome, *Letter to the Corinthians*, 6, 2. Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 59.

⁷⁴ Roland Auguet speculates about convicts on raised platforms and hesitating animals, see Auguet, *Cruelty*, 94. On the unpredictability of wild animals and curses directed toward beastfighters, see Coleman, “Spectacle,” 657.

⁷⁵ *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 19.

⁷⁶ See also Coleman, “Contagion,” 72–73; and Scobie, “Spectator Security,” 209.

⁷⁷ See in this volume pp. 98–100 and footnotes 122–124. In the course of the fourth century (365) a law provided that Christians should not be condemned to the beasts, but other people could be, *CTh* 9.40.8. In addition, Cook, “Crucifixion in the West,” 240; DeVoe, *Christians and the Games*, 181–187; Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 153, 157; Roger



Fig. 46–49. ARS bowls with *Damnatio ad bestias*, 350–430 CE. Upper left (46): Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O. 41911. Upper right (47): Benaki Museum, 12477. Lower left (48): Private collection. Lower right (49): Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne.

animals actually attack (figs. 35–37), and such scenes, as discussed above, have a long pre-Constantinian tradition in ceramics as well as mosaics (pls. 95b–e, 96a–b, figs. 38–42, 43b). Another argument against the identification

Tomlin, “Christianity and the Late Roman Army,” in *Constantine, History, Historiography, and Legend* (ed. Samuel N.C. Lieu and Dominique Montserrat; London: Routledge, 1998), 21–51, esp. 42, note 5. For recent studies of the development of capital punishment, in particular of crucifixion, see John G. Cook, “Roman Crucifixions,” “Crucifixion in the West,” and “Crucifixion as Spectacle.”

of these scenes as martyrdoms is that very few actual depictions of martyr executions are known from early Christian times. Martyr imagery was very popular in the middle ages, but the situation was different closer to the time of arena games.⁷⁸

Identifiably Christian iconography on North African ceramics, moreover, tends to feature stories of a different kind: scenes of liberation, such as Abraham and Isaac, Jonah, the three Hebrews, Daniel, Susanna, and Thecla, which all personify deliverance and the saving power of God. The closest iconographic parallel to the “ad bestias” scenes (for example, fig. 34) is probably the representation of Thecla (fig. 50). She, however, is shown as an orans figure, confronted by two rather docile seated lions and without any physical contact. After all, the Thecla story makes very clear that she was never actually killed but always miraculously escaped. The narrative does not even allow Thecla to die in the end; she simply vanishes.⁷⁹

For a Christian audience, producers of ARS could use the imagery of the arena, since animals such as lions also figure in Christian narratives, not to mention sheep and fish, which are abundantly present on these ceramics. The imagery of the spectacles, however, had to be reshaped and adapted to both the commercial operations of the potter's workshop and the literary activities of sophisticated theologians.⁸⁰ In the final lines of *De Spectaculis* Tertullian uses fiery language to describe the end time as a grand spectacle but—he clarifies—the end will be more joyous and graceful than any circus, theater, amphitheater, or racetrack.⁸¹ The fifth-century bishop of Carthage Quodvultdeus preached that people should not lose their desire to be spectators but only change their perspective.⁸²

⁷⁸ For a discussion, see van den Hoek and Herrmann, “Thecla the Beast Fighter,” 234–236, and above pp. 90–106 in this volume.

⁷⁹ According to François Bovon, manuscript traditions of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* show various endings to Thecla's life, none of them violent; see F. Bovon, “Les miracles additionnels de la vierge Thècle selon l'*Angelicus graecus* 108,” Institut Superior de Ciències Religioses Sant Fructuós (Tarragona, forthcoming).

⁸⁰ For the way images of athletic contests were used in early Christianity, see Zeph Stewart, “Greek Crowns and Christian Martyrs,” in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: antiquité païenne et chrétienne: vingt-cinq études* (ed. E. Lucchesi and H.D. Saffrey; Cahiers d'orientalisme 10; Genève: P. Cramer, 1984), 119–124.

⁸¹ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 30: Vt talia spectes, ut talibus exultes, quis tibi praetor aut consul aut quaestor aut sacerdos de sua liberalitate praestabit? et tamen haec iam quodammodo habemus per fidem spiritu imaginante repraesentata. Ceterum qualia illa sunt, quae nec oculus uidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt? credo, circo et utraque cauea et omni stadio gratiora.

⁸² Quodvultdeus, *Sermo I: De Symbolo I*: Alius fortassis theatri amator admonendus sit, quid fugiat, et quid delectetur: **voluntatem spectandi** non perdat sed mutet. See also J.



Fig. 50. ARS bowl with Thecla between lions, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.41400.

Augustine used the language of spectacles throughout his writings and especially in his sermons. He raised this language to a highly metaphoric level to divert his flock from the unsavory spectacles (as he saw them) of the theater and amphitheater to the more salutary ones of scripture, faith, and church. He also referred to the divine spectacles of the word of God,

Salomonson, *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur l'Iconographie du martyre en Afrique Romain* (Amsterdam/Oxford/New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979), which is a combination of the text above and the text below. Quodvultdeus, *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, Gloria sanctorum, cap. 13: Si **spectandi uoluptas** est, habes hic aurigam spiritalem sanctum helian qui curru igneo usque ad metas peruectus est caeli, currus que pharaonis demersos in profundum.

which, in contrast to the arena spectacles, were useful, salubrious, edifying, and non-destructive.⁸³ In spite of his efforts to preach the arenas empty, the images on African Red Slip ware show that it did not happen, at least not in his lifetime.⁸⁴

⁸³ Augustine, *Ennarat. Ps.* 80, 23: ista sunt spectacula utilia, salubria, aedificantia, non destruentia ...

⁸⁴ van der Meer, *Augustine*, 50.

CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SHORT TITLES

- Allison, Dale Jr., "Eschatology of Jesus" · "The Eschatology of Jesus," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 1: *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. John Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998), 293–299
- Amat, Jacqueline, *Passion de Perpétue · Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité, suivi des Actes* (SC 417; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1996).
- Ambrogì, Annarena, *Labra · Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2005).
- Amirav, Hagit and B. Romeny, eds., *From Rome to Constantinople · From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).
- Andresen, C., *Logos und Nomos · Logos und Nomos, die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1955).
- Arena, M.S. et al., eds., *Roma · Roma dall'antichità al medioevo, archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Rome: Electa, 2001).
- Armstrong, Meg, "Study Collection" · "The Köln Römisch-Germanisches Museum Study Collection of African Red Slip Ware," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 25 (1991): 413–475.
- , *Thesaurus · A Thesaurus of Applied Motives on African Red Slip Ware* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1993).
- Auf der Maur, Hansjörg, *Feiern · Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit I, Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1983).
- Augenti, Domenico, *Spettacoli del Colosseo · Spettacoli del Colosseo, nelle cronache degli antichi* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001).
- Auguet, Roland, *Cruauté · Cruauté et Civilisation. Les jeux romains* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970).
- , *Cruelty · Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Aurigemma, Salvatore, *I mosaici di Zliten · I mosaici di Zliten* (Roma: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1926).
- Bailey, D.M., *Catalogue of the Lamps · A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1975–1996).
- Balsdon, J., *Life and Leisure · Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: Phoenix, 1969).
- Barbera, Mariarosaria and Petriaggi, Roberto, *Le lucerne tardo-antiche · Museo Nazionale Romano: Le lucerne tardo-antiche di produzione Africana* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1993).
- Barnes, Timothy D., "Legislation" · "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58 (1968): 32–50.
- Basarrate, T. Nogales and A. Castellanos, eds., *Ludi Romani · Ludi Romani. Espectáculos en Hispania Romana* (Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2002).
- Basch, L., *Musée imaginaire · Musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, online edition at <http://marine-antique.net/> (consulted 7 August 2013).

- Bassett, Sarah Gubert, "Antiquities" · "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *DOP* 45 (1991): 87–96.
- Bastiaensen, A.A.R., A. Hilhorst, et al., *Atti e passioni · Atti e passioni dei martiri* (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, A. Mondadori, 1987).
- Bauckham, Richard J., "Martyrdom of Peter" · "The Martyrdom of Peter in Early Christian Literature," *ANRW* II 26, 1 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1992), 539–587.
- Beatrice, Pier Franco, *La lavanda dei piedi · La lavanda dei piedi, contributo alla storia delle antiche liturgie cristiane* (Rome: C.L.V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1982).
- Beck, B.N., "You lifted me" · "You lifted me up from the pit alive": *Exegetical and Theological Trajectories from the Book of Jonah in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ThD thesis; Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2000).
- Beck, Herbert and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Spätantike · Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1983).
- Beckwith, John, *Early Christian · Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979).
- Bejaoui, Fathi, "Pierre et Paul" · "Pierre et Paul sur de nouveaux fragments de céramique africaine," *RAC* 60 (1984): 45–62.
- , "Dioscures" · "Les Dioscures, les apôtres et Lazare sur des plats en céramique africaine," *Antiquités africaines* 21 (1985): 173–177.
- , *Céramique · Céramique et religion chrétienne. Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine* (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997).
- Benoit, Fernand et Henri Marrou, *Bulletin · Bulletin de la Société National des Antiquaires de France, 1945–1946–1947* (Paris, 1948).
- Bergmann, Bettina and Christine Kondoleon, eds., *Art of Ancient Spectacle · The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Yale University Press, 1999).
- Bernabò Brea, L., "Lucerne" · "Lucerne de età cristiana nel Museo di Siracusa," in *Nuovo Didaskaleion: Studi di letteratura e storia cristiana antica* (19 vols.; Catania: Centro di studi di storia arte e letteratura cristiana, 1947–1969), 1 [1947]: 55–59.
- Beschaouch, A., "La mosaïque de chasse" · "La mosaïque de chasse à l'amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie," *CRAI* (1966): 134–157.
- , "Nouvelles recherches" · "Nouvelles recherches sur les sodalités de l'Afrique romaine," *CRAI* (1977): 486–503.
- , "Une sodalité africaine" · "Une sodalité africaine inconnue, les *Perexii*," *CRAI* (1979): 410–418.
- , "Nouvelles observations" · "Nouvelles observations sur les sodalités africaines," *CRAI* (1985): 453–475.
- Bévenot, Maurice, "Bishop" · "A Bishop Is Responsible to God Alone (St. Cyprian)," *RSR* 39 (1951/1952): 397–415.
- Bielefeld, Doris, "Aesculap und Hygia/Salus" · "Aesculap und Hygia/Salus. Synkretismus auf einem spätantiken Elfenbeindiptychon," in *MOYΣEION, Beiträge zur antiken Plastik. Festschrift zu Ehren von Peter Cornelis Bol*, (H. von Steuben, G. Lahusen, H. Kotsidu, eds.; Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2007), 435–441.
- Birley, Anthony R., "Some Notes" · "Some Notes on the Donatist Schism," *Libyan Studies* 18 (1987): 29–41.
- Bisconti, F., "Un fenomeno" · "'Un fenomeno di continuità iconografica. Orfeo citaredo, Davide salmista, Cristo pastore, Adamo e gli animali,' Cristianesimo e Guidaismo. Eredità e confronti," *Aug* 28 (1998): 429–436.

- , "Iconografie," · "Le iconografie," in *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (ed. Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca; Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000).
- Bisconti, F., ed., *Temi · Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000).
- , "Le basiliche cristiane" · "Le basiliche cristiane e i nuovi programmi figurativi," in *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (ed. Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca; Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000).
- Blaise-Chirat, Blaise-Chirat · Albert Blaise and Henri Chirat, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens* (Steenbrugge: Brepols, 1956).
- Bleiberg, E., *Tree of Paradise · Tree of Paradise: Jewish Mosaics from the Roman Empire* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2005).
- Blumenthal, H.J. and R.A. Markus, eds., *Neoplatonism · Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong* (London: Variorum, 1981).
- Bockmuehl, Markus, *Remembered Peter · The Remembered Peter, in Ancient Reception and Modern Debate* (WUNT 262; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).
- Bol, P.C., ed., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani · Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke* (Berlin: Mann, 1998).
- Bomgardner, David Lee, "Analytical Study" · "An Analytical Study of North African Amphitheaters" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1984).
- , "Carthage Amphitheater" · "The Carthage Amphitheater: A Reappraisal," *AJA* 93 (1989): 85–103.
- , "Trade in Wild Beasts" · "The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles: A Green Perspective," *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992): 161–166.
- , *Roman Amphitheatre · Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000).
- , "Magerius Mosaic" · "The Magerius Mosaic Revisited," in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th–18th February 2007 (ed. Tony Wilmott; BAR International Series 1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 165–177.
- Bommelaer, J.-F. and D. Laroche, *Guide de Delphes · Guide de Delphes. Le site* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1991).
- Borghini, G., ed., *Marmi antichi · Marmi antichi* (Rome: De Luca, 1997).
- Borraccino, Paola, *Sarcofagi · I sarcofagi paleocristiani di Marsiglia* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1973).
- Borret, M., *Contre Celse · Origène. Contre Celse* (5 vols.; SC 132, 136, 147, 150, 227; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1: 1967; 2: 1968; 3–4: 1969; 5: 1976; rev. ed. 2005–).
- Bovini, G. and H. Brandenburg, *Repertorium · Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, I, Rom und Ostia* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967).
- Bremmer, Jan N., ed., *Acts of Paul and Thecla · The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996).
- Brenk, Beat, *Mosaiken · Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975).
- , *Spätantike · Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1977).
- , "Zur Einführung des Kultes" · "Zur Einführung des Kultes der heiligen Kosmas und Damian in Rom," *ThZ* 2/62 (2006): 303–320.

- Brock, S. and D. Taylor, *Ancient Aramaic Heritage · The Ancient Aramaic Heritage* (Rome: Trans World Film Italia, 2001).
- Brooke, Alan E., Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, *Old Testament in Greek · The Old Testament in Greek. According to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940).
- Brown, Peter, *Augustine of Hippo · Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (new ed.; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).
- Buitron, Diane and Beth Cohen, et al., *Odyssey and Ancient Art · The Odyssey and Ancient Art: An Epic in Word and Image* (Annandale-on-Hudson, New York: The Edith C. Blum Institute, Bard College, 1992).
- Bulić, F., *Diokletians Palast · Kaiser Diokletians Palast* (Split, 1926).
- Burns, J. Patout, *Cyprian · Cyprian the Bishop* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Buschhausen, Helmut, *Die spätromischen Metallschreine · Die spätromischen Metallschreine und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*. (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau in Komm., 1971).
- Bussière, Jean, *Lampes antiques · Lampes antiques d'Algérie I* (Monographies instrumentum 16; Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2007).
- Cabrol, Fernand and H. Leclercq, eds., *DACL · Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (15 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953).
- Cameron, Alan, *Porphyrius · Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
- , *Circus Factions · Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
- Cantalamesa, Raniero, *Easter · Easter in the Early Church: An Anthology of Jewish and Early Christian Texts* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993).
- Carandini, A., L. Sagui, S. Tortorella, and E. Tortorici, “Ceramica africana” · “Ceramica africana,” in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 1. *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 9–227.
- Carradice, I.A. and T.V. Buttrey, *Roman Imperial Coinage 2 · The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 2, pt. 1, *Vespasian to Domitian*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Spink, 2007).
- Cartlidge, David R. and J. Keith Elliott, *Art · Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London/New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Casson, L., “Odysseus and Scylla” · “Odysseus and Scylla on a Roman Terracotta Mould,” *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7. 2 (1978): 99–104.
- , *Ancient Mariners · The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- Chadwick, Henry, *Origen · Origen. Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
- , “St. Peter and St. Paul” · “St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome: The Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas,” *JTS NS*, 8/1 (1957): 31–52.
- , “Pope Damasus” · “Pope Damasus and the Peculiar Claim of Rome to St. Peter and St. Paul,” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (in honor of Oscar Cullmann) (NovTSup VI; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 313–318.

- Charlesworth, J.H., ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha · The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985).
- Chiesa, G. Senna, G. Buccellati, and A. Marchi, eds., *Gemme · Gemme dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste* (Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano and Hoepli, 2002).
- Claridge, Amanda, “Vases” · “Vases and Basins Marble Vase with Bacchic Decoration,” *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3: The finds from the 1980–86 excavations* (ed. John Mitchell, Inge Lyse Hansen, Catherine Coutts; Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), 147–171.
- Claridge, Amanda, Judith Toms, and Tony Cubberley, *Rome · Rome, An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Clark, Elizabeth A., *History, Theory, Text · History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- Clarke, G.W., trans., *Letters of St. Cyprian · The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, Volume IV Letters 67–82 (ACW 47; New York: Newman Press, 1989).
- Coleman, Kathleen M., “Fatal Charades” · “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments,” *JRS* 80 (1990): 44–73.
- , “Contagion” · “The Contagion of the Throng,” *Herm* 164 (1998): 65–88.
- , “Informers” · “‘Informers’ on Parade,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 231–245.
- , *Liber Spectaculorum · M. Valerii Martialis: Liber Spectaculorum* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- , “Spectacle” · “Spectacle,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (ed. A. Barchiesi and W. Schneider; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 651–670.
- , “Public Entertainments” · “Public Entertainments,” *Social Relations in the Roman World* (ed. Michael Peachin; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 335–357.
- Comstock, M. and Cornelius Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone · Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976).
- Cook, John G., *Interpretation · The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).
- , “Envisioning Crucifixion” · “Envisioning Crucifixion: Light from Several Inscriptions and the Palatine Graffito,” *NovT* 50 (2008): 262–285.
- , “Crucifixion as Spectacle” · “Crucifixion as Spectacle in Roman Campania,” *NovT* 54 (2012): 68–100.
- , “Crucifixion in the West” · “Crucifixion in the West: From Constantine to Recceswinth,” *ZAC* 16 (2012): 226–246.
- , “Roman Crucifixions” · “Roman Crucifixions: From the Second Punic War to Constantine,” *ZNW* 104 (2013): 1–32.
- Corini, Guido, “Dittico” · “Dittico con I ritratti di Pietro e Paolo,” in *San Paolo in Vaticano. La figura e la parola dell'Apostolo delle Genti nelle raccolte pontificie* (ed. Umberto Utrio; Città del Vaticano: Musei Vaticani, Tau Editrice, 2009).
- Courcelle, P., “Quelques symboles” · “Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin,” *RÉA* 46 (1944): 65–93.

- Crawford, Michael H., *Roman Republican Coinage · Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Cumont, F., *Recherches · Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1942).
- Dagemark, Siver, "Panegyric Elements" · "Panegyric Elements in Some Fathers' Hagiographic Descriptions of Peter's and Paul's Lives in Rome," in *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (ed. Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum; SEAug 74; Rome, 2001), 191–231.
- Dalton, O.M., *Byzantine Art · Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).
- Dattari, G., *Numi Augg. Alexandrini · Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901).
- Dauphine, C., "From Apollo" · "From Apollo and Asclepius to Christ: Pilgrimage and Healing at the Temple and Episcopal Basilica at Dor," *Liber annuus* 49 (1999): 423–425.
- Davies, J.G., *He Ascended · He Ascended into Heaven* (New York: Association Press, 1958).
- Davies, Mark I., "Suicide" · "The Suicide of Ajax: A Bronze Etruscan Statuette from the Käppeli Collection," *Antike Kunst* 14 (1971): 148–157.
- de' Cavalieri, Pio Franchi, "Gervasio e Protasio" · "I SS. Gervasio e Protasio sono una imitazione di Castore e Polluce?," *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* IX (1903): 9–126.
- De Franciscis, A., *Pompeian Wall Paintings · The Pompeian Wall Paintings in the Roman Villa of Oplontis* (trans. R. Kunisch; Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1975).
- de Rachewiltz, S., *Sirenibus · De Sirenibus: An Inquiry into Sirens from Homer to Shakespeare* (New York: Garland, 1987).
- De Rossi, G.B., "Nuove scoperte" · "Nuove scoperte nel cimitero di Priscilla per le excavazioni fatte nell'anno 1887," *Bullettino di archeologia Cristiana* 5 (1887): 29–35.
- De Santis, Paola, "Palma" · "Palma," in *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (ed. Fabrizio Bisconti; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000), 238–240.
- de Ste. Croix, G.E.M., "Why" · "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" *Past & Present* 26 (1963): 6–38.
- de Voe, Richard F., *Christians and the Games · The Christians and the Games: The Relationship between Christianity and the Roman Games from the First through the Fifth Centuries, A.D.* (Ph.D diss., Texas Tech University, 1987).
- Dearden, C.W., "Pots" · "Pots, Tumblers, and Phlyax Vases," in *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama* (in honour of E.W. Handley) (ed. A. Griffiths; London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 1995).
- Deckers, Johannes, "Constantin und Christus" · "Constantin und Christus," in *Spät-antike und frühes Christentum* (ed. Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol; Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1983).
- , "Constantine the Great" · "Constantine the Great and Early Christian Art," in *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (ed. Jeffrey Spier; New Haven/London/Fort Worth: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Deichmann, F.W., *Bauten · Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden: Grimm, 1958).

- , *Ravena. Kommentar*, 1 · *Ravena, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Kommentar*, 1. Teil (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974).
- , *Einführung · Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).
- Deichmann, F.W., Giuseppe Bovini, and Hugo Brandenburg, *Repertorium · Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage 1, Rom und Ostia*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967).
- Delattre, Henri, "Castor et Pollux" · "Castor et Pollux dans les légendes hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* XXIII (1905): 426–432.
- Delbrueck, R., *Antike Porphyrywerke · Antike Porphyrywerke* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932).
- Deubner, Ludwig, *Kosmas und Damian · Kosmas und Damian* (Texte und Einleitung; Leipzig and Berlin, 1907).
- Dewald, E., "Iconography" · "The Iconography of the Ascension," *AJA* 19 (1915): 277–319.
- di Tomasso, L., *Book of Daniel · The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005).
- Diehl, Ernest, *ILCV · Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* (Ernest Diehl ed.; 4 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1961–1967).
- Dinsmoor, William B., Jr., "Baptistry" · "The Baptistry: Its Roofing and Related Problems," in J. Wiseman ed., *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, vol. 2 (Beograd: Boston University and the National Museum of Titov Veles, 1975).
- Dodge, Hazel, *Spectacle in the Roman World · Spectacle in the Roman World: Classical World Series* (London/New York: Bristol Classical Press, 2011).
- Donati, Angela, ed., *Pietro e Paolo. La storia · Pietro e Paolo. La storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000).
- Dörrie, H., *Die platonische Theologie · Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes c. Celsum 7, 42 ff.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).
- , "Platonische Theologie des Kelsos" · "Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der Christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes c. Celsum 4, 42 ff.," *NAWG Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1967/2): 19–55.
- , *Platonica minora · Platonica minora* (München: W. Fink, 1976).
- Drijvers, H.J.W. and J.F. Healy, *Old Syriac Inscriptions · The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1999).
- Drijvers, Jan Willem, *Cult and Beliefs · Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).
- , "Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*" · "Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius," in *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, eds.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11–27.
- Duchesne, Louis, ed., *Liber Pontificalis · Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (3 vols.; 1998 reprinted Paris: E. de Boccard, 1981).
- Dunbabin, Katherine M.D., *Mosaics · The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- , *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World · Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

- Duncan-Jones, Richard, *Economy · The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (2nd ed.; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- Dunn, Geoffrey D., "Peter and Paul" · "Peter and Paul in Rome: The Perspective of the North African Church," in *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (ed. Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum; SEAug 74; Rome: 2001), 405–415.
- , "Validity of Baptism" · "Validity of Baptism and Ordination in the African Response to the 'Rebaptism' Crisis: Cyprian of Carthage's Synod of Spring 267," *TS* 67 (2006): 257–274.
- Duval, P.-M., "Forme des navires romains" · "La forme des navires romains d'après la mosaïque d'Althiburus," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 61.1 (1949): 119–149.
- Duval, Yvette, *Loca Sanctorum · Loca Sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique de l'Ve au VIIe siècle* (Rome, École française de Rome, 1982).
- Eastman, David L., *Paul the Martyr · Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (SBLWGR Supp 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011).
- Ebanista, C., "Un vaso strigliato" · "Un vaso strigliato da Cimitile," *Campania Sacra* 28 (1997): 5–18.
- , "Et manet in mediis" · "Et manet in mediis quasi gemma intersita tectis. La basilica di S. Felice a Cimitile, storia degli scavi, fasi edilizie, reperti" (*Memorie dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti in Napoli* 15; Napoli: Accademia di archeologia lettere e belle arti, 2003).
- Ecclesia, E. Poletti, "L'incanto" · "L'incanto delle pietre multicolori; gemme antiche si reliquiari altomedievali," in *Gemme dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste* (ed. G. Senna Chiesa, G. Buccellati, and A. Marchi; Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano and Hoepli, 2002), 55–74.
- Edmonson, Jonathan, "Public Spectacles" · "Public Spectacles and Roman Social Relations," in *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana* (ed. T. Nogales Basarrate and A. Castellanos; Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2002), 41–63.
- Edwards, Catharine, *Death in Ancient Rome · Death in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Edwards, Mark, *Optatus · Optatus: Against the Donatists* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).
- Edwards, M., M. Goodman and S. Price, eds., *Apologetics · Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Emmerson, Richard K. and Bernard McGinn, eds., *Apocalypse · The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- Engmann, Joseph, "Apsis-Tituli" · "Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola," *JbAC* 17 (1974): 21–46.
- , "Images" · "Images parousiaques dans l'art paleochrétienne," *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz 1979), 73–107.
- Ennabli, Abdelmajid, *Lampes chrétiennes · Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie* (Musées du Bardo et de Carthage) (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976).
- Ensoli, Serena and Eugenio La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma · Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000).

- Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructiones · Instructiones ad Salonium 2* (ed. Carolus Wotke; CSEL 31; Vienna: Tempsky, 1894).
- Evans, Helen and Brandie Ratliff, eds., *Byzantium and Islam · Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition, 7th–9th Century. Catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, March 4–July 8, 2012* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012).
- Facchini, Sandra, *I luoghi dello sport · I luoghi dello sport nella roma antica e moderna* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1990).
- Fagan, Garrett G., *Lure of the Arena · The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*, (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Fédou, M., *Christianisme · Christianisme et religions païennes dans le Contre Celse d'Origène* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988).
- Feissel, Denis, *Recueil · Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Athens: École française d'Athènes; Paris: de Boccard, 1983).
- Ferrua, A., *Pitture · Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (Vatican: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1960).
- , *Unknown Catacomb · The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* (trans. I. Inglis; New Lanark, Scotland: Geddes and Grosset, 1991).
- Février, Paul-Albert, "Martyrs" · "Martyrs, polémique et politique en Afrique (IVe–Ve siècles)," *Revue d'Histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb* (1966): 8–18.
- Ghaddab, Ridha, "Les édifices de spectacle en Afrique" · "Les édifices de spectacle en Afrique, prospérité et continuité de la cité classique pendant l'Antiquité tardive?," in *Le cirque romain et son image*. Proceedings from an international colloquium held in Bordeaux, Oct. 19–21, 2006 (ed. Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Jean-Michel Roddaz; Bordeaux: Ausonius/Paris: de Boccard, 2008), 109–132.
- Fiema, Z.T., "Petra Project" · "The Petra Project," *American Council for Oriental Research Newsletter* 5.1 (1993), 1–3.
- Fiema, Z., C. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski, and R. Schick, *Petra Church · The Petra Church* (ed. P. Bikai; Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 2001).
- Fiensy, D.A. and D.R. Darnell, "Prayers" · "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers (second to third century A.D.)," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vols. 1–2 (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 2: 671–697.
- Fine, S., *Art and Judaism · Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Towards a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Finney, P.C., *Invisible God · The Invisible God* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Fitzgerald, Allan, "Christ" · "Christ, Peter, and the Rooster," *Aug* XLI/2 (2001): 409–423.
- Fitzgerald, Allan D., et al, eds., *Augustine · Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999).
- French, Dorothea Ruth, *Christian Emperors · Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382–525* (Ph.D. diss., The University of California, Berkeley, 1985).
- Frend, William H.C., "Memoriae Apostolorum" · "The Memoriae Apostolorum in Roman North Africa," *JRS* 30/1 (1940): 32–49.

- , *Donatist Church · The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Frey, Albert and Rémi Gounelle eds., *Poussières de christianisme · Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007).
- Friedländer, Paul, *Johannes von Gaza · Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius. Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern; Leipzig: Teubner, 1912).
- Furtwängler, Adolf, *Vasensammlung · Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1885).
- Futrell, Alison, *Blood in the Arena · Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997).
- Gabra, Gawdat and Anthony Alcock, *Coptic Museum · Cairo: The Coptic Museum, Old Churches* (Cairo: Egyptian International Publishing Company, Longman, 1993).
- Gamrath, Helge, *Roma Sancta · Roma Sancta Renovata* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987).
- Garbsch, Jochen, "Spätantike Sigillata-Tablets" · "Spätantike Sigillata-Tablets" *BVBI* 45 (1980): 161–179.
- , *Terra sigillata · Terra sigillata. Ein Weltreich im Spiegel seines Luxusgeschirrs* (München: Prähistorische Staatssammlung, 1982).
- , "Zwei Model" · "Zwei Model und eine Patrizie für Mittelfelder spätantiker nordafrikanischer Tontablets," *BVBI* 54 (1989): 243–249.
- Garbsch, Jochen and Bernard Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum · Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Munich: Staatssammlung München, 1989).
- Garezou, M.-X., "Orpheus," *LIMC* 7: 96–97.
- Geppert, Stefan, *Castor und Pollux · Castor und Pollux. Untersuchungen zu den Darstellungen der Dioskuren in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Münster: Lit, 1996).
- Gilula, Dwora, "Entertainment" · "Entertainment at Xenophon's Symposium," *Athenaeum* 90 (2002): 207–213.
- Ginouvès, R., *Balaneutikè · Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l'Antiquité grecque* (Paris: De Boccard, 1962).
- Giuliano, A., ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano · Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture* (Rome: De Luca, 1984).
- Goldschmidt, Rudolf C., *Paulinus' Churches · Paulinus' Churches at Nola* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940).
- Gonosová, A. and C. Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium · Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond: The Museum, 1994).
- Goodenough, E., *Jewish Symbols · Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (Bollingen Series 37; 8 vols.; New York: Pantheon, 1953–1968).
- Gougoud, L., "Étude" · "Étude sur les 'Ordines Commendationis Animae,'" *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 49 (1935): 3–27.
- Gough, Mary, ed., *Alahan · Alahan, An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985).

- Grabar, André, *Ampoules · Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza—Bobbio)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958).
- , *Christian Iconography · Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Bollingen series xxxv, 10; Princeton: Princeton University, 1968).
- , *Byzantium · Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons; London: Thames and Hudson, 1966).
- Grassinger, D., *Römische Marmorkrater · Römische Marmorkrater* (Mainz: Zabern, 1991).
- Grégoire, Henri, *Saints jumeaux · Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers* (Paris, 1905).
- Guarducci, Margherita, *IC · Inscriptiones Creticae, opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae* (4 vols. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–1950).
- Hani, J., *La religion égyptienne · La religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976).
- Harris, J. Rendel, *Dioscuri · The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1903).
- Hayes, John W., *Late Roman Pottery · Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972).
- , *Supplement · Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1980).
- Helbig, Wolfgang, *Führer · Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (ed. Hermine Speier; 4 vols.; Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1963).
- Herrmann, J. and R. Tykot, “Some Products” · “Some Products from the Dokimeion Quarries: Craters, Tables, Capitals, and Statues,” *ASMOSIA VII* (ed. Yannis Maniatis; Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, suppl. 51; Athènes: École française d’Athènes, 2009), 59–75.
- Herrmann, John, *Shadow of the Acropolis · In the Shadow of the Acropolis: Popular and Private Art in Fourth Century Athens* (1984; 2d ed.; Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1988).
- , “Folding Tripod,” · “Folding Tripod,” in *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum in association with the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1994), 320–323.
- , “Demeter-Isis” · “Demeter-Isis or the Egyptian Demeter? A Graeco-Roman Sculpture from an Egyptian Workshop in Boston,” *JdI* 114 (1999): 65–123.
- , “Crater with Panther Handles” · “Crater with Panther Handles,” in Z. Fiema, C. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski, and R. Schick, *The Petra Church* (ed. P. Bikai; Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 2001), 335–339.
- , “Marble Maenad” · “A Marble Maenad from the Holy Land,” *The Cantor Arts Center Journal* 6 (2008/2009): 5–17.
- Herrmann, John and Anniewies van den Hoek, *Antioch · Antioch, the Lost Ancient City* (ed. Christine Kondoleon; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 226–227.
- , *Light · Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa (Tunisia)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Divinity School, 2002) (2nd ed.; Austin: Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Christian Origins at the University of Texas at Austin, 2003).
- , “Two Men in White” · “Two Men in White: Observations on an Early

- Christian Lamp from North Africa with the Ascension of Christ," in *Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions, and Symbols* (ed. David H. Warren et al.; Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003), 293–318.
- , "Sphinx" · "The Sphinx as a Theological Symbol," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (ed. A. Hilhorst and G.H. van Kooten; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 285–310.
- Hilgers, Werner, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen · Lateinische Gefäßnamen. Bezeichnung, Funktion und Form römischer Gefäße nach den antiken Schriftquellen* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland, 1969).
- Hilhorst, Anthony and George H. van Kooten, eds., *Wisdom of Egypt · The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
- Hoddinott, R.F., *Early Byzantine Churches · Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1963).
- Hoffmann, Joseph R., *Porphyry's Against the Christians · Porphyry's Against the Christians: The Literary Remains* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994).
- Holman, Susan R., *Hungry Are Dying · The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Howarth, Patrick, *Atilla · Atilla, King of the Huns: Man and Myth* (London: Constable, 1994).
- Huelsen, C., "Cantharus von Alt-St. Peter" · "Der Cantharus von Alt-St. Peter und die antiken Pignen-Brunnen," *Römische Mitteilungen* 19 (1904): 88–102.
- Huskinson, J.M., *Concordia Apostolorum · Concordia Apostolorum. Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries: A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology* (BAR International Series 148; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982).
- Ihm, Christa, *Programme · Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960; 2nd ed. 1992).
- Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, ed., *Pietro e Paolo · Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche* (SEAug 74; Rome, 2001).
- Jacobelli, Luciana, *Gladiators at Pompeii · Gladiators at Pompeii* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).
- Jacoby, Felix, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden: Brill, 1923–1958).
- Jaisle, Karl, *Die Dioskuren · Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* (diss., Tübingen, 1907).
- Jashemski, W., *Gardens of Pompeii · The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Bros., 1979).
- Jensen, Robin M., *Understanding · Understanding Early Christian Art* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000).
- Jeremias, Gisela, *Holztür · Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980).
- Jesnicky, I.J., *Image of Orpheus · The Image of Orpheus in Roman Mosaic: An Exploration of the Figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman Art and Culture with Special Reference to Its Expression in the Medium of Mosaic in Late Antiquity* (BAR International Series 671; Oxford: Archaeopress/Hadrian Books, 1997).
- Jockey, Philippe, ed., *ΑΕΥΚΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ · ΑΕΥΚΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ: Marbres et autres roches de*

- la Méditerranée antique, études interdisciplinaires (ASMOSIA 8)* (Paris: Maison Méditerranée des Sciences des Hommes, Aix-en-Provence, 2009).
- Josi, E., "La venerazione degli apostoli" · "La venerazione degli apostoli Pietro e Paulo nel mondo cristiano antico," *Saecularia Petri e Pauli* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1969), 149–197.
- Junkelmann, Marcus, *Gladiatoren · Gladiatoren, das Spiel mit dem Tod* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000 and 2008).
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H., "Gods in Uniform" · "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105/4 (1961), 368–393.
- Karrer, M., "Review" · "Review of Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity," *Review of Biblical Literature* 4 (2010). [<http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=7237> (consulted 7 August 2013)]
- Kessler, Herbert L., "Meeting of Peter and Paul" · "The Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An Emblematic Narrative of Spiritual Brotherhood" *DOP* 41 (1987): 265–275.
- , "Bright Gardens" · "Bright Gardens of Paradise" in Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, 111–139.
- Kinney, Dale, "Apocalypse" · "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (ed. Richard Emmerson and Bernard McGinn; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 200–216.
- Kirschbaum, Engelbert et al., eds., *Lexikon · Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (8 vols.; Rom: Herder, 1968–1976).
- Kitzinger, Ernst, *Byzantine Art · Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).
- Kleiner, Diana, *Roman Sculpture · Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Kock, Theodor, ed., *CAF · Comitorum atticorum fragmenta* (4 vols.; Lipsiae: B.G. Teubneri, 1880–1888).
- Koester, Helmut, *History and Literature · History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Introduction to the New Testament, vol. 2; New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980).
- , *Introduction to New Testament · Introduction to the New Testament* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1982).
- , *Paul and His World · Paul and His World: Interpreting the New Testament in Its Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).
- Koetschau, P., *Origen · Origen. Gegen Kelsos* (ausgewählt und bearbeitet von K. Pichler; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1986).
- Köhne, Eckart, Cornelia Ewigleben, et al., *Caesaren und Gladiatoren · Caesaren und Gladiatoren: die Macht der Unterhaltung im antiken Rom* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000).
- , *Gladiators and Caesars · Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
- Kolb, F., "Römische Mäntel" · "Römische Mäntel," *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973): 60–167.
- Kondoleon, Christine, ed., *Antioch · Antioch, the Lost Ancient City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, E. and A. Tourta, *Wandering · Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens: Kapon, 1997).

- Krautheimer, Richard, *CBCR · Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (4 vols. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937–1976).
- Krueger, Derek, “Christian Piety” · “Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (ed. Michael Maas; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 291–315.
- Kyle, Donald G., *Spectacles of Death · Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998).
- La Baume, Peter and Jan Willem Salomonson, *Römische Kleinkunst · Römische Kleinkunst, Sammlung Karl Löffler*. Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln, Bd. III (Köln: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1976).
- La Regina, Adriano, ed., *Sangue · Sangue e arena*. (Milano: Electa, 2001).
- La Rocca, Eugenio, “Memorie di Castore” · “Memorie di Castore, principi come Dioscuri,” in *Castores. L’immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 73–90.
- Lamberton, R., *Homer the Theologian · Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Readings and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
- Later, Renate, “What Can the Inscriptions Tell Us” · “What Can the Inscriptions Tell Us about Spectacles?” in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th–18th February, 2007 (ed. Tony Wilmott; BAR International Series 1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 179–183.
- Lazaridou, Anastasia ed., *Transition to Christianity · Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD*, exhibition catalogue Onassis Cultural Center, New York (New York; Athens: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2011).
- Le Blant, Edmond, *Études sur les sarcophages · Études sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d’Arles* (Paris, 1878).
- , “Simple conjecture” · “Simple conjecture au sujet d’un passage de Saint Augustin,” *RAr*, 3e série XX (1892): 18–20.
- Le Glay, Marcel, *Saturne Africain · Saturne Africain* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1966).
- Lefebvre, Gustave, *Recueil · Inscriptiones christianae Aegypti, recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte* (Paris: Impr. de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1907).
- Lehmann, T., “Kirchenbauten” · “Die Kirchenbauten in Cimitile/Nola. Ergebnisse der Forschungen der letzten 15 Jahre,” in *Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana*. École française de Rome, 9 marzo 2000 (ed. H. Brandenburg e L. Ermini; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2003), 95–127.
- Levine, L., *Ancient Synagogue · The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G., *Antioch · Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Lietaert Peerbolte, L.J., *Paul · Paul the Missionary* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003).
- Lipsius, R.A., *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten · Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (2 vols.; Braunschweig, 1883–1890).

- Lona, H.E., "Wahre Lehre" · *Die "Wahre Lehre" des Kelsos* (Frieburg: Herder, 2005).
- Lorenz, Thuri, "Nymphäum" · "Ein Nymphäum auf dem Quirinal," *MededRom* 41 (1979): 43–57.
- Lyon-Caen, C. and V. Hoff, "Catalogue des lampes" · *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des lampes en terre cuites grecques et chrétiennes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986).
- Maas, Michael, ed., *Age of Justinian · The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- MacDonald, D.R., *Christianizing Homer · Christianizing Homer: The Odyssey, Plato, and the Acts of Andrew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- , *Mimesis · Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001).
- Mackensen, Michael and Gerwulf Schneider, "Production centres" · "Production centres of African red slip ware (3rd–7th c.) in northern and central Tunisia: archaeological provenance and reference groups based on chemical analysis," *JRA* 15/1 (2002): 121–158.
- MacMullen, Ramsey, *Roman Social Relations · Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
- Maier, Jean-Louis, *Le baptistère de Naples · Le baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1964).
- Marvee, William H., *Ascension · The Ascension of Christ in the Works of St. Augustine* (Ottawa: Saint Paul University, 1967).
- Marrou, H.-I., *Mousikos anēr · Mousikos anēr. Études sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble: Didier & Richard, 1937).
- , *Pédagogue · Le Pédagogue [par] Clément d'Alexandrie* (3 vols; SC 70, 108, 158; Paris: Éditions du Cerf).
- Mathews, Thomas, *Clash of Gods · The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- , "La nudità" · "La nudità nel cristianesimo," in *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (ed. Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca; Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000), 396–398.
- Mattingly, H. and E.A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage 1 · The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 1: *Augustus to Vitellius* (London: Spink, 1926).
- , *Roman Imperial Coinage 2 · The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 2: *Vespasian to Hadrian* (London: Spink, 1926).
- , *Roman Imperial Coinage 3 · The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 3, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (London: Spink, 1930).
- , *Roman Imperial Coinage 4 · The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 4, pt. 1, *Pertinax to Geta* (London: Spink, 1936).
- McGinn, Bernard, "John's Apocalypse" · "Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- Méhat, André, *Étude · Étude sur les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966).
- Meiggs, Russell, *Roman Ostia · Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

- Meijer, Fik, *Gladiatoren · Gladiatoren. Volksvermaak in het Colosseum* (2nd ed.; Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2003).
- , *Un giorno al Colosseo · Un giorno al Colosseo. Il mondo dei gladiatori* (2nd ed.; Roma: Laterza, 2006).
- Mentzos, Aristotile, "Reflections" · "Reflections on the Interpretation and the Dating of the Rotunda of Thessaloniki," *ETNATIA* 6 (2001–2002): 57–80.
- Meritt, Benjamin Dean, ed., *Greek Inscriptions · Greek Inscriptions 1896–1927*, vol. 8/1: *Corinth* (Cambridge: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Harvard University Press, 1931).
- Metzger, B.M., *Constitutions apostoliques · Les constitutions apostoliques* (3 vols; SC 320, 329, 336; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1: 1985; 2: 1986; 3: 1987).
- Milne, M. and G. Richter, *Shapes and Names · Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York: Plantin, 1935).
- Minchev, Alexander, "Fountains" · "A pair of early byzantine panther-shaped fountains from Odessos (Varna)," in *Pontos Euxeinus: Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes* (ed. S. Conrad, R. Einicke, A. Furtwängler, H. Löh, A. Slawisch; Langenweissbach: Beier & Beran, 2006), 171–180.
- Modesto, Christine, *Cena Cypriani · Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992).
- Mohrmann, Christine, *Sint Augustinus · Sint Augustinus. Preken voor het volk handelende over de heilige schrift en het eigen van den tijd* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1948).
- , *Tertullianus Apologeticum · Tertullianus Apologeticum en andere geschriften uit Tertullianus' voor-montanistische tijd* (with introduction, translation and commentary; Utrecht: Spectrum, 1951).
- , "À propos de deux mots" · "À propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: *Tropaeum-Nomen*," *VC* 8/3 (1954): 154–173.
- Monceaux, Paul, *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne · Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*. Pt. 4. *Martyrs et reliques* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1908).
- Moormann, Eric, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam* (Collections of the Allard Pierson Museum 1; Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 2000).
- Moreno, Paolo and Chiara Stefani, eds., *Borghese Gallery · The Borghese Gallery* (trans. David Stanton; foreword Claudio Strinati; intro Alba Costamagna; essays Anna Coliva, Kristina Herrmann Fiore, and Paolo Moreno; Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 2000).
- Morey, C.R. and G. Ferrari, *Gold-Glass · The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959).
- Musurillo, H., *Acts of the Christian Martyrs · The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Mynors, R.A.B., *Panegyrici Latini · XII Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1964), no. 4. English: *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors* (trans. C.E.V. Nixon and Barbara Rodgers; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Nash, Ernest, *Pictorial Dictionary · Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York: Praeger, 1962).
- Nasrallah, L., C. Bakirtzis and S. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian ·*

- From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike* (Harvard Theological Studies 64; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- Nauerth, Claudia, "Nachlese" · "Nachlese von Thekla-Darstellungen," in *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* (G. Koch ed.; Göttinger Orientforschungen Reihe 2, Band 6; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), 14–18.
- Nauerth, Claudia and R. Warns, *Thekla · Thekla. Ihre Bilder in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981).
- Nautin, Pierre, "Pantène" · "Pantène," in *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* (T.D. Mosconas, ed.; Alexandria: Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie, 1953), 145–153.
- Nelis-Clément, Jocelyne and Jean-Michel Roddaz, eds., *Cirque romain · Le cirque romain et son image*. Proceedings from an international colloquium held in Bordeaux, Oct. 19–21, 2006 (Bordeaux: Ausonius/Paris: Diffusion De Boccard, 2008).
- Nielsen, Inge and Birte Poulsen, eds., *Temple of Castor and Pollux · The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma 17; Rome: De Luca, 1992).
- Nista, Leila, ed., *Castores · Castores: L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994).
- , "L'iconografia" · "L'iconografia dei Dioscuri del Quirinale ed il restauro de Sisto V," in *Castores: L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 193–208.
- Nordström, Carl-Otto, *Ravennastudien · Ravennastudien: Ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über die Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1953).
- Novak, David M., *The Anicii · A Late Roman Aristocratic Family: The Anicii in the Third and Fourth Centuries* (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago 1976).
- Ogle, M.B., "Sleep of Death" · "The Sleep of Death," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11 (1933): 81–117.
- Oswald, Felix, *Figure-Types · Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata* ("Samian Ware") (Liverpool/London: University Press, 1936).
- Overbeck, Franz, *Über die Auffassung · Über die Auffassung des Streits des Paulus mit Petrus in Antiochien (Gal. 2, nff.) bei den Kirchenvätern* (Basel: C. Schultze, 1877).
- Padgett, M., ed., *Centaur's Smile · The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (ed. M. Padgett; Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum and Yale Univ. Press, 2003).
- Paris, Pierre, *Fouilles de Belo-Bolonia, province de Cadix, 1917–1921* (2 vols.; Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, Paris: Feret & fils etc., 1923).
- Parisi Presicce, Claudio, "I Dioscuri" · "I Dioscuri Capitolini e l'iconografia dei gemelli divini in età romana," in *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 150–191.

- Parke, H.W., *Sibyls · Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (London/New York: Routledge, 1988).
- Parlasca, K., "Das pergamenische Taubenmosaic" · "Das pergamenische Taubenmosaic und der sogenannte Nestor-Becher," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 78 (1963); 256–293.
- Pasini, P., ed., *Ambrogio e Agostino · 387 d.c., Ambrogio e Agostino, le sorgenti dell'Europa*. Exhibition catalogue Museo Diocesano, Milan (ed. Paolo Pasini; Milan: Olivares, 2003).
- Patz, Kristine, "Monte Cavallo" · "Monte Cavallo Dioscuri," *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider; Leiden/Boston, 2009). Brill Online, 2013. [<http://www.encquran.brill.nl/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/monte-cavallo-dioscuri-ct-e1309140>] (consulted 7 August 2013)]
- Peachin, Michael, ed., *Social Relations · Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 335–357.
- Peacock, D.F.S., F. Bejaoui, and N. Ben Lazreg, "Roman Pottery" · "Roman Pottery Production in Central Tunisia," *JRA* 3 (1990): 59–88.
- Peek, Werner, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften · Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955).
- Pensabene, P., "Punta Scifo" · "A cargo of marble shipwrecked at Punta Scifo near Crotona (Italy)," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7.2 (1987), 105–118.
- , *Vie del marmo · Le vie del marmo* (Ostia: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, 1994).
- , "Marmi e reimpiego" · "Marmi e reimpiego nel santuario di S. Felice a Cimitile, in Cimitile e Paolino di Nola. La tomba di S. Felice e il centro di pellegrinaggio. Trent'anni di ricerche," in *Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana*. École française de Rome, 9 marzo 2000 (ed. H. Brandenburg e L. Ermini; Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2003), 129–207.
- Perrone, L., ed., *Discorsi di verità · Discorsi di verità: paganesimo, giudaismo e cristianesimo a confronto nel Contro Celso di Origene. Atti del II Convegno del Gruppo italiano di ricerca su "Origene e la tradizione alessandrina"* (Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1998).
- Perry, S.G.F., ed., *Second Synod of Ephesus · The Second Synod of Ephesus together with Certain Extracts Relating to It*, from Syriac mss. preserved in the British Museum (Dartford: Orient Press, 1881).
- Peterson, Eric, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ · ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926).
- Petrocchi, Gabriella Angeli Bufalini, "L'iconografia dei Dioscuri" · "L'iconografia dei Dioscuri sui denari della repubblica romana," in *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 101–105.
- Pfuhl, E., *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing · Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting* (trans. J.D. Beazley; London: Chatto & Windus, 1955).
- Pichler, K., *Angriff des Kelsos · Streit um das Christentum, der Angriff des Kelsos und die Antwort des Origenes* (Frankfurt am Main/Bern: P. Lang, 1980).

- Pietri, Charles, "Concordia Apostolorum" · "Concordia Apostolorum et Renovatio Urbis (Culte des martyrs et propagande pontificale)" *MEFRA* 73 (1960): 275–322.
- Plass, Paul, *Game of Death · The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics; Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).
- Plumer, Eric, *Augustine's Commentary · Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Possekkel, Ute, "Orpheus among the Animals" · "Orpheus among the Animals: A New Dated Mosaic from Osrhoene," *Oriens christianus* 92 (2008): 1–35.
- Potter, David, "Performance, Power, and Justice" · "Performance, Power, and Justice in the High Empire," in *Roman Theater and Society* (ed. William J. Slater; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 129–160.
- Potter, David and David J. Mattingly, eds., *Life, Death, and Entertainment · Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (New and expanded ed.; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010).
- Poulsen, Birte, "Dioscuri and Ruler Ideology" · "The Dioscuri and Ruler Ideology," *Symbolae Osloenses* LXVI (1991): 119–146.
- , "Cult, Myth, and Politics" · "Cult, Myth, and Politics," in *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (ed. Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen; Lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma 17; Rome: De Luca, 1992), 46–53.
- , "Written Sources" · "The Written Sources," in *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (ed. Inge Nielsen and Birte Poulsen; Lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma 17; Rome: De Luca, 1992), 54–60.
- , "Dioscuri" · "The Dioscuri and the Saints," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* XXI (1993): 141–152.
- , "Ideologia" · "Ideologia, mito e culto dei Castori a Roma, d'all'età repubblicana al tardo-antico," in *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 91–100.
- Prigent, P., *L'image · L'image dans le Judaïsme du IIe au VIe siècle* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991).
- , *L'art · L'art des premiers chrétiens. L'héritage culturel et la foi nouvelle* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1995).
- Rahner, H., *Greek Myths · Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963).
- Raynal, Dominique, "Culte des martyrs" · "Culte des martyrs et propagande Donatiste à Upenna," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 21 (1973): 33–72.
- Reemts, C., *Vernunftgemässer Glaube · Vernunftgemässer Glaube, die Begründung des Christentums in der Schrift des Origenes gegen Celsus* (Bonn: Borengässer, 1998).
- Rees, Roger, *Layers of Loyalty · Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric, AD 289–307* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Ressa, P., *Origene · Origene. Contro Celso* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2000).
- Richter, G., "Kleophrades Painter" · "The Kleophrades Painter," *AJA* 40 (1936): 100–115.

- Riddler, I. et al., "Garden Court" · Ian Riddler with contributions by Richard Hodges and John Mitchell, "The Garden Court," in John Mitchell and Inge Lyse Hansen with Catherine M. Coutts (eds.), *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3: The 1980–86 Excavations: Part I* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, 7, London: British School at Rome, 1993), 191–200.
- Rist, J., "Importance of Stoic Logic" · "The Importance of Stoic Logic in the Contra Celsum," in *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong* (ed. H.J. Blumenthal and R.A. Markus; London: Variorum, 1981), 64–78.
- Robert, C., *Sarkophag-Reliefs* · *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, vol. 2 (Berlin: G. Grote, 1890).
- Robert, Louis, *Études épigraphiques* · *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris: E. Champion, 1938).
- , *Les gladiateurs* · *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940).
- , "Documents d'Asie Mineure" · "Documents d'Asie Mineure," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 107 (1983): 553–578.
- Roberts, Michael John, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).
- Roessli, J.-M., "Orphée aux catacombes" · "Orphée aux catacombes," *Archivum bobienense* 25 (2003): 79–133.
- , "Du *Protreptique* de Clément" · "Du *Protreptique* de Clément d'Alexandrie à la *Laudatio Constantini* d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Convergence et divergence dans l'interprétation du mythe d'Orphée," *Archivum bobienense* 22 (2001): 93–105.
- Rordorf, Willy, *Liturgie* · *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers chrétiens* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1986).
- Roueché, Charlotte, *Aphrodisias* · *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (JRS 5; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989).
- , *Performers and Partisans* · *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (JRS 6; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993).
- Roulet, A., *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments* · *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).
- Rupprecht, G., *Orpheus* · *Orpheus aus der Mainzer Unterwelt* (Mainz: Zabern, 2006).
- Sacopoulos, Marina, "Le linteau copte" · "Le linteau copte dit d'Al-Moallaka," *Cahiers archéologiques* 9 (1957): 99–115.
- Salomonson, J.W., ed., *Het verhaal bij het materiaal* · *Het verhaal bij het materiaal. Een kennismaking met de archeologische studieverzameling van de Utrechtse universiteit* (Archaeologica Traiectina 14; Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1980).
- Salomonson, Jan Willem, "Fancy Dress" · "The Fancy Dress Banquet: An attempt at Interpreting a Roman Mosaic from El-Djem," *BABesch* 35 (1960): 25–55.
- , "Late Roman Earthenware" · "Late Roman Earthenware with Relief Decoration Found in Northern-Africa and Egypt," *OMRL* 43 (1962): 53–95.
- , "Spätrömische rote Tonware" · "Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata Chiara 'C,'" *BABesch* 44 (1969): 4–109.
- , "Römische Tonformen" · "Römische Tonformen mit Inschriften, ein Beitrag

- zum Problem der sogenannten 'Kuchenformen' aus Ostia," *BABesch* 47 (1972): 88–113.
- , "Sammlung Benaki" · "Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen," *BABesch* 48 (1973): 5–82.
- , *Voluptatem · Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur l'iconographie du martyre en Afrique Romaine* (Amsterdam/Oxford/New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979).
- Sande, Siri, "Il tempio" · "Il tempio del Foro Romano: l'età Augustea," in *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (ed. Leila Nista; Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, 1994), 113–118.
- Schäfer, Alfred, *Unterhaltung · Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposium* (Mainz: Zabern, 1997).
- Schmid, A.A., "Himmelfahrt" · "Himmelfahrt Christi," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum et al.; 8 vols.; Rom: Herder, 1968–1976), 2: 269–276.
- Schneemelcher, W. ed., *New Testament Apocrypha · New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1991).
- Schneider, Alfonz Maria, "Cantharus" · "Cantharus" *RAC* 2: 845–847.
- Schrama, Martijn, *Aurelius Augustinus · Aurelius Augustinus. Als licht in het hart. Preken voor het liturgisch jaar* (Baarn: Ambo, 1996).
- Schulze, C., *Celsus · Celsus* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2001).
- Scobie, Alex, "Spectator Security" · "Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games," *Nikephoros* 1 (1988): 191–221.
- Seeberger, Barbara, "Zur Herstellung" · "Zur Herstellung figürlicher Spiegeldarstellungen auf nordafrikanischen Sigillatalampen des Typus Atlante X Aia im 5. Jahrhundert," *Bayerischen Vorgeschichtsblätter* 67 (2002): 79–86.
- Seeck, O., "Libanius" · "Libanius gegen Lucianus," *Rheinisches Museum* LXXIII (1920): 84–101.
- Smith, Morton, "Prolegomena" · "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels, and Jesus," *JBL* 90.2 (1971): 174–199.
- Sparkes, B., "Black Perseus," · "Black Perseus," *Antike Kunst* 11 (1968): 3–16.
- Sparkes, B. and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery · Black and Plain Pottery* (The Athenian Agora 12; Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970).
- Spier, Jeffrey, "A lost consular diptych" · "A lost consular diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (A.D. 408) on the mould for an ARS plaque," *JRA* 16 (2003): 251–254.
- , *Gems · Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007).
- , *Treasures · Treasures of the Ferrell Collection* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010).
- Spier, Jeffrey, ed., *Picturing the Bible · Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven/London/Fort Worth: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Spira, Andrew, "Pottery" · "Pottery," in *Early Christian Art and Byzantine Art: Textiles, Metal Work ...* (ed. R. Temple; London: Temple Gallery/Shafesbury: Element Books, 1990), 70–87.
- Stauffer, Annemarie, *Die mittellaltlichen Textilien · Die mittellaltlichen Textilien von St. Servatius in Maastricht* (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, 1991).

- Stebbins, E.B., *Dolphin · The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (Menasha, Wis: The George Banta Publishing Company, 1929).
- Steinby, E.M., ed., *Lacus Iuturnae · Lacus Iuturnae I* (Rome: De Luca, 1989).
- Stern, H., "Orphée" · "Orphée dans l'art paléochrétien," *Cahiers archéologiques* 23 (1974): 1–16.
- Stewart, Zeph, "Greek Crowns" · "Greek Crowns and Christian Martyrs," in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: antiquité païenne et chrétienne: vingt-cinq études* (eds. E. Lucchesi and H.D. Saffrey; Cahiers d'orientalisme 10; Genève: P. Cramer, 1984), 119–124.
- Strong, D.E., *Roman Imperial Sculpture · Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London: Tiran-ti, 1961).
- Strube, Christine, "Die Kapitelle" · "Die Kapitelle von Qasr ibn Wardan," *JbAC* 26 (1983): 59–106.
- Strzygowski, J., "Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier," · "Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903): 185–206.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. and R.A.G. Carson, eds., *Roman Imperial Coinage · The Roman Imperial Coinage* (rev. ed.; London: Spink, 1984–).
- Tait, H., *Jewelry · Jewelry through 7000 Years* (London, 1976).
- , *Seven Thousand · Seven Thousand Years of Jewelry* (London, 1986).
- Tajra, Harry W., *Martyrdom of St. Paul · The Martyrdom of Saint Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions, and Legends* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1994).
- Tassinari, S., *Il vasellame bronzeo · Il vasellame bronzeo di Pompei* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1993), "Bacili e colatoi di grandi dimensioni" S 1000–6000, 90–97, pls. 172–176, drawings (V. Morlando-d'Aponte), 200–240.
- Taylor, Raybun, "Hadrian's Serapeum" · "Hadrian's Serapeum in Rome," *AJA* 108/2 (2004): 223–266.
- Temple, R., ed., *Early Christian · Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Longmead & London: Element Books and Temple Gallery, 1990).
- Teyssier, Eric and Brice Lopez, *Gladiateurs · Gladiateurs: des sources à l'expérimentation* (Paris: Errance, 2005).
- Thümmel, Hans Georg, *Memorien · Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Die archäologische Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1999).
- Tilley, Maureen, *Bible · The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).
- Tolotti, Francesco, *Memorie degli Apostoli · Memorie degli Apostoli in Catacumbas* (Vatican City: Società "Amici delle catacombe," 1953).
- Tomlin, Roger, "Christianity" · "Christianity and the Late Roman Army," in *Constantine, History, Historiography, and Legend* (ed. Samuel N.C. Lieu and Dominique Montserrat; London: Routledge, 1998), 21–51.
- Touchefeu-Meynier, O., *Thèmes odysseens · Thèmes odysseens dans l'art antique* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1968).
- Toynbee, Jocelyn M.C., "Monsieur Cumont" · "Monsieur Cumont on Roman Funerary Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 86/507 (June, 1945): 148–152.
- Trout, Dennis, "Damasus and the Invention" · "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 517–536.

- , *Paulinus of Nola · Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and, Poems* (Transformation of the Classical Heritage 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
- Tsiafakis, Despoina, “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ” · “ΠΕΛΩΠΑ”: Fabulous Creatures and/or Demons of Death?” in *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (ed. M. Padgett; Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum and Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 73–104.
- Tudor, Dimitru, *Corpus · Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuviorum (CMRED)* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).
- Tülek, F., *Efsuncu Orpheus · Efsuncu Orpheus/Orpheus the Magician: The Transition of Orpheus Theme from Paganism to Christianity in Late Roman–Early Byzantine Mosaics* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve sanat Yayinlari, 1998).
- Utro, Umberto, “Immagini” · “Le immagini e il culto dei santi sui vetri dorati romani durante il pontificato di Damaso e Siricio (366–399),” in *387 d.c., Ambrogio e Agostino, le sorgenti dell'Europa*. Exhibition catalogue Museo Diocesano, Milan (Milan: Olivares, 2003), 136–141.
- Utro, Umberto, ed., *San Paolo · San Paolo in Vaticano. La figura e la parola dell'Apostolo delle Genti nelle raccolte pontificie* (Città del Vaticano: Musei Vaticani, Tau Editrice, 2009).
- Vagi, David, *Coinage and History · Coinage and History of the Roman Empire* (2 vols.; Sidney, OH: Amos, 1999).
- van Dael, Peter, *Hoofdfiguur · De dode, een hoofdfiguur in de Oudchristelijke kunst* (Amsterdam, 1978).
- van den Hoek, Annewies, “Anicius Auchenius Bassus” · “Anicius Auchenius Bassus, African Red Slip Ware, and the Church,” *HTR* 98/2 (2005): 285–310.
- , “Peter, Paul and a Consul” · “Peter, Paul and a Consul: Recent Discoveries in African Red Slip Ware,” *ZAC* 9/2 (2006): 197–246.
- van den Hoek, Annewies and John Herrmann, “Paulinus of Nola” · “Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards and Canthari,” *HTR* 93 (2000): 173–219.
- , “Thecla the Beast Fighter” · “Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art,” in *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies on Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* (ed. David T. Runia and Gregory E. Sterling; Studia Philonica Annual XIII; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 212–249.
- , “Parian Marble” · “Parian Marble in Nola: Historical Reality or Literary Fiction?,” *ASMOSIA* 5. Fifth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Boston, 1998 (London: Archetype, 2002).
- , “Celsus' Competing Heroes” · “Celsus' Competing Heroes: Jonah, Daniel, and Their Rivals,” in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (ed. Albert Frey and Rémi Gounelle; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007), 307–339, pls. 1–19.
- van der Horst, P.W., *Jewish Epitaphs · Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen, Kok-Pharos, 1991).
- van der Meer, Frederik, *Augustinus · Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1957).
- , *Augustine · Augustine the Bishop: Church and Society at the Dawn of the Middle Ages* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1961).

- van der Meer, Frederik and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas · Atlas of the Early Christian World* (trans. Mary Hedlund and H.H. Rowley; London/ New York/Toronto/Paris: Nelson 1959).
- van Reisen, Hans, *Augustinus · Augustinus, bisschop van Hippo. Beknopt overzicht van zijn leven en werk* (Eindhoven: Augustijns Instituut, 2006).
- Vázquez De La Cueva, Ana, *Sigillata africana en Augusta Emerita*, (Monografías emeritenses 3; Merida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 1985).
- Vercellone, Carlo, ed., *Variae lectiones · Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis* (2 vols.; Rome: Spithover, 1860–1864).
- Vermeule, Cornelius, Walter Cahn, and Rollin Hadley, *Sculpture in the Gardner Museum · Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1977).
- Veyne, Paul, “Païens et Chrétiens” · “Païens et Chrétiens devant la gladiature,” *MEFRA* 111 (1999/1992): 883–917.
- Vielhauer, Philipp and Georg Strecker, “Apocalypses” · “Apocalypses and Related Subjects,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. and rev. R. McLaren Wilson; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Clarke, 1992), 582–594.
- Ville, George, “Les jeux” · “Les jeux de gladiateurs dans l’empire chrétienne,” *MEFRA* 72 (1960): 273–335.
- Vismara, Cinzia, “Amphitheatralia Africana” · “Amphitheatralia Africana,” *Antiquités Africaines* 43 (2007): 99–129.
- Vismara, Cinzia and Museo della civiltà romana, *Il supplizio come spettacolo · Il supplizio come spettacolo* (Vita e costumi dei romani antichi 11; Roma: Quasar, 1990).
- Volbach, Wolfgang F., *Early Christian Art · Early Christian Art* (New York: Abrams, 1962).
- von Gebhardt, Oscar, *Passio S. Theclae · Passio S. Theclae Virginis. Die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae* (TU NF 7, 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902).
- von Hartel, Wilhelm, *Paulini Nolani Opera · Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Opera* (CSEL 29–30; Vienna: Tempsky, 1894).
- Vouaux, L., *Actes de Paul · Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres Apocryphes* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1913).
- Wagenvoort, H., *Pietas · Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).
- Wamser, L., ed., *Welt · Die Welt von Byzanz—Europas östliches Erbe* (München: Archäologische Staatssammlung, 2004).
- Wamser, L. and G. Zahlhaas, eds., *Rom & Byzanz · Rom & Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern* (München: Prähistorische Staatssammlung-Hirmer, 1998).
- Warns, Rüdiger, “Darstellungen” · “Weitere Darstellungen der heiligen Thekla,” in *Studien zur frühchristlichen Kunst II* (ed. G. Koch; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 75–137.
- Warren, D., A. Graham-Brock, and D. Pao, eds., *Early Christian Voices · Early Christian Voices in Texts, Traditions, and Symbols: Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- Waszink, J.H., “Pompa Diaboli,” · “Pompa Diaboli,” *VC* 1 (1947): 13–41.

- Wegman, H.A.J., "Hemelvaart" · "Hemelvaart," in *Grote Winkler Prins* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1979–1984).
- Wegner, M., *Musensarkophage · Die Musensarkophage* (Berlin: Mann, 1966).
- Weicker, G., *Sirenibus Quaestiones · De Sirenibus Quaestiones Selectae* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Lipsiae, 1895).
- , *Seelenvogel · Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst. Ein mythologisch-archaeologische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1902).
- Weidemann, Konrad, *Spätantike Bilder · Spätantike Bilder des Heidentums und Christentums* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1990).
- Weinstock, S., "Römische Reiterparade" · "Römische Reiterparade," *SMSR* 13 (1937): 10–24.
- Weitzmann, Kurt, ed., *Age of Spirituality · Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1979).
- Welch, Katherine E., *Roman Amphitheatre · The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Wescoat, B., *Temple of Assos · The Temple of Assos* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Wiedemann, Thomas E.J., *Emperors and Gladiators · Emperors and Gladiators* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992).
- , "Das Ende" · "Das Ende der römischen Gladiatorenspiele," *Nikephoros* 8 (1995): 145–159.
- Willis, G.G., *St. Augustine's Lectionary · St. Augustine's Lectionary* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962).
- Wilken, R.L., *Christians · The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).
- Wilmott, Tony, ed., *Roman Amphitheatres · Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16th–18th February 2007 (BAR International Series 1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009).
- Wilson, Andrew, "Romanizing Baal" · "Romanizing Baal: The Art of Saturn Worship in North Africa," in *Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art (Zagreb, 2003) and (Zagreb, 2005)* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing—Tehnička Knjiga, 2005), 403–408.
- Wistrand, Magnus, *Entertainment and Violence · Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 56; Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992).
- Ziegler, K., ed., *Plutarchi vitae · Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 3.1 (2nd. ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1971).

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND NAMES

We would like to thank Daniel Bohac for his help with the index.

- Aaron, 119
- Abitina, 72
- Abraham/Abraham and Isaac, 67, 90, 92–93, 208, 212, 214–215, 218, 234, 432
- acanthus, 32
- acclamation, 3, 72–76, 126, 260, 353
- acrobat, 4, 175–201 (*passim*), 508–511
- actor, 201, 347, 407, 429
- Adam/Adam and Eve, 67, 93, 179, 214–215, 218
- Aegina, 157
- Aeolic, 158, 503
- Africa/African
 - African lamp (see lamp)
 - Africa Proconsularis, 123
 - African Red Slip Ware, 1–4, 7, 65–66, 96, 112, 133–147 (*passim*), 216, 242, 257, 282, 323, 344, 383, 416, 420, 434
 - ARS/African Red Slip Ware, (*passim*)
 - North Africa, 2–3, 5–7, 65–66, 69, 72–73, 79, 91–92, 94, 101, 105, 107–108, 117, 123, 125, 131–133, 144–145, 218, 230, 241, 251, 253, 255–256, 264, 279–280, 293, 295, 301, 308, 314, 321, 372, 387, 391–393, 406–408, 411–412, 416, 422–423, 432
 - Roman Africa, 416
- afterlife, 219, 292, 305, 349
- Agnes (saint), 90–91, 93, 297, 529
- Alahan, 117, 119, 367–368, 370, 372, 498
- Alexander Severus (see Severus Alexander)
- Alexander the Great, 164–165
- Algeria, 67, 69, 222, 231, 256–257, 260–261, 315–317, 320, 347–348, 393, 412, 493, 535, 571
- allegory/allegorical, 26, 43, 46, 199, 234, 329, 332, 355, 400, 402
- alpha and omega, 117, 330–331, 342, 344, 380
- altar, 14, 27, 90, 158–160, 272, 293, 363, 503
- amphitheater, 74, 81, 262–263, 405–434 (*passim*), 571
- ampulla, 121–122, 369, 380
- amulet, 75, 295, 297
- Ananias, Azarias and Mishael (see also Hebrews), 92
- Anaxarchos, 205–206, 240
- ancient art, 1, 4, 150, 174, 177, 195, 240
- Androcles, 78, 80
- angels/archangels, 11, 72, 86, 108, 111, 115–117, 119–120, 122, 128–129, 131–132, 307, 339–382 (*passim*), 410, 498, 551–553, 555–557
- Gabriel, 378, 514
- Michael, 378, 559
- Anicii, 133–147 (*passim*), 338, 340
- Anicius Auchenius Bassus, 3, 133–147 (*passim*), 323
- animal games (see hunts)
- anthropomorphic, 393
- Antioch, 303, 305, 308
- Antoninus Pius, 168–169
- Apocalypse/apocalyptic, 5–7, 119, 122, 327–382 (*passim*)
- apocalyptic ascension, 370, 373
- biblical apocalypse, 6, 131, 328, 335, 339–340, 357, 373, 381–382
- Elders of the Apocalypse, 332–333, 352–354, 359, 361, 363, 371–372, 381
- Apocrypha/apocryphal, 79, 91, 111, 116, 208, 303–304, 307
- Apollo, 157, 162, 235, 282
- apostles (see also Peter and Paul), 11, 22, 67, 92, 105, 111, 114–115, 122, 131–132, 134, 136–138, 146, 260, 280, 292, 301–325 (*passim*), 332, 337, 339, 348–350, 353–354, 358–359, 361, 365, 371, 375, 378, 380–382, 532, 542, 547, 550–551
- apotheosis, 119, 242, 251
- apotropaic, 150, 152, 154, 159, 393
- apparition, 131, 342, 344, 367, 369–373, 375, 378, 381–382, 556
- apse, 6, 18, 42–43, 58, 116, 122, 328–329, 333, 350, 353, 361–364, 376, 378, 530, 532, 551–553, 556, 558–559
- Apulian (plate), 183, 185
- aquatic displays (see arena)
- Aquila, 222
- Arcadius, emperor, 143
- Column of Arcadius, 330, 352, 365

- archaeology/archaeological, 1, 9, 22, 28, 47,
 153, 293, 302, 308, 310, 312, 385, 412, 416
 Archaic, 157–158, 255–256
 architecture/architectural, 10, 22–23, 48, 142,
 152, 158, 222, 272, 339, 358, 374, 416
 arena (see also hunts), 2, 6, 72, 78, 81–84, 90,
 98, 251, 405–434 (*passim*), 496, 573–575,
 579–580
 Argonauts, 272, 401
 Arion, 391–392, 563
 Arian/anti-Arian, 26, 127, 330, 353, 358, 363,
 550
 Arles, 279–280, 285–286, 302
 armor, 182, 271
 army (see also military), 256, 292, 365
 Arretine, 32
 ARS (*passim*)
 Artemis, 153
 Ascalon, 271
 Ascension, 3, 67, 107–132 (*passim*), 328, 345,
 363, 367–368, 370–371, 373–375, 380, 497,
 499–500, 555
 apocalyptic ascension, 370, 373
 ascetic/asceticism, 10, 91, 200, 307
 Asia Minor, 79, 159, 229, 271, 276, 308, 350
 Asklepios, 5, 205–206, 235, 238–240, 519
 Assos, 158–159, 503
 atheism, 177, 411
 Athena, 153, 158–159, 243, 250–251, 503,
 520
 Athenian/Attic, 157, 187
 Ceramics, 28, 30–31, 38, 50, 180–182, 183,
 509
 Athens, 157
 athlete, 4, 77, 175, 190, 221, 347–349
 atrium, 2, 11, 15, 21–23, 27, 35, 44–49, 51,
 60–62, 488–489
 Attalus, the Christian, 81
 Attila, 292
 Attis, 264
 Augustus (see also Octavian), 76, 143,
 163–165, 179, 283–284, 286, 335–336
 Aulus Postumius, 281
 aureole, 119, 122

 Babylonian, 211
 Bacchus/Bacchic (see Dionysos)
 banquet, 31, 201, 293, 550
 baptism/baptistery, 12, 43, 56–60, 62, 165,
 315, 318, 333–335, 341–342, 349–350, 353,
 357–358, 362–363, 381, 410, 490, 540,
 544–546, 550, 553
 barbarian, 100, 226, 352
 Barnabas, 305
 basalt, 165
 basilica, 11, 13, 16, 21, 58, 117, 222, 353, 361, 367,
 370, 498, 540
 basin, 2, 9–63 (*passim*), 160, 282, 393, 487
 Bawit, 119, 122–123, 367–368, 376, 379, 555,
 558–559
 bear, 78, 80, 84–85, 87, 94–96, 98, 100–105,
 134, 423–424, 426, 430, 496, 577–578, 582
 beast hunts/beast fighting (see hunts)
 Bellerophon, 205, 299
 bestiarius (see also venator), 426
 Beth Shean/Nyssa/Skythopolis, 394, 569
 Bethlehem/heavenly Bethlehem, 337–339,
 353–354, 361, 363–364, 366, 369, 374, 381,
 532, 544, 547–548, 552–554
 Bible
 general, 1, 211, 301, 318, 326
 Greek Bible, 221
 Hebrew Bible, 91, 93, 215–216, 227, 234,
 370
 Latin Bible, 19–20, 25, 32, 47, 317, 537
 Syrian Bible, 228
 biblical
 biblical accounts, 3, 25, 66, 90, 114, 116,
 200–201, 204, 208, 214, 219, 252
 biblical apocalypse, 6, 131, 328, 333, 335,
 339–340, 359, 367, 373, 381–382
 biblical art, 2–3, 91–92, 93, 105, 214,
 220–221, 231, 299, 332, 367, 372, 380,
 420, 486, 535
 biblical authority, 368
 biblical books, 355, 359
 biblical heroes, 2, 4, 71, 91–92, 136, 203,
 207–214, 221, 241
 biblical inspiration, 381
 biblical interpretation, 67, 208, 317
 biblical text, 5, 26, 68–69, 119, 127, 198,
 207, 213, 278, 315, 319, 350, 352–353,
 363, 367, 369, 371, 378, 380–382
 biblical theme, 5, 65, 90, 201, 207, 214, 217,
 277–278, 363, 367, 381, 486
 biblical traditions, 4, 129, 222, 329, 334,
 373, 381
 biblical poet/Orpheus, 229
 non-biblical, 2, 4, 65, 203, 214, 300, 333,
 354, 366
 Black Sea, 18, 60, 66, 420, 426
 Bobbio, 122, 229
 bowl, 27, 33, 60
 ARS, 2, 6, 60, 65–105 (*passim*), 112, 136,

- 138, 215–253 (*passim*), 264, 267–270,
277–278, 282, 322, 347–350, 352,
380–392 (*passim*), 404, 416–433
(*passim*), 491–492, 494, 496, 512, 518,
520–521, 524, 542, 560–562, 564–565,
576–581
glass, 93, 215–216, 337, 380
mixing (see also crater), 25–27, 33, 35
mold, 424, 581
Rheinland, 229, 424–425
Britain/Roman Britain, 66, 259, 299, 420
Bronze Age, 150, 157
Bulgaria, 183, 330
bull, 14, 78, 85, 108, 224, 242, 370, 374, 409,
421–422, 424, 430, 576, 580
bust, 117, 119, 143, 166, 168–170, 231, 239,
285–286, 299, 331, 353, 357, 359, 361, 363,
365–368, 370, 378, 381, 399, 530, 555, 557
Byzacena, 122
Byzantine, 2, 6, 27, 74, 76, 84, 172, 212,
222–223, 229, 279, 301, 328, 330, 364, 378,
408, 416, 495, 557

Caesarea, 305
Cairo, 117, 119, 262–263, 373
cameo (see also intaglio), 173, 380
Campania/Campanian, 10, 60–61, 183, 509,
510, 549
Canaan, 67
candelabra, 160, 360, 372, 380, 551
canopy, 18, 45–47, 50, 54, 62
cantharoid crater (see crater)
cantharus, 2, 9–63 (*passim*), 257, 262, 272,
282, 293, 490
cantharus aquarius, 18, 31, 33, 42, 47–48,
54–55
Capitoline Hill (Campidoglio), Rome,
287–290
Cappadocia/Cappadocians, 23, 179, 198
Capri, 342
Caracalla, 170, 350
Carrara marble, 54–55
Carthage, 72, 92, 107, 130, 137–139, 143,
146–147, 231, 262–263, 314, 389, 404, 410,
412, 432
catacomb, 1, 67, 125, 220, 233, 299, 329, 399
Rome
catacomb of Callixtus, 214, 223, 316,
536
catacomb of Domitilla, 224, 515
catacomb of Pontianus, 297
catacomb of Saint Hippolytus, 530

catacomb of Saints Marcellinus and
Peter, 331–333, 362–363, 543
catacomb of the Via Dino Compagni,
240–241
catacomb of the Vigna Rondanini,
228–229
Cimitero di Panfilo, 503
Syracuse
catacomb of S. Giovanni, 62
casket/Pola Casket, 136, 357–358
Castor/Castores/Castor and Pollux (see also
Dioscuri), 5, 255–300 (*passim*), 526, 528
Catholic/Catholics
Catholic community in Rome, 312
Catholic identity, 145, 301, 321
Catholics vs Donatists, 3, 136, 144, 316, 321
cauldron, 160
Celsus, 4–5, 203–253 (*passim*)
Centaur, 153–154, 172, 230
ceramic, 3, 72, 91, 94, 96, 213, 219, 221, 344,
384, 392–393, 409, 416, 418, 424, 431 (see
also African/ARS; Arretine; Attic; Coptic;
Greek; lamp; terra sigillata)
Cerberus (Kerberos), 235, 242, 249, 251, 399,
515
Chaldaean, 207
chalice, 32, 67
chastity, 84, 90–94
charioteer/chariots, 74, 76–77, 299, 384, 392,
563
chariots of fire, 376, 378
Charlemagne, 47, 76
Charybdis (see also Skylla), 402
Cherchel, 393, 568–569
cherubim, 117, 366
chi-rho, 67, 112, 330, 341–342, 531, 557
choir/choir screen, 154, 173
chrismon, 322, 331, 342, 344–345, 350,
365–366, 375
Christ, (*passim*)
ascension, 3, 76, 107–132 (*passim*), 328,
345, 363, 367–368, 370–371, 373–375,
380, 497, 499–500, 555
bust, 117, 299, 353, 357, 359, 361, 363,
365–367, 370, 378, 381, 555, 557
descent through the clouds, 129, 333, 337,
362–364, 380, 551–553
divinity, 127, 204, 375
healings/miracles, 5, 67, 90, 215–216, 218,
241, 243, 251, 272, 277–278, 316, 513
judgment, 130–132, 208, 328–330, 348,
378

- majesty/glory, 3, 5, 108, 111, 116–117,
 119–120, 122–123, 125, 128–132, 328,
 332, 335, 337, 353, 358, 360, 361–362,
 364–365, 375, 381
 mandorla, 119, 368–371, 374–376
 monogram, 1, 112, 136, 144, 260, 330–
 331, 341–342, 344, 346, 366, 545,
 557
 parousia/second coming, 111, 116–117, 119,
 128–132, 328–329, 333, 337, 344, 349,
 357, 359, 362–367, 369, 371, 377–381,
 551, 553, 558–559
 passion, 90, 125, 309
 prefiguration, 208, 223
 resurrection, 90, 124–125, 223, 305
 rivals, 238
 throne/enthroned, 116, 119–120, 122,
 331–332, 352–353, 359–360, 368–369,
 371, 376, 378, 380, 555
 Christian (*passim*)
 Christian art, 1, 4, 65–67, 84, 90, 93, 106,
 108, 123, 173, 203, 213–214, 221, 224, 226,
 234, 282, 297, 301–302, 322, 327–329, 332,
 339–340, 344, 350, 353, 355, 373–375, 380,
 382, 420, 432
 Christian identity, 1, 67, 278, 280, 301–302,
 312, 342
 Christian martyrdom, 3, 71–72, 78, 90–91,
 96, 100–101, 307, 310, 314, 319, 336, 413,
 430
 Christian worship, 203, 209, 213, 234, 311, 323,
 378
 Christianization/Christian adaptation/
 Christian innovation, 2, 5, 203, 210,
 226–227, 255, 289, 299, 380–381, 416
 Christogram, 344
 Church (as a personification, see Ecclesia)
 Churches
 Algeria
 Hippo
 Early Christian Basilica, 540
 Croatia
 Poreč (Parenzo)
 Basilica Euphrasiana, 361,
 364–365
 England
 Lullingstone
 House Church, 299
 Egypt
 Bawit
 Monastery of Saint Apollo, 119,
 122–123, 367, 379, 558–559
 Cairo (Fostat)
 Church of Al-Mo'allafa, 119, 374,
 427, 498, 555
 Saint Barbara, 117, 367
 Greece
 Thessaloniki
 Chapel of Hosios David in the
 Stonecutters' Monastery,
 371–373, 556
 Israel
 Jerusalem
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 22
 Italy
 Albenga (Liguria)
 Early Christian Baptistery, 342
 Casaranello (Puglia)
 Memorial Chapel, 342
 Castel S. Vincenzo (Campania)
 S. Vincenzo al Volturno, 60–61
 Cimitile (Campania)
 St Felix, 2, 9–17, 20, 28, 39, 43–44,
 48–62 (*passim*)
 Fondi (Lazio)
 Early Christian apse (now lost),
 329
 S. Maria in Capua Vetere (Campania)
 Chapel of S. Matrona attached to
 S. Prisco, 355–356, 549
 Milan
 Chapel of St. Victor at Sant'Am-
 brogio, 311, 350, 534
 Naples
 Baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte
 at S. Restituta, 333–335, 339,
 341–342, 350, 362, 544–546
 Church of S. Paolo Maggiore, 297
 Ravenna
 Baptistry of the Arians, 353, 358,
 363, 550
 Baptistry of the Orthodox, 60,
 357, 381, 464, 550
 Mausoleum of Galla Placidia,
 341–343, 547
 S. Apollinare in Classe, 361, 552
 S. Apollinare Nuovo, 329
 S. Giovanni Evangelista, 361
 S. Michele in Africisco, 360
 S. Vitale, 350, 363–365, 369, 552,
 530
 Rome
 S. Agata dei Goti, 364
 S. Cecilia, 35, 39, 47, 462

- S. Cesareo, 173, 506–507
 Sts. Cosmas and Damian,
 296–297, 360, 362–363, 551
 S. Costanza, 337, 364
 S. Giovanni in Laterano/Lateran
 Church, 289
 Chapel of S. Venanzio, 363, 553
 Bibliotheca Latina Lateranense, 538
 S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura, 364, 554
 S. Maria Maggiore, 119, 352–354,
 357, 361, 375, 548
 S. Paolo fuori-le-mura, 21, 360, 532
 St. Peter's/Old St. Peter's basilica,
 10, 20–21, 28, 43–47, 62, 76,
 299, 333, 338, 359, 463, 489,
 532
 S. Pudenziana, 328, 353, 373, 382,
 532, 547
 S. Sabina, 93, 111, 113, 115, 117–118,
 375, 377
 S. Sebastiano, 310, 313–314, 533
 Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, 296, 364
 S. Teodoro, 364
 S. Venanzio (see S. Giovanni in
 Laterano)
 Ss. Quattro Coronati, 21
 Syracuse (Sicily)
 Cathedral, 56, 62, 490
 Jordan
 Petra
 Byzantine Church (South
 Church), 36, 41, 48, 50–51,
 56–57, 488
 Lebanon
 Tyre
 Early Christian Church (not
 located), 22–23, 48
 the Netherlands
 Maastricht
 Basilica of St. Servatius, 271, 525
 Turkey
 Istanbul (Constantinople)
 Holy Apostles, 22
 Cilicia
 Alahan Monastery, Evangelists'
 Basilica, 117, 119, 367–368, 370,
 372, 498
 Cimitile, 2, 9–17, 20, 28, 39, 43–44, 48–62
 (*passim*)
 Circe, 384, 391, 399
 circumcision, 317–318, 338, 353, 532
 circus, 76–77, 94–95, 224, 392, 406, 412,
 432
 Classical period, 160, 162
 cloak, 231, 257, 271, 279
 Clytemnestra, 255
 coffin, 226–227
 coin/coinage, 5, 152–153, 162–172, 226, 235,
 238–240, 242, 257, 271, 281–282, 284,
 299, 330–331, 334–335, 350, 355, 371, 504,
 528
 Colchester, 424–425, 581
 colonnette, 173, 374, 503
 colorful clouds, 337, 357, 360, 362, 551
 comb, 72, 85, 88, 93
 combat, 3, 72, 80, 84, 94, 98, 226, 405,
 408–409, 413
 Commodus, 179, 271, 284
 communion, 316
 competition, 4, 235, 238, 240, 252–253, 295,
 383, 395, 412
 Constantine, 105, 240, 408
 arch of, 332
 baths of, 289, 291
 city in Algeria (Cirta), 257, 261
 Emperor, 1, 10, 26, 98, 240, 284–286, 299,
 311, 383, 412, 430
 panegyric of, 289–291
 pre-Constantinian, 96, 214, 226–227, 329,
 409, 416, 430–431
 victory over Maxentius, 289–290, 292
 Constantinople (see also Council;
 Churches), 24, 48, 123, 177, 233, 286–287,
 301, 330, 365–366, 557
 consul/consular, 3–4, 10, 27, 134–147
 (*passim*), 177–178, 323, 374–375, 432,
 475
 contemplation, 278
 contortionist, 182, 186–187
 conversion, 223, 238, 311
 Coptic
 art, 85–87, 90, 119, 330, 365–368, 374–375,
 378
 language/homily, 79, 378
 Cosmati/cosmatesque, 173–174
 cosmos/cosmic, 238–239, 401–402
 council
 Council of Chalcedon, 375
 Council of Constantinople, 74
 Council of Elvira, 124
 Council of Ephesus, 355
 Council of Nicea, 124
 courage, 4, 6, 171, 175–176, 186–187, 189, 403

- court, 6, 10, 14, 16–17, 22, 61, 299, 317, 328, 332, 362–363, 368, 411
- courtesan, 187, 402–403
- courtyard, 9–64 (*passim*), 370, 395
- cover, 3, 56, 134–147 (*passim*), 501
- crater, 2, 25–64 (*passim*), 293
- cantharoid crater, 2, 3, 36, 39–43, 56, 59, 488
- creed, 127, 316
- Crete/Cretan, 74, 153, 242
- crime, 6, 62, 81, 93, 156
- criminal/prisoner, 78, 81–83, 90, 94–101, 204, 405, 409–413, 423–424, 429–431
- cross, 13, 21, 57, 67, 75, 84, 108, 116–117, 222, 257, 279, 338, 353–354, 357–361, 365–367, 375–376, 403, 541–552 (*passim*), 557
- cross-standard, 116
- monogrammatic cross, 1, 136, 144, 260, 331, 341–342, 344–346, 545
- crown/heavenly crown, 122, 156, 162, 234, 243, 279, 285, 298, 309, 332–333, 344–354, 359, 364, 380–381, 532, 546, 550, 552
- crucifixion, 3, 81, 90, 101, 309, 421
- cruelty/cruel, 94, 96, 100–101, 195
- Cupid, 6, 42, 60, 67, 119–120, 354, 368, 384, 391–392, 399, 404, 490, 560, 564–565
- Cybele, 77
- Cyrene, 157, 171–172
- Danaids, 399–400
- dancer, 180–183, 187, 189–190
- Daniel, 5, 67, 71–72, 85, 89–93, 203–254 (*passim*), 432, 494, 514
- Danubian Rider, 272
- death, 10, 19, 78, 150–152, 179, 189, 206, 226–228, 234, 251–252, 279, 284, 335, 355, 399, 401
- of a Saint/Martyr, 12, 72, 78, 100, 205, 303, 309, 313–314, 318–319, 410–411, 413
- of Christ, 125, 204, 305
- sentence, 83, 91, 421
- deliverance, 3, 65–106 (*passim*), 208–209, 213, 221, 432
- Delos, 157
- Delphi, 149, 157–158, 160, 162
- Oracle of, 151
- Demeter, 156–157, 168–170
- Deucalion, 204
- devotion/devotional, 311–312
- Diana, 39, 413
- Diocletian/Diocletianic, 10, 72, 165–167, 502, 504
- Diogenes, 191
- Dionysos/Dionysus/Bacchus/Bacchic, 2, 18, 21, 28, 30, 33–35, 39, 41, 43–44, 47–48, 53–54, 56, 60, 62–63, 153, 166, 187, 206, 279, 364, 393, 399, 413, 567
- Bacchic thiasos, 399
- Dioscuri, 255–300 (*passim*), 522–525, 528
- diptych, 219–220, 531
- divine, 4–5, 11, 115, 117, 157, 162, 169–170, 172, 200, 204–206, 235, 238, 307, 380, 401, 433
- divine mystery, 4, 166, 174
- divine power, 159–160, 166
- divine protectors, 158–159
- divine retribution, 4, 155–156, 168–171, 174
- Djemila, 347–348, 578
- Doclea, near Podgoritsa, Montenegro, 216
- dolphin, 6, 384–385, 387, 391–394, 404, 560–565, 568, 569
- Domitian, 95, 177
- Dougga, 393, 567
- Donatist/anti-Donatist legislation, 3, 144–147, 316, 318, 321
- Drusus, 284
- Dura Europos, 228
- eagle, 60, 108, 271, 293, 370–371, 374, 381, 490
- Easter/Easter vigil/post-Easter, 124–125, 131
- Eastern, 3, 84–85, 122–123, 131, 221, 224–225, 229, 231, 271, 274–275, 363, 369–370, 376, 381
- Ecclesia/Church, 93, 289, 353, 532
- Eden, four rivers of, 331, 337, 372
- Edessa, 227–229, 516
- Egypt, Egyptian, 39, 72, 85, 88, 122, 149–174 (*passim*), 190, 209, 228, 240, 271, 366–367, 374, 376, 378, 417, 420, 495, 504, 525
- El Djem, 412–413, 523–524, 570, 574, 576, 578
- Elders, twenty-four/Elders of the Apocalypse, 332–333, 352–354, 359, 361, 363, 371–372, 381, 551
- Elijah, 211
- elite, 1, 4, 175, 178–179, 189, 196, 198–199, 201, 355, 410, 416
- Elvira (see also Council of Elvira), 124
- Elysian Fields (Arles, Les Alyscamps), 279
- emblem, 65, 57, 72, 93, 119, 152–154, 158, 162, 168, 172, 209, 215, 226, 234, 241, 279, 301, 308, 314, 317, 323, 335, 341–342, 354, 359, 391, 393, 402, 548, 570
- emperor, 74–76, 134, 143, 234, 292, 299, 332, 335, 355, 366, 405

- Arcadius, 143
 Augustus, 283–284
 Caracalla, 350
 Charlemagne, 76
 Commodus, 179, 284, 528
 Constantine, 26, 284–286, 291–292, 299,
 332, 335, 350
 Domitian, 177
 Gratian, 10
 Hadrian, 165–166, 168, 487
 Honorius, 292, 143
 Julian the Apostate, 238
 Magnentius, 330–331
 Maxentius, 284, 528
 Septimius Severus, 355–356
 Severus Alexander, 234, 335
 soldier emperors, 284
 Theodosius II, 123, 143
 Titus, 177, 356
 Valentinian III, 143
 Valerian, 410
 Vespasian, 177
 Empress Faustina I, 335–336
 Endymion, 220
 entertainment, 33–34, 41, 94–95, 98, 181, 187,
 190, 196, 201, 221, 224, 251, 405, 409
 eschatology/eschatological, 340, 349
 Esquiline hill, Rome, 287, 290
 eternal/eternal life/blessedness/victory over
 death, 2, 11, 199, 228, 238, 278–279, 319,
 335, 340, 355
 eternal reign, 355
 eternal rest, 278, 355
 eternal sun and moon, 371, 376, 378
 eternity/Aeternitas/symbols of, 330,
 334–335, 371, 376
 house of eternity, 228
 eucharist, 26, 127, 215
 Euphrates, 363, 474
 Euripides, 151, 154
 Evangelist/symbols of the Evangelists, 3,
 108, 116–117, 119, 131, 361, 363, 367, 370,
 372, 381, 498, 507, 546–549, 552–553,
 556
 Eve/Adam and Eve, 67, 93, 214–216, 218
 Evvia, 183
 execution, 2–3, 6, 94–96, 98, 100–101, 142,
 405–434 (*passim*)
 exclamation/exclamatory, 75
 façade, 6, 16, 44, 328, 359, 361
 faction, 26, 76–77, 144, 312
 Fates, 401
 Father/unity of Father and Son, 127, 129
 fathers (of the Church), 23, 174, 308
 Spiritual father, 211
 Faustina the Elder, 335
 Faustus, 91, 233
 Felicitas (martyr), 77–78, 429
 Felix IV (pope), 362
 Filocalus, Furius Dionysius, 312–313
 Flavian dynasty, 177
 flute player, 180, 182–183, 399
 forum/fora, 17, 281, 286, 293, 412, 539
 Forum Romanum, 281, 286, 293, 429,
 526–527
 fountain, 2, 11, 14, 16, 18, 23, 25, 31, 33, 35–36,
 40, 44, 48–49, 60, 190, 234, 282, 286, 289,
 393–394, 488, 527, 567–568
 fresco/wall painting, 1, 40, 122, 214, 219, 229,
 297, 316, 326, 331–333, 362, 367, 379, 384,
 487, 515, 536, 538, 543, 555, 558–559
 funerary, 152, 160, 221, 310, 344, 365, 404
 art, 90, 218, 224, 227, 229, 279, 380, 530
 guardian, 151
 inscription, 152, 330
 monument, 151, 302
 prayers, 215, 221
 Gabriel (archangel), 378, 514
 Gaius Caesar, 283–284
 Gaius (presbyter), 310
 Ganymede, 264
 Gaul/Gallic, 10, 65, 92, 94–95, 155, 131, 133,
 146, 213, 271, 308, 322, 330, 416
 Gelasius (pope), 295
 Gemini, 255
 Germanicus, 284
 Germany/German, 138, 146, 257
 Gervasius and Protasius (Saints), 296–
 297
 gem/gemstone, 163, 173, 222, 303, 350, 384
 Geometric, 112
 Gergis (city in Troad), 162–163, 504
 Gigantomachy, 166
 Gildo, 145
 giraffe, 229, 408
 gladiator, gladiatorial, 82, 84, 94, 98, 405,
 407–408, 412, 414–415, 424, 546–547
 globe (celestial), 334–335, 354, 363–365, 369,
 375, 380–381
 glory, 14, 83
 of Christ, 3, 128, 130–132, 337, 375, 378
 Gnostic, 4, 149, 175–176, 240

- God, 11, 14, 23, 27, 76, 128, 130, 155, 170, 173,
 199–200, 204–207, 209, 211, 215, 219, 221,
 241, 257–258, 292, 315, 330–333, 339–340,
 344, 354, 359, 367, 369–370, 373–374, 376,
 378, 380, 382, 432–433
 contemplation of God, 278
 hand of God, 67, 71, 90, 111, 115–116, 128,
 341, 350, 368
 Lamb of God, 331, 337, 344, 347, 353, 357,
 360, 363, 369, 380–382, 543–544, 551,
 556
 triune God, 366
 vision of God, 366
 Asklepios, 239
 Bacchus (see Dionysos)
 Egyptian, Alexandrian gods, 165, 171
 Greco-Roman, 410
 Helios/sun, 155, 299
 Heracles (see also Heracles/Hercules),
 82
 love, god of (see also Cupid), 6, 404
 Olympian, 231
 pagan gods, 5, 39, 77, 150, 153, 177, 235,
 239, 243, 395
 river gods, 289
 twin gods, 289
 gold-glass, 90, 93, 241, 297, 302, 337, 339,
 349–350, 380, 529, 531, 534, 544
 Golgotha, 353
 Good Shepherd (see shepherd), 214,
 224–225, 264, 267
 Gospel/Gospels, 11, 46, 81, 116, 126–127, 129,
 199, 208, 295, 309, 329, 333, 355, 375–376,
 380, 411
 Gospel parousia/apocalypse, 129, 327,
 362–363
 Rabbula Gospels, 111, 122, 370, 375, 500
 gourd, gourd vine, 205, 207, 216, 218–220, 514
 Grado, 359–360
 graffiti, 6, 330, 344–345, 533
 granite, 165–166, 504
 Gratian, 10
 graywacke, 165, 167
 Greece, 150, 156, 158, 181, 183, 391, 573
 Greek, 4, 18–20, 22, 25–29, 33, 35–37, 43,
 47–48, 50, 60, 62, 66, 73–76, 79–83, 85, 91,
 122, 134, 149–151, 153, 155–163, 168, 177–180,
 184, 189–190, 195–199, 204, 206–207, 227,
 340, 390, 410
 art, 149–151, 157, 161–163, 184, 225, 231, 347,
 503–504
 athletes, 190, 405
 ceramics/vase shape, 28–29, 35–37, 43,
 47, 50
 culture, areas of, 156, 158, 178–179, 225,
 255–256, 282
 drinking parties/symposia, 33, 180, 189
 Greek-speaking (East, Christians), 22, 48,
 74, 177, 371, 403
 inscription, 122, 394
 language, 18–20, 22, 25–26, 28–29, 47, 73,
 75–76, 79–82, 91, 155, 198
 mythology, 66
 philosopher, 4, 134, 199, 401
 prayers, literature, 206–207, 209–212, 221
 sanctuaries, 159
 synagogue, 213
 Theft of the Greeks, 204, 211
 times, 4, 195, 255
 griffin, 160, 168, 507
 Habakkuk, 72, 372, 514
 Hades/Pluto, 151, 206, 242, 249, 251, 401–402
 Hadrian, 95, 165–166, 168, 354, 487
 halo/haloed, 85, 108, 116–117, 119, 331, 341,
 362
 Harpocrates, 170
 heaven/heavenly, 5–6, 14, 108, 114–115,
 128–130, 316, 329, 334–335, 337–342, 349,
 353–354, 364–366, 368–369, 372, 378,
 380–382, 401–402, 547
 Hebrews/Three Hebrews/Ananias, Azarias
 and Mishaël/in the fiery furnace, 67, 90,
 92–93, 210, 212, 215–216, 264, 267, 432
 Hebrew Bible, 91, 93, 215–216, 227, 234, 370
 Heerlen, the Netherlands, 424–425, 581
 Helios, 170, 238, 299
 Helen, 255, 271, 276, 293–294
 Hellenistic, 4, 41, 60, 160, 190, 213, 307
 Hera (see also Juno), 150, 153, 243, 250
 Herakles/Hercules, 5, 205–206, 240–253
 (*passim*), 520–521
 heresy/heretical, 124, 307–308, 314–315,
 402
 Hermes/Mercury, 399, 400, 494
 hero/heroic/heroine, 2, 4–5, 71, 80, 83–85,
 90–95, 119, 159, 203–216, 220, 226, 230,
 234–235, 239–241, 251, 253, 299–300, 307,
 383–384, 411
 Hesperides, 242, 251, 520
 hieroglyph, 165
 Hippo Regius, 123, 295, 317–318, 412, 539–540
 hippodrome, 286–287
 Holland, 137

- Holy Land, 308
 Holy Land, ampullae from, 122, 380
 Holy Spirit/Spirit/dove of the Holy Spirit, 124, 125, 353, 357
 holy man, 211
 Homer/Homeric, 6, 29, 197, 401–404
 Honorius, 143, 292
 horse, 160–161, 171, 299, 257, 272, 279, 281–283, 291–292, 296–297, 299, 391, 412, 522–524, 526, 528
 Horse Tamers, 287, 289, 290
 hunts/venationes/animal games, 67, 73–74, 79, 94, 98, 221, 224, 230, 251, 262–263, 322, 405–407, 408, 412–413, 420, 430, 577–578
 Hydra, 242–243, 246, 251
 Hygieia, 239, 519
 icon, 311, 369
 identity (Christian/civic), 1, 199, 278, 280, 301–302, 305–306, 312, 320, 342
 imperial (power/system), 54, 77, 143, 145–147, 284, 292, 299, 301, 323, 350, 352, 365, 411
 imperial cult, 407
 imperial family, 5, 77, 177
 imperial imagery, 334
 Roman imperial period/times, 2, 6, 35, 41–43, 60, 83, 160, 166, 393, 406–407, 487
 inscription, 5, 24, 69, 71–76, 80–81, 101, 105, 122, 142, 150, 152, 165, 215, 226–228, 234–235, 239, 256–257, 262–265, 271, 278–279, 282, 297, 299, 310, 312–314, 321, 330–331, 337, 373, 375, 382, 394–395, 412–413, 492, 494, 495, 498, 522, 541, 544, 548, 555–557, 559
 intaglio, 170, 172–173, 239, 505
 Ionian, 158
 Isaac/Abraham and Isaac, 66–68, 71, 90, 93, 214, 217–218, 432, 491–492, 512
 Isaiah, 364, 372–373, 376, 380
 Isis, 39, 66, 77, 169–170, 420, 465
 Isles of the Blessed, 6, 404
 Italia (see Bible)
 Italy, 24, 41, 56, 60, 92, 119, 133, 146, 150, 160, 181, 213–214, 224, 226, 256, 258, 292, 309, 342, 353, 355, 361, 374, 380, 391, 404, 416, 420, 424
 Ithaca, 392, 403–404
 ivory, 3, 72, 88, 93, 111, 115, 136, 142, 152, 219–220, 229, 239, 271, 303–304, 326, 357–358, 497, 525
 Jerba, 393
 Jerusalem/new Jerusalem/heavenly Jerusalem, 82, 222, 303, 305, 331, 337–340, 353–354, 361, 363–364, 366, 369, 374–375, 380–381, 544, 547–548
 Jesus, 4, 13, 81, 115–116, 128–130, 204–207, 214, 235, 238, 240–241, 302, 305, 350, 368
 Jewish/Jews, 2, 4, 42, 81, 178–179, 203, 207–211, 213–214, 221–223, 227–229, 234, 240, 253, 255, 302–303, 305, 339, 381, 395, 420
 Jewish prayer/prayer traditions, 210, 378
 John the Baptist, 309
 Jonah, 5, 67, 92–93, 203, 205, 207–231 (*passim*), 234, 385, 387–389, 432, 513–514, 561
sign of Jonah, 208
 as prefiguration of Christ, 208
 Jordan, river, 41, 48, 331, 337, 363, 543
 Joseph, 67, 217–218
 Jove/Iobis (see also Jupiter, Zeus), 292–293
 Judaism, 4, 213, 253, 306
 Julian the Apostate, 235, 238
 justice (divine), 166, 168–170, 199, 315, 380
 criminal, 430
 public, 411
 judgment, 67, 79, 378
 last judgment, 208, 328–329
 Juno/Juno Dolichena, 271, 355
 Jupiter/Jupiter Dolichenus/Jove, 60, 166, 271, 293, 299, 335, 355, 430
 Zeus, 255, 271, 402
 Juturna, 281–282, 527
 kingdom (Old/New Kingdom), 150–151, 165
 Heavenly, 329
 knowledge, 4, 175, 402
 Tree of Knowledge, 218
 Kore/Persephone, 170, 401
 krater (kalyx krater), 175, 183, 186, 510
 kythara, 182, 224, 235
 lamb, 21, 331–332, 337, 344, 347, 353–354, 357–361, 363, 369, 372, 380–382, 402, 543, 551, 556
 Lamb of God (see God)
 lamp, 94, 214, 303, 326, 384, 424, 426, 428, 582
 African lamp, 1–3, 6–7, 66–67, 69, 71, 107–136, 142, 219–222, 231–232, 239, 253–254, 264, 266–267, 277–279, 322, 324–325, 345, 347, 350–351, 368, 372, 380, 388–389, 417, 420, 430, 493–494, 497, 514, 519, 521, 578, 582

- Lampstand (see seven), 361
lanx (see also *index of Latin words*), 133–134,
136–138, 142, 257, 259–260, 262–265,
272–278, 282, 293, 296–297, 299, 388,
416–418, 420, 520, 522, 542, 573, 577–578
lararium, 234
Lares and Penates, 39
latticework, 16
Lavinium, 269, 522
Law, 302, 305, 317, 333, 335, 338, 340, 380
Lawrence (St.), 90
Lazarus, 5, 67, 215–216, 218, 243, 251, 272,
277–278, 513
lectionary, 126
Leda, 255, 292
lekythos, 183, 185, 509
Leo I (pope), 21, 292, 359
Leo III (pope), 76
Leptis Magna (see Libya)
Levant, 239, 271
Libya, 385, 393, 412, 572
Leptis Magna, 412
Zliten, 413–415, 572–573
lintel, 117, 119, 123, 142, 370, 373–375, 498, 555
lion, 3, 67–72, 74, 78–80, 84–87, 89, 93–95,
101, 104–105, 108, 150, 160, 171, 173, 204,
220, 224, 242, 244–246, 251, 262, 272,
342, 370–371, 373, 381, 408, 413, 418,
424, 426, 432–433, 492, 494–495, 514,
546
Lipari, Italy, 186
liturgy/liturgical, 27, 67, 78, 92, 94, 125, 127,
173, 209, 213–216, 221–222, 279, 296, 330,
342, 378, 420
Lixus (see also Morocco), 412, 571
loincloth, 80, 83, 90, 422, 424
Lord, 5, 278–279, 309, 344, 348, 364, 370,
373–374, 395
Lord's temple, 339
Lord's victory, 339
Lotus-eaters, 392
Lucius, 283–284
Luke/Gospel of Luke /Luke-Acts/Lukan, 114,
125, 129, 131, 305
Luxor, 155
luxury, 201, 229
lyre, 228–229, 233, 235, 366, 391, 401, 565
Macedonia, 56, 330
Magerius, 412–413, 577
magic/magician, 4, 160, 172, 204, 295
magistrate, 3, 134, 145–146, 407, 416, 573
Magnentius, 330–331
majesty, 3, 5, 111, 116–117, 122–123, 128–129,
130–132, 328, 361–362, 373, 375, 378
Maktar, 112
mandorla, 119, 368–369, 371, 374–376
Mani/Manichean, 91–92
marble, 2, 14–17, 19, 21, 24, 33–35, 39, 41–42,
46–50, 52, 54–56, 58–62, 74, 117, 120,
157, 162, 173, 190, 193–194, 224–225, 229,
235–236, 257, 260–261, 271, 273–274,
276, 280–281, 288, 312, 329, 334, 354, 357,
359–360, 366–367, 388, 396–398, 429,
488, 490, 506–507, 523, 530
Marcion, 309
Mars, 281
martyr/martyrdom, 3, 71–72, 77–81, 84,
90–94, 96, 100–101, 104–105, 145, 252,
297, 303, 305–312, 314, 318–321, 335,
338, 348–350, 357, 362–364, 369, 375,
380–381, 405, 411, 413, 430, 432, 541,
546
apostles as martyrs, 310–318, 320–321,
335, 338, 349–350
Christian martyrs, 96, 100–101, 430
church of the martyrs/true church, 145,
411
female martyrs, 91–92, 101
martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, 81
martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, 27,
77–78, 84, 429–430
protomartyr, 91
tombs/shrines of martyrs, 90, 311–312
veneration of martyrs, 90, 312, 363, 541
Mary/Virgin Mary/Virgin, 90, 117, 122, 363,
371, 373–374, 376, 378
Masoretic text, 378
Maxentius, 284, 289, 528
medallion (gold, bronze, gold glass), 93, 112,
114, 122, 302, 335, 367, 369, 499, 528, 534
Medieval/Early Medieval, 47, 60, 173, 212,
271, 328, 402, 525
Mediterranean, 1, 3, 65–66, 112, 123, 222, 226,
235
Eastern Mediterranean, 84–85, 229,
369–370
Menas/Menas flask, 87, 90
Memphis, 155
Mercury/Hermes, 399–400
Hermes, 520
Mesopotamia, 150, 221, 227
Michael (archangel), 378
Michelangelo, 287

- Milan, 91, 350, 534
 military, 145, 154, 226, 297, 350, 380, 406
 minor art, 6, 327–328, 380, 426
 Minotaur, 153
 miracles, 10, 78, 90, 240–241, 243, 251, 278,
 292, 307, 316
 of Christ, 90, 241, 243, 251, 278, 316
 of Constantine, 292
 of Orpheus, 223
 of Simon Magus and Peter, 307
 of St. Felix, 10
 Mithras, 264, 269, 272, 420
 Mithraeum, 273
 mold, 66, 71, 107–109, 112, 134, 137–139,
 142–145, 230, 303, 387, 418, 424–425, 501,
 519, 581
 Monica, 146
 monogram of Christ (see also monogram-
 matic cross), 1, 112, 136, 144, 260, 330–331,
 341–342, 344, 346, 366, 545, 557
 monophysitism, 375
 monster, 4, 149–151, 153–156, 158, 160, 170,
 172–173, 211, 219, 242, 251–252, 328, 353,
 361, 370, 392
 monuments, 149, 157, 160, 310, 337
 funerary monuments, 151, 302
 Monza, 121–122, 369
 Morocco/Lixus, 190, 192, 412, 571
 mosaic/wall-mosaic/floor-mosaic, 1, 3, 6–7,
 12, 18, 21, 29, 31, 42–43, 46, 66, 73–74, 90,
 93–94, 96, 116–117, 119, 123, 132, 223–224,
 227–229, 235, 264, 293–294, 299, 302,
 309, 326, 329, 333–365 (*passim*), 369, 371,
 373–375, 382, 384, 387–395, 404, 412–422
 (*passim*), 431, 487, 516–517, 523, 530, 532,
 534, 541, 544, 556, 562–563, 567–570,
 572–580
 Moses, 93, 205, 208, 214–215, 333, 340
 Mount Olivet, 115
 Murano, 220
 Muse, 150, 395–397, 401–402
 Musician, 187, 223, 228–229, 235
 myth/mythic/mythology/mythological,
 1–2, 4, 61, 65–66, 149, 154, 162, 166, 172,
 203–204, 206, 229–230, 234, 239, 251, 255,
 272, 281, 299, 337, 383, 402
 Naukratis, 158
 Naxos, 157
 Nemesis, 168–171
 Neptune/Poseidon, 354, 402
 Nestor (*depas*, cup), 31
 New Testament, 67, 216, 306, 340
 Nicea (see council)
 Nile, 190–191, 394, 413
 Ninevites, 208
 Noah, 205, 214–215
 North Africa/North African (see Africa)
 nudity, 5, 220, 225–226
 Numidia, 123, 315, 321
 nymphaeum, 289
 Nyssa (see Beth Shean)
 Octavian/Augustus, 76, 143, 163–165,
 283–284, 286, 335–336
 Odysseus/Odyssey, 6, 197, 383–404, 560–561,
 566–569
 Oedipus/Oedipus story, 150–151, 154, 162
 Olympus/Olympians, 166, 231, 243, 250, 284
 Oplontis, 36
 oracle, 151
 Oracles, Sibylline, 208, 211
 orans, 69, 71–72, 78, 84, 90, 225, 432
 oriental, 5, 264, 271–272, 297
 Orpheus, 5, 205–207, 223–237, 240, 264, 268,
 299, 401, 515–518, 523
 as biblical poet, 229
 prefiguring Christ's resurrection, 223
 Ostia, 146, 292–293, 310, 387–388, 528
 ox (evangelist symbol), 171, 370–371, 381
 Paestum, 183
 pagan, 1–5, 42, 60, 62, 66, 145, 149, 203, 214,
 223, 225–229, 231, 233, 253, 279, 302, 306,
 311, 329, 334–335, 350, 354–355, 357, 364,
 368, 409, 412, 420
 Palestine, 23, 56, 124, 179, 271, 299, 394
 pallium, 134, 138, 347, 374, 399
 palm/palm branch, 21, 71–72, 94, 101,
 104–105, 191, 231, 335, 337–340, 357–358,
 361, 380
 Pan, 153, 230
 panther, 2, 41, 56, 78, 104–105, 138, 228–229,
 235–236, 344, 408, 413, 418, 577
 panegyric, 5, 22, 48, 289–291
 Pantaenus, 178
 Paradise/palms of Paradise/mountain of
 paradise, 6, 90, 251, 328, 331, 333, 335,
 337–340, 357–358, 361, 363–364, 369, 380,
 382, 399, 551
 Parian marble, 17, 49–50
 Paris, prince of Troy, 264, 268, 273
 Parmenianus, Donatist bishop, 316
 Paros, 157

- Parousia (see Second Coming)
 patena, 215–218, 277, 512
 patron/patronage, 2, 9, 33, 62, 158, 172, 198,
 200, 228, 283, 312, 412
 Paul (apostle), 3, 5, 10, 79, 90–92, 94, 117, 120,
 134, 136–138, 144, 146, 220, 292, 296–298,
 301–326, 332–333, 337–338, 348–350,
 352–353, 357, 359, 362, 364, 368, 372, 376,
 380–381, 530–533, 541–543
 Paul III (pope), 287
 pavement (mosaic), 6, 123, 229, 234, 299, 421,
 516–517
 pavonazzetto, 39, 41–42, 488
 peacock, 42–43, 45, 342, 355, 489
 Pegasus, 205, 391
 Pelagius (pope), 364
 pelike, 183, 511
 Penelope, 6
 Pentecost, 60, 124
 perfection, 4, 175
 Pergamon, 18, 164
 Perpetua/Vibia Perpetua, 77–78, 429
 Persia/Persian, 228, 297
 persecution/persecute, 10, 72, 90–91, 93–95,
 129, 179, 310, 316, 319, 410–411, 423
 Persephone/Kore, 170, 401
 Peter (apostle), 67, 111, 134, 141, 215, 280,
 332–333, 335, 337–338, 340, 375, 380, 532,
 534, 542
 Roman martyr, 331–332
 Peter and Paul/princes of the apostles, 3, 5,
 10, 90, 117, 120, 134, 136–138, 141, 144, 146,
 292, 296–298, 301–336, 333, 349, 353, 357,
 359, 362, 364, 368, 372, 376, 381, 530–532,
 541–543
 pharaoh, 150, 152, 155–156
 phiale, 27, 183, 509
 Phrygia/n, 39, 41–42, 162, 462
 Phrygian cap/costume, 95, 231, 235, 264,
 384
 pinecone (bronze), 45–47, 489
 Pisidia/Pisidian, 271, 276
 Platonic, 173, 402–403
 platter, 5, 105, 133, 218, 221, 231, 239, 257, 279,
 282, 299, 326, 349, 519
 player (castanet/flute/kythara), 198, 182
 Pluto (see Hades)
 Pollux/Castor and Pollux, 5, 255–300
 (*passim*), 526
 Pompeii, 33–34, 36, 39, 40, 49, 487
 Pope
 Cornelius, 316, 536
 Damasus, 21, 294, 312, 317, 534
 Felix IV, 362
 Gelasius, 295
 Leo I, 21, 292, 359
 Leo III, 76
 Paul III, 287
 Pelagius, 364
 Sixtus III, 353
 Stephen II, 46–47
 Symmachus, 21, 46
 porphyry, 45–48
 Poseidon/Neptune, 354, 402
 Potiphar's wife, 67, 217
 Portus, 292
 potter, 7, 66, 101, 114, 117, 183, 241, 251–252,
 404, 432
 pottery, 1, 65–66, 72, 93, 105, 218, 252, 416,
 418, 422, 430
 poverty, 4, 196, 198–200
 (the) poor, 23–24, 101, 176, 198–200
 prisoner (see also criminal), 78, 81, 94–96,
 98–101, 405, 413, 423–424, 429
 prisoner of war, 83, 409
 Proconsularis (see Africa)
 prophet, 72, 207–209, 213–214, 218, 221, 235,
 289, 339, 370, 372–373, 375–376
 prophecy, 76, 151, 218–219, 370, 372
 prophetic, 4, 174, 239, 372
 protomartyr, 91
 Ptolemaic, 155–156
 pulpit, 173, 429, 506–507
 punishment, 6, 77, 94, 100, 205, 209, 373, 382,
 401, 410
 purification, 22–23
 pyxis, 219

 Quirinale, 287, 290

 Rabbula Gospels, 111, 122, 370, 375, 500
 radiant/radiance, 3, 108, 116–117, 119, 131, 345,
 362, 366, 372, 375
 rainbow, 116, 354, 357, 360, 367, 369, 372, 380
 Raphael (painter), 292
 Ravenna, 60, 220, 329, 343, 350, 353, 357,
 360–361, 363, 365, 369, 381, 490, 547, 550,
 552, 556
 relic, 136, 332–333
 relief, 1, 66, 71, 82, 85, 97, 112, 221, 256–258,
 271, 274, 276, 279, 354, 357, 366–368, 392,
 524, 555, 567
 reliquary, 85, 357–358
 Renaissance, 45, 56, 292, 399

- Republican period, 35–36, 240, 281–282, 410
 rest/eternal rest, 216, 227, 278, 373
 resurrection, 206, 209, 211, 212–213, 216, 337, 340, 365
 of Christ, 90, 124–125, 134–135, 223, 305
 of Lazarus, 5, 67, 243, 272
 Revelation, 3, 5, 116–117, 131–132, 278, 319, 327–382 (*passim*)
 Rheinland
 terra sigillata, 229, 424, 581
 coinage, 330–331
 rhetor/rhetoric/rhetorical, 22, 76, 92, 197–198, 200, 289, 297, 320
 rider gods, 257, 297
 riddle, 150–154, 156, 162, 165, 174
 ring, 85, 162–163, 180, 183, 233–234, 239, 380, 495
 ring (handles), 29
 ring of light, 108, 116–117, 119, 345, 354, 362, 365, 367–375, 380
 ringed cross, 117
 ringstones, 152, 226
 Rome/Roman, 3, 10, 20–21, 28, 35, 39, 43, 82, 90, 93, 97, 105, 111, 113, 115, 118–119, 131, 142, 144–145, 164–165, 173–174, 194, 214, 227–229, 241, 262, 269, 272–274, 281–299, 301–326, 329, 353–354, 356, 359–364, 373, 377, 382, 386, 395–398, 408, 421–422, 488–489, 497, 506–507, 515–516, 522, 526–533, 538, 543–544, 547–548, 551, 553, 554, 570
 Roman apostle, 306, 323
 Roman art/artist, 94, 149–150, 332, 354, 381
 Roman catacomb, 1, 67, 233, 297
 Roman empire, 1, 94, 136, 203, 218, 240, 301–302, 382, 407
 Roman Imperial period, 2, 35, 42–43, 60, 160, 166–171, 179, 323, 352, 365, 393, 407, 487
 anti-Roman, 320
 sack of Rome, 321
 Romulus and Remus, 284–286, 528
 rule of faith/regula fidei, 308

 Sabratha, 385–386, 388–389
 sacrifice, 53, 66, 68, 71, 90, 160, 207, 214, 217–218, 299, 491–492
 sacristy, 173
 Saint
 Abdon and Sennen, 297
 Agnes, 90–91, 93, 297, 529
 Cosmas and Damian, 296–297, 360–363, 551
 Crispina, 91
 Gervasius and Protasius, 296
 Gorgonius, Peter, Marcellinus, and Tiburtius, 332
 John, 211, 234
 Lawrence, 90, 375
 Marciana, 101–102, 104
 Marcellinus and Peter, 331–332
 Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, 101
 Peter and Paul, 3–5, 10, 90, 92, 117, 120, 134, 136–138, 144, 146, 212, 292, 296–298, 301–326 (*passim*), 332–333, 337, 349, 353, 357, 359, 362, 364, 368, 372, 376, 381, 530–532, 541–543
 Sergius and Bacchus, 296, 364
 Thecla, 3, 65–106 (*passim*), 212, 432–433, 492, 495
 Salus, 153, 239
 salvation, 11, 43, 220–221, 240–241, 252, 282, 373, 382, 394
 Samaria, 128, 169, 171
 Samothrace, 271–272
 sanctuary, 15, 23, 256, 282
 sarcophagus/sarcophagi, 21, 115, 117–119, 120, 125, 219, 224–227, 231, 243, 257, 260, 264, 279–280, 302, 316, 322–323, 326, 329, 334, 338–342, 365–368, 387–388, 395–400, 404
 city-gate sarcophagi, 338–340, 374
 passion sarcophagus, 375–376
 Sardis, 42–43, 47–49, 488
 Sasanian, 222, 272, 526
 Saturn, 280, 354, 357
 Satyr, 33–34, 399
 Savior, 5, 206, 238, 241, 251, 253, 297
 Sbeitla, 565
 sea monster, 211, 219, 394
 scepter, 134, 143, 355
 schism, 144–146
 scroll, 35, 47, 50, 111, 117, 122, 332, 337, 359, 371–373, 375–376, 385, 387, 399
 of the Law, 333, 338
 with seven seals, 354, 357, 360, 364, 372, 380, 551
 sculpture, 6, 90, 155, 157, 190, 193–194, 235, 257, 264, 286, 289, 328, 370, 384, 392
 seal (see seven), 163, 165, 234
 Sebaste in Samaria, 169–171
 Second Coming/Parousia, 111, 116–117, 119, 128–132, 327–382 (*passim*), 558–559
 gospel parousia, 362–363

- secular, 2–3, 65, 136, 144, 146, 203, 234,
322–323, 344, 354, 365
- Secundinus, 322
- Seleucid, 227
- self-control, 189
- Septimius Severus, 355–356
- Septuagint (LXX), 17, 20, 25, 28, 32, 213,
221–222, 374, 378
- Serapeum, 156, 165
- Serapis, 156, 166, 170, 289, 505
- serpent/snake, 67, 239, 243
- seven
candelabra, 360–361, 380, 551
lampstands, 361
seals, 354, 357, 360, 364, 372, 380, 551
- Severus Alexander, 234
- sheep and goats, 130, 329
- shepherd (see also Good Shepherd), 130, 214,
224–226, 264, 267, 274, 329, 332
- Sibyl (see also *Oracula Sibyllina*), 160–165,
205–209, 211, 233, 240, 504
- Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, 112, 142
- Silen, 60
- Silenus, 231
- silver, 50, 53, 60, 85, 136, 164, 230, 235, 237,
257, 262, 282–284, 303, 330, 342, 356,
426–428, 526, 557
- Sinai/Mount Sinai, 340, 375
- Siren, 6, 384–385, 389, 392–395, 397–404,
567–568
- Skylla (see also Charybdis), 394
- social status, 6–7, 63, 177, 187, 191, 196, 405,
410
- Socrates, 180, 187, 401
- Sodom and Gomorrah, 204
- Solomon, 14, 17, 19–20, 25, 67, 339
- Sofia, Bulgaria, 330
- Sosus of Pergamon, 18, 29, 31
- Sousse, 394, 412, 570
- Sozopolis, 183
- Sparta/Spartan, 5, 255, 271, 292
- spectacle/spectator, 3, 6–7, 11, 14–15, 96,
98, 111, 122, 405–407, 409–411, 417–418,
432–434, 573
- sphinx, 4, 39, 149–174 (*passim*), 502–505,
507
- spies, 67
- Split, 165–167, 504
- Spongano, Apulia, 37
- stadium/stadia, 80, 209, 406
- stake, 62, 94–96, 100–101, 103, 105, 413, 422,
424, 428, 581
- stamp, 7, 32, 71, 95, 101, 114, 134, 137, 162, 231,
279, 388, 391, 393, 404, 420, 424
- star/starry, 5, 15, 117, 154, 172, 257, 262, 279,
284–286, 293, 297, 299, 312, 335, 341–344,
359, 369, 376, 529
- statue/statuette, 1, 18, 159, 164, 168–169,
183–184, 187–188, 190–191, 235–238, 241,
273, 286–289, 416, 511, 515, 523
- Stoic, 187–191, 195, 410
- Stobi, 56–59
- sun/sun and moon, 18, 117, 155, 168–169, 172,
341, 371, 375–376, 378
- Susannah/Susanna, 83, 92–93, 212–215, 218,
221, 432
- sword, 4, 95, 175, 180–184, 189, 195, 226, 321,
366, 421, 424
- symbol, 240, 272, 333, 361, 371–372, 401, 403,
413
Christian, 1, 23, 26, 67, 93, 126, 220, 330,
337, 339–340, 342, 353–359, 365–368
of Bacchus, 60
of Christ, 220, 330, 337, 353, 355, 365, 381
of imperial power, 143, 354–356
of the Dioscuri or D. as symbols, 5, 257,
283–284
of the Evangelists, 3, 108, 116, 119, 131, 361,
363, 372, 381, 507
Orpheus as symbol, 234
palm, 335, 339–340
sphinx as symbol, 4, 149–174 (*passim*)
sun and moon, 371, 376
throne, 353–359, 381, 550
- Symbolum*, 127–128, 132
- symposium, 4, 93, 180, 183, 187, 189
- synagogue/synagogal, 42–43, 47–49, 209,
213, 222–223, 228–229, 234, 299, 387, 488,
562
- synoptic, 362–363
synoptic apocalypse, 5, 327, 357, 362, 380
- Syracuse, 56, 62, 107, 490
- Syria/Syriac, 74, 79, 122, 124, 209, 227–228,
239, 306, 355, 359, 370, 500
- Talmud/Talmudic, 210, 378
- Taranto, 187–188, 256, 258, 511
- Telemachus, 391
- Temple, 11, 81–82, 152–153, 155–159, 162,
165–167, 171–174, 235, 238, 281–282, 286,
289, 292–294, 297, 339–340, 370, 380, 503,
526, 528
of Solomon, 14, 17, 19–20, 25, 339
- terra sigillata, 65, 94–95, 424–425, 581

- terra sigillata chiara/ARS, 112, 133–134
- terracotta, 136, 160, 181, 183–184, 187–188, 256, 258, 392, 503, 511, 567
- tetramorph/living creatures/seraphim, 119, 122, 131–132, 341–345, 350–357, 359–362, 367–368, 370–376, 378, 380–381, 551
- Tigris, 363
- Thasos, 157, 261
- theater/ampitheater, 41, 74, 81, 83, 262–263, 406, 409, 412, 417, 419, 424, 432–434, 571, 574–575, 579–580
- Thebes/Theban, 150–154, 156, 158–159, 165, 174
- Theodosius II, 74, 114, 143, 335–336
- Theodulph, 61–62
- theophany, 365–366
- Thessaly, 151
- Thrace/Thracians, 223–224, 226
- throne/empty throne, 105, 134, 138, 155, 158–159, 329, 331, 352–360, 364–366, 368–369, 371, 378, 381, 550, 557
- enthroned, 116, 119–120, 122, 331–333, 362, 376, 380, 528, 555
- Tiber, 385, 413
- Tiberius, 284, 286, 289, 293
- Titanomachy, 166
- Titus, 177, 354, 356
- Arch of Titus, 81–82
- toga, 134
- tomb, 10–11, 90, 146, 151–152, 155, 157, 159–160, 162, 166, 174, 183, 187–188, 272, 278, 312, 330, 404, 497
- topography, 47
- training, 80, 83, 175–176, 182, 190–191, 348
- transfiguration, 115, 361
- tree-man, 67–69
- Trier, 293, 424
- Trinity/Trinitarian/triune god, 344, 366
- Holy Trinity, 378
- tripod, 160–163, 286, 392
- Trisagion, 376–380
- Triton, 172
- triumph/thriumphal art/triumphal arch, 72, 81, 105, 119, 166, 241, 251, 335–337, 353–354, 360–366, 532, 548, 551–554
- Troy/Troad/Trojan, 158, 162, 255, 272, 384, 504
- trophy (see also *tropaeum*), 47, 226, 310, 413
- trousers, 224, 264
- tunic, 105, 108, 111, 134, 221, 224, 227, 264, 374, 384, 421
- Tunisia, 1, 3, 42, 65, 69–70, 101, 109–110, 112, 123, 131–132, 133, 135, 142, 218, 241, 262–263, 295, 322–323, 344, 368, 384, 387, 389, 393–394, 412–413, 420, 497, 501, 541, 570
- twins, 5, 255–300 (*passim*), 391, 526, 528
- underworld, 150–151, 208, 223, 233, 235, 399, 401–402, 515
- unity of the Church, 146, 305, 307–309, 314–319, 321, 326
- Valentinian III, 74, 143
- Valerian, 410
- Vandal, 2, 123, 253, 335, 408, 416
- vase, 9–64 (*passim*), 66, 95, 181–183, 257, 272, 293, 296, 347–348, 416, 424, 526
- vase painting, 36, 151, 384
- vault, 6, 299, 328, 342, 355, 369, 546
- veil, 85, 365, 367
- venatio/venator (see also hunts), 65–106 (*passim*), 262–263, 407–409, 412–413, 417, 421–424, 576, 580
- Venus, 36, 39–40, 60, 90, 268, 335
- Vespasian, 177, 371
- vestibule, 11, 13, 15, 17
- Vesuvius, 29, 33, 39
- Vetus Latin/Italia (see also Bible), 19–20, 28, 47, 317
- Via Appia, 310, 313–314, 533
- Vico Equense, Campania, Italy, 31
- victim, 78, 94–96, 101, 104, 411, 422–423, 427–428, 580
- victory, 72–82, 93–95, 101–105, 146, 231, 279, 281, 285, 289, 292, 335, 339–341, 350, 364–365, 380–381
- Victoria, 3, 69–80, 90, 105, 166, 335
- vineyard, 69, 176
- violence, 205, 221, 224, 405–406, 410–411, 424, 432
- Virgil/Virgilian, 312
- Visigoths, 321
- Volubilis, 190, 192
- votive, 15, 152, 157, 159–160, 235, 276, 524
- Vulgate (see also Bible), 19–20, 25, 32, 317, 537
- wall-mosaic, 12, 123, 132, 384, 412
- wall-painting (see also fresco), 40, 123, 214, 311, 316, 384, 487
- washing, 13, 22–27, 31, 33, 48
- water jar/hydria, 180–182, 399, 510

- wealth/riches, 145, 196–201, 211
wine cup, 2, 28–63 (*passim*), 182
wings/winged, 108, 115–116, 150–151, 154,
166–167, 169–170, 272, 342, 356–359, 367,
370–376, 380–381, 391, 401, 526, 546
wreath, 72–73, 89–90, 101, 104–105, 117, 119,
260, 335, 341, 347–357, 362, 365–371,
375–376, 380–381
Zacharias, 372
Zeus (see Jupiter)
Zion/Mount Zion, 331–333, 337–338, 345,
353, 357, 372–373, 380–381
Zliten (see Libya)
zodiac, 255, 335

INDEX OF MUSEUMS

(museums with works illustrated or cited in text)

- Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 260,
391, 524, 565
- Antikensammlung/Altes Museum, Berlin,
183, 187, 511
- Antiquarium, S. Felice, Cimitile, 52, 54
- Archaeological Museum, Cherchel, Algeria,
393, 568–569
- Archaeological Museum, Djemila, Algeria,
347–348, 578
- Archaeological Museum, El Djem, Tunisia,
413, 523, 570, 574–575
- Archaeological Museum, Frankfurt, 387,
561–562
- Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, 227,
365–367, 516
- Archaeological Museum, Rabat, Morocco,
190, 192
- Archaeological Museum, Sousse, Tunisia,
394, 407, 412, 570
- Archaeological Museum, Sabratha, Libya,
385–386, 388–389
- Archaeological Museum, Venice, 357–360
- Archäologische Staatsammlung, Munich,
142–143, 501
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 235, 515
- Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, 95, 97
- Bardo Museum, Tunis, 389–390, 393, 412,
567, 576–579
- Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, 111,
115, 497
- Benaki Museum, Athens, 239, 262, 272, 325,
418, 431, 519, 522, 542, 573, 579
- Berlin, Frühchristliche-byzantinische
Sammlung, 85, 88–89
- Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 182–183, 185
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, 317,
537
- British Museum, London, 190–191, 193, 233,
257, 259, 304, 380, 426, 428, 510, 582
- Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, 387, 562
- Cirta Museum, Constantine, Algeria, 257,
261
- Civici Musei, Trieste, 271, 525
- Colchester Castle Museum, Colchester,
424–425, 581
- Coptic Museum, Cairo, 367, 376, 379, 498,
555, 558–559
- Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY,
302–303, 531
- Crypt of S. Victor, Marseille, 119–120
- Crypta Balbi (Museo Nazionale Romano),
Rome, 95, 97, 269, 421
- Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 417, 577
- Enfidha Museum, Enfidha, Tunisia, 541
- Galleria Borghese, Rome, 422, 580
- Harvard University Art Museums, Cam-
bridge, 28, 30
- Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 215–216
- Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston,
41–42, 119–120
- Jamahiriya Alhamra Museum, Tripoli, Libya,
413, 572–573
- Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 39
- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
160–161, 272, 302, 329, 395, 397, 523, 526,
531
- Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, 70–71,
232, 270, 521, 576, 578
- Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques,
Arles, 279–280, 302
- Musée du Louvre, Paris, 35, 41, 87, 186, 320,
338–340, 357, 392, 491, 511, 567
- Museo Archeologico di Lipari, Italy, 183,
186
- Musei Capitolini, Rome, 29, 487
- Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples,
180–182, 509, 523

- Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Taranto, 187–188
- Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, 119–220
- Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, 35, 97, 190, 194, 253, 397, 522
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 31, 34, 37–38, 53, 133, 164, 217, 225, 230–231, 256, 258, 264, 268, 275–278, 391, 492, 495, 503, 509, 512–513, 518, 520, 564
- Museum of Hippo Regius, Annaba, Algeria, 231
- Museum of Leptis Minus (Lamta), Tunisia, 323
- National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 183–184
- National Archaeological Museum, Madrid, 242, 245–246
- National Museum of Antiquities, Algiers, 316
- National Museum of Roman Art, Merida, 247
- Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, 85–86, 90
- Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, 84–85, 495
- Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, 73, 96, 98–99, 101–102, 423, 431, 491, 494, 496
- Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, 68, 71, 100, 103–105, 232, 268–269, 417, 419, 422–423, 431, 433, 496
- Thermenmuseum, Heerlen, the Netherlands, 424–425, 581
- Treasury of the Basilica of Saint Servatius, Maastricht, the Netherlands, 271, 525
- Treasury of S. Giovanni, Monza, 121
- Vatican Museums, Vatican City, 45–46, 54–55, 264, 267, 273–274, 298, 301, 311, 337, 339, 369, 398–399, 531, 534, 544
- Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 392, 566

INDEX OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL AUTHORS AND WRITINGS

- Acts of Marciana*, 101, 104
Acts of Paul, 91, 307
Acts of Paul and Thecla, 79, 81–83, 90–91, 307, 432
Acts of Peter, 307
 Acts of the Apostles, Book of, 3, 107–132, 303–306, 364, 368, 371
Acts of the Saints/Acta Sanctorum, 21, 46, 72, 92, 104, 297
Acts of Saturninus, 72
 Aelian, 176, 297
 Alcman, 402
 Artemidorus, 176, 191, 195
 Ambrose, 10, 26, 93, 124, 278, 311, 349, 534
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 98, 292
Anthologia Palatina, 24
Apocryphon of James, 111
 Apollonius Rhodius, 401
Apostolic Constitutions, 209–215
 Apuleius, 401
 Arnobius, 26–28
 Artemidorus, 176, 191, 195
 Athenaeus, 25, 176, 189, 197
 Augustine, 1, 3, 10, 23, 71, 76, 91–92, 100, 115–116, 123–132, 145–146, 223, 233, 241, 278, 295, 311, 315, 317–321, 365, 403–404, 412, 416, 433–434
 Ps-Augustine, 294

 Ps-Basil, 82

 Caesar, 75
 Cassius Dio, 81–82, 178
Cena Cypriani, 92, 212–213
 Chalcidius, 26
 Chrysostom, John, 23–24, 27, 125, 212
 Chronicles, Book of, 19
 Cicero, 152
 Claudianus, 291–292
 Clement of Alexandria, 1, 4, 149–174, 175–201, 206, 210–211, 213, 223, 226, 402, 409
1 Clement (see Clement of Rome)
 Clement of Rome, 305–306, 430
Ps-Clementines (Homelies and Recognitions), 306
 Codex Coburgensis, 400
 Codex Einsiedlensis, 289
 Codex Pighianus, 400
 Codex Sinaiticus, 330
 Codex Theodosianus, 146, 431–432
 Colossians, Letter to the, 127
Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta (CAF), 18
Commendatio animae, 92, 215
 Corinthians, First Letter to the, 94, 220, 348
 Cyprian, 26, 201, 218, 314–318, 320, 364, 409–410, 534, 536
 Ps-Cyprian, 67, 92, 212–213, 215

 Daniel, Book of, 208
 Dio Chrysostomos, 153
 Diogenes Laertius, 152, 191
 Dionysius of Corinth, 303
Doctrina Apostolorum, 124

 Egeria, 124, 278
 Enoch, Book of, 92, 211–212
 Ephesians, Letter to the, 127
 Epictetus, 191, 195
Epistula Apostolorum, 116
 Esther, Book of, 17
Etymologium Gudianum, 173
 Eucherius of Lyon, 19, 31
 Eunicus, 20
 Euripides, 151, 154
 Eusebius, 22–23, 48, 72, 78, 84, 124, 177–178, 223, 303, 309–311
 Eustathius, 403
 Eutropius, 98
 Exodus, Book of, 23–25
 Ezekiel, Book of, 3, 5, 119, 122, 131–132, 327, 338–340, 370–373, 376, 380–381

Fragments of the Greek Historians (FGrH), 162

 Galatians, Letter to the, 301–325
 Gelasius, 295
 Genesis, Book of, 210, 331–332, 340
 Georgius Cedrenus, 172–173, 179
 Georgius Monachus, 172
 Georgius Syncellus, 178
Gospel of Peter, 116

- Gregory of Nyssa, 23
 Gregory of Nazianzen, 23, 83, 92, 212
 Gregory the Great, 19

 Habakkuk, Book of, 374
 Herodotus, 393
 Hippolytus, 212
Historia Augusta, 234
 Homer, 6, 29, 31, 197, 392, 401–404
 Hyginus, 401

 Ignatius, 305
 Irenaeus, 208, 210–211, 308–309, 361
 Isaiah, Book of, 364, 372–373, 376, 378, 380

 Jerome, 10, 19–20, 25–26, 32, 124, 278, 294, 317–318, 537
 John, Gospel of, 11, 127–128, 295, 305, 309
 Jonah, Book of, 207–208
 Josephus, Flavius, 24
 Judges, Book of, 19
 Julius Africanus, 179
 Ps.-Justin, 223
 Justinian, 25, 35

 Kings, Book of, 19–20, 25, 339

 Lactantius, 294
Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, 81
Liber Pontificalis, 21–22, 46, 76, 215
Life of Pelagia, 19
 Lucian, 82, 176
 Luke, Gospel of, 5, 11, 81, 111, 114, 122, 127, 129, 305, 327, 337, 362, 371, 376
 Lycophron, 401

 Maccabees, Third Book of the, 209–211, 213
 Macrobius, 28
 Mansi, 74, 124
 Mark, Gospel of, 5, 81, 114–115, 127, 129, 181, 199–200, 327, 337, 362
 Martial, 82, 408
 Matthew, Gospel of, 5, 69, 115, 127, 129–130, 208, 327, 337, 341, 359, 361–362, 364–365, 411
 Methodius of Olympos, 93
 Michael Psellus, 173
Mirabilia, 289
 Musonius Rufus, 187, 189, 191, 195, 197

 Nazarius, 289–291
 Nicephorus Callistus, 307
 Numbers, Book of, 119
 Numenius, 401–402

 Optatus of Milevis, 315–317, 536
Oracula Sibyllina, 206–208, 211
Oratio Pseudocypriana, 92, 213
Ordo Commendationis Animae, 92, 212
 Origen, 4, 26, 203–213, 402
 Orphica, 401
 Ovid, 401

Passion of Maxima, Donatilla and Secunda, 101
Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, 27, 77–78, 84, 429–430
Passion of Polychronius, 297
Passion of the Quattro Coronati (Four Crowned Saints), 21
 Pastoral Letters, 348
 Paulinus of Nola, 1–2, 9–63 (*passim*), 116, 278, 312, 314, 329
 Paulus the Silentary, 27
 Pausanias, 158, 162–163, 395
 Peter, First Letter of, 306
 Peter, Second Letter of, 306
 Petronius, 429
 Philippians, Letter to the, 127
 Philo, 24, 198, 210, 221–222, 226
 Phlegon of Tralles, 162
 Photius, 177
 Plato, 25–26, 173, 180, 205, 401–403
 Plautus, 18, 429
 Pliny the Elder, 18, 28–29, 31, 33, 44, 163–165, 190, 404
 Pliny the Younger, 25–26, 35, 410
 Plotinus, 402
 Plutarch, 152–155, 160, 165, 173–174, 187, 197, 207, 391, 401
 Pollux, 20
 Porphyry, 317, 402
 Proclus, 402
 Proverbs, Book of, 26, 198
 Prudentius, 21, 41, 294, 312, 314
 Psalms, Book of, 23, 127, 130

 Quodvultdeus, 130, 432–433

 Rabbinic Writings, 210, 378
 Revelation, Book of, 3, 5, 116–117, 131–132, 278, 319, 327–382 (*passim*)

- Romans, Letter to the, 122
 Rufinus, 10, 22–23
Sacramentarium of Rheinau, 92, 212
 Seneca, 190, 411
Sibylline Oracles (see *Oracula Sibyllina*)
 Sidonius, 28
 Simeon the New Theologian, 212
 Socrates (Scholasticus), 26
 Stobaeus, Joannes, 154, 176
 Strabo, 155, 401, 404, 429
 Suda/Suida, 172, 179, 403
 Suetonius, 164–165
 Sulpicius Severus, 10
 Synesius of Cyrene, 171–172, 174
 Tacitus, 176
 Tatian, 409
 Tertullian, 24, 84, 91, 210–211, 278, 294, 306, 308–309, 314, 316, 406, 409–413, 432
 Theodoretus of Cyrrhus, 172, 223, 233
 Timothy, Second Letter of, 348, 380
 Ulpian, 18
 Valerius Flaccus 272
 Valerius Maximus 28
Vita Pelagiae (see *Life of Pelagia*)
 Xenophon, 180–181, 183, 187, 189, 191
 Zechariah, Book of, 127–128
 Zosimos, 286

INDEX OF LATIN, GREEK, AND HEBREW WORDS

- ad bestias*, 82, 94–96, 98, 100, 405–434
 (*passim*)
aedicula, 262, 272, 527
aenigma, 165
aeternitas, 335, 355, 371
Africanae, 408
annona, 145
area, 13–17
artemon, 385, 387
atrium/atria, 2, 11, 13–16, 21–23, 27, 35, 44–49,
 51, 60–62, 92, 213, 488–489
aula, 15–16
aurum coronarium, 350, 352, 371

basanite, 165
bema, 355
bestiaria, 82–83
bestiarius, 83, 407, 426

campestrum, 83
cancelli, 16–17
cantharus (see general index)
cantharus aquarius, 18, 31, 33, 47–48, 54–
 55
capax/capaces, 16
carnarium, 429
catascopiscus, 389–390
cathedra Petri, 315
cavalli marmorei, 289
cava marmora, 14
cetus, 216, 219–220, 514
chlamys, 225, 231, 257
cisterna, 14–15
claritas, 128
collatio, 146–147
concha/conchae, 14, 16–21, 29, 31, 39, 49, 56
consul suffectus, 10
corona/coronae, 76, 333
corona lucido globo, 116
crater, 2, 9–63 (*passim*), 293, 488

damnatio ad bestias (see *ad bestias*)
datio ad bestias (see *ad bestias*)
depas, 31
dies natalis, 318
dignitas, 78

diva, 355
domina, 72, 77–78
domina victoria, 3, 65–105 (*passim*)
dominus, 77, 278
Dominus legem dat, 333, 335, 337
domini factionum, 77
domus, 25, 77, 92, 213, 413, 540, 574–575
dormire, 227
dormitio, 227

edepol, 294
ex circumcissione, 338, 353, 532
exedra, 355
ex gentibus, 318, 338, 353, 532
exomis, 384

fasti, 10
felicitas temporum, 335
fons/fontes, 12, 14–17
fons Iuturnae, 281–282
fonticuli, 16
forum/fora, 17, 281, 286, 293, 350, 406, 412,
 429, 526–527, 539

gloria, 127–128
gloria domini, 119

honestiores, 421
humiliores, 421

intervallum, 13

krene, 48
kylikes, 33
kythara, 182, 235

labium, 20
labrum, 20, 29, 41
lacus, 16–17, 21
lacus Iuturnae, 281–282
lagoena, 94, 496
lanx (see general index)
lararium, 234
lebes, 20
lex/leges, 340, 380
libertus, 178

- lignum*, 340
litterati, 399
ludi, 287
ludi Castorum, 293
luter/luteres, 19–20, 25, 31–32

maiestas, 128–129, 337, 371
mandye, 221
mappa, 134
maskaules (see μασκαύλης)
(m)ecastor, 294
memoria/memoriae, 321
meta/metae, 14
munerarius, 413
munitura, 83
Magerius, 412–413

navis oneraria, 6, 385
nemes, 150, 173
nica/nika, 73, 75, 494
nova sidera, 297
noxia, 82–83
nymphaeum, 289

opertum, 15–16
orans, 69, 71–72, 78, 84, 90, 225–227, 432
orationibus sanctorum, 278
os, 16

pallium, 134, 138, 347, 374, 399
palma, 21, 340
Pariae conchae, 17
patena, 215–218, 277, 512
pelvis, 29
per aedem Pollucis, 294
perducere, 278
perducat Dominus, 278
petasma, 399
pilos, 257, 293, 384
pompa diaboli, 409–410
pons, 429
potestas, 128–129
praenomen, 177
praesentatio, 363
principes iuventutis, 283
pulpitum, 429
puteal, 282
pyxis, 219, 331

regula fidei, 308
renovare, 46

sapiens Ithacus, 403
scrinium, 136
secundus adventus, 365
serta, 333
sigilla/sigillae, 21
scrinium/scrinia, 136
sodalitates, 73, 407
solidus, 114, 336
spatium, 15
spolia, 166
subligaculum (and par.), 83–84
subreguli, 297
sursum corda, 127–128

tabula ansata, 69, 71, 73, 81–82, 395
taenia/taeniae, 333
Telegenius/Telegenii, 73, 407, 413, 494
tholus, 11
thyrsus, 183
topos/topoi, 17, 179, 195, 197
traditio legis, 302, 322–324, 333–334, 337–340, 362, 530, 544
transenna, 13
transvectio equitum, 281, 283
tria nomina, 177
tropaeum Petri, 310
tropaeum Pauli, 310

Urbs Roma, 284, 309
uraeus, 39

vas/vasa, 14, 16–17, 49
venatio/venationes, 262–263, 406, 408, 412–413
venator/venatores, 72–73, 78, 83, 94–95, 105, 262, 407, 413, 417, 421, 424, 576, 580
vestibulum, 11, 13, 15, 17
vexillum, 365
victoria, 72, 75–76
Victoria, 335
vitta/vittae, 333
ν(ir) c(larissimus), 142

ἀγνευτήριον, 27
αἶθριον, 22
Ἀληθής Λόγος, 203, 206
ἀνάπαισις, 227, 373
αὐλή, 26–27

γαυλός, 20

- διάζωμα, 83
 διαζώστρα, 83
 εἶδωλον, 153, 172
 ἐπιγραφή, 79–81
 θαυματοποιοί, 175–176, 189, 191
 Θεομήτωρ Μαρία, 374
 θηριομαχέω, 82
 θηριομαχία, 82
 ἡ θηριομάχος, 79, 82
 κακοτεχνέω, 175, 196
 κάνθαρος, 18
 κόγχη, 18
 κοιμάσθαι, 227
 κοίμησις, 227
 κολυμβήθρα, 24
 κρατήρ, 25
 κρήνη, 25, 27, 48
 κρήνη συναγωγῆς, 48
 κυβιστητήρ, 176
 λέβης, 29
 λεκάνη, 29
 λουτήρ, 19–20, 24–25, 31
 λουτήριον, 25, 31
 λύτρον, 24
 μασκαύλης, 48
 νικα, 74–75
 ὁμοίωμα, 172
 πηγῇ, 25–26, 393
 πίναξ, 81
 ποδανιπτήρ, 29
 σκάφη, 29
 σφραγίς, 234
 χύτρα, 20
 φιάλη, 27
 φιλανθρώπως, 198
 φοῖνιξ, 340
 φρεάρ, 26
 kiyor (כִּיּוֹר), 20
 maskel/maskol/maskilta, 48

PLATES



Pl. 1a. Mosaic with doves on a basin of water. Roman Imperial, ca. 125 CE. From Hadrian's Villa. Capitoline Museum, Rome.



Pl. 1b. Wall-painting with lobed water basins flanking a table with an Isiac ewer, ca. 1–25 CE. House of the Fruit Orchard, Pompeii.



Pl. 2a. Atrium with cantharoid crater, ca. 350–380 CE (as reconstructed). Synagogue, Sardis.



Pl. 2b. Phrygian marble (pavonazzetto) cantharoid crater, ca. 150–230 CE. Santa Cecilia Trastevere, Rome.



Pl. 2c. Phrygian marble (pavonazzetto) cantharoid crater, ca. 170–210 CE. Church, Petra.



Pl. 3a. Bronze pinecone from the atrium of Old Saint Peter's, ca. 2nd century CE. Vatican, Cortile della Pigna.



Pl. 3b. Bronze peacock from the atrium of Old Saint Peter's, ca. 2nd century CE. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo.



Pl. 4a. Sessile cantharus with Cupids carrying garlands and torches, eagles under the handles, probably Proconnesian marble, 3rd or early 4th century CE, reused as a baptismal font. Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna.



Pl. 4b. Baptismal font in the form of a sessile cantharus, limestone (probably Spanish), 13th century. Cathedral, Syracuse.



Pl. 5a. ARS bowl with the Sacrifice of Isaac, 350–430 CE. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 6699.



Pl. 5b. ARS bowl with Isis, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL 551.



Pl. 6a. ARS bowl with the Sacrifice of Isaac, 350–430 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989.690. Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Fund.



Pl. 6b. ARS bowl with a woman flanked by lions (St. Thecla), 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 7a. Modern “tree house” on the way from Annaba to El-Kala in eastern Algeria.



Pl. 7b, c. African lamp with a watchman in a tree house, about 480–550 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 8a. ARS bowl with Daniel in the lions' den, 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 8b. African lamp with Daniel in the lions' den, 5th or early 6th century. Private collection.



Pl. 8c. ARS jug inscribed TELEGENI NIKAI, 3rd century. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL 414.



Pl. 9a. Byzantine gold pendant with Thecla between male and female lions, 5th or 6th century. Princeton University Art Museum, y1968–136.



Pl. 9b. Bronze Byzantine ring with Thecla between lions with inscription (ΦΡΟΝΟΥ ΜΟΙ "be mindful of me") from Egypt, 6th century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Eg.Inv 6873, unpublished.



Pl. 10a, b. Lagynos (lagoena) with arena scenes, including executions *ad bestias*. Attributed to the workshop of Navigius, late 3rd or early 4th century. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O.39628.



Pl. 10c. ARS bowl with women attacked by bears, 350–430 CE. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, KL541.



Pl. 11a. African lamp with the Ascension of Christ. Tunisia, 440–510. Private collection.



Pl. 11b. Ivory panel with the Holy Women at the Tomb and Ascension. Rome, ca. 400. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, MA 157.



Pl. 12a, b. Limestone doorframe of the Evangelist's basilica, 450–540. Alahan Monastery, Cilicia.



Pl. 12c. Wooden door lintel from the church of Al-Mo'allaga, 6th century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 753.



Pl. 13. Gold medallion with the Ascension, 550–620. Art market.



Pl. 14. Ascension, Rabbula Gospels, ca. 586 CE. From Zagba on the Euphrates, Syria. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. Plut. 1, 56.



Pl. 15a. ARS cover, ca. 408. From Tunisia. Formerly in the collection of Cornelius C. Vermeule III.



Pl. 15b. ARS fragment of a consular plaque. Archäologische Staatssammlung, Munich, PStslg.1988,3002.



Pl. 15c. ARS fragment of a consular plaque. Formerly in the collection of Cornelius C. Vermeule III.



Pl. 15d. ARS fragment from the mold of a consular plaque. Formerly in the collection of Cornelius C. Vermeule III.



Pl. 16a. Alexandria, Serapeion: sphinxes by the column of Diocletian.



Pl. 16b. Alexandria, Serapeion: sphinx by the column of Diocletian.



Pl. 17a. Sphinxes flanking an Aeolic colonnette. Greek, ca. 550–525 BCE. Trachyte architrave section, temple of Athena, Assos, Turkey. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 84.68. Gift of the Archaeological Institute of America.



Pl. 17b. Fragment of a terracotta altar with a sphinx on an Aeolic column. Greek, ca. 480–460 BCE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2001.851. Gift of Ariel Herrmann in memory of Lucia Torossi.



Pl. 18a. Black granite Egyptian sphinx of Thutmosis III, 15th century BCE. Peristyle, Palace of Diocletian, Split, Croatia, ca. 300 CE.



Pl. 18b, c. Bronze coin of Gergis, Troad, Turkey. Obverse: head of the sibyl of Marpesos. Reverse: sphinx. Greek, ca. 400–330 BCE. Private collection.



Pl. 19. Cornelian intaglio with a sphinx on a pedestal in front of Serapis, perhaps from Egypt, late 1st century CE. Antiquarium, Ltd., New York.



Pl. 20. Marble pulpit of S. Cesareo, Rome, ca. 1230.



Pl. 21a, b. Marble pulpit of S. Cesareo, Rome, ca. 1230. Sphinxes, a griffin, evangelist symbols, and grotesque figures (detail).



Pl. 22. Apulian red-figure plate of the Alabastra Group, 340–320 BCE. Formerly Schneider-Herrmann Collection 201, now private collection USA.



Pl. 23a. Attic red-figure phiale by the Painter of the Boston Phiale, ca. 440–430. Found near Sounion. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 97.371. Catharine Page Perkins Fund.



Pl. 23b. Campanian red-figure lekythos, 350–320 BCE. From Avella. Museo Nazionale, Naples, 82164a.



Pl. 24a. Apulian gnathian calyx-krater, 350–325 BCE. Private collection.



Pl. 24b. Campanian red-figure Hydria, c. 340–330 BCE. British Museum, London, BM1814,0704.566.



Pl. 25a. Apulian Gnathian Pelike, c. 340–320 BCE. Antikensammlung/Altes Museum, Berlin; Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung*, no. 3444.



Pl. 25b. Terracotta statuette of a female acrobat, from Taranto (?), 4th century BCE, Musée du Louvre, Paris, CA 495.



Pl. 26. ARS bowl (*patena*) with biblical subjects. 320–360 CE. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2002.131. Museum purchase with funds donated in memory of Emily Townsend Vermeule.



Pl. 27. detail of pl. 26: (a) Lazarus (b) Jonah cycle.



Pl. 28a. African lamp with Jonah, the cetus, and the gourd vine, 430–480. Private collection.



Pl. 28b. Tondo of an African lamp with Daniel in the lions' den, Gabriel, and Habakkuk. African, 430–530. Private collection.



Pl. 29a. Fresco of Orpheus and the animals, 350–360. Catacomb of Domitilla, Crypt of Orpheus, Rome.



Pl. 29b. Bronze statuette of Orpheus charming Cerberus at the entrance to the Underworld, ca. 280–370 CE. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN1887.2283.



Pl. 30. Mosaic pavement with Orpheus charming animals. Roman or Parthian, 194 CE, probably from Edessa/Sanliurfa, Turkey. Archaeological Museum Istanbul? 164.5 × 152.4 cm.



Pl. 31. Mosaic pavement with Orpheus charming animals, ca. 250–350. 220 × 200 cm. Collection of Michael and Judy Steinhardt, New York.



Pl. 32. ARS bowl with Orpheus, 320–360. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1981.658. John Wheelock Elliot and John Morse Elliot Fund.



Pl. 33a. Fragmentary ARS platter with Hygieia and the arm and staff of Asklepios, 350–430. Benaki Museum, Athens, 12475.



Pl. 33b. African lamp with Hygieia, 430–480. Formerly Chatswold Collection.



Pl. 33c. Molded glass pendant in gold setting with Asklepios (glass: 1 cm × 1.4 cm), Syro-Palestinian, 5th century CE. Private collection.



Pl. 34a. ARS bowl with Herakles plucking the apples of the Hesperides, 350–430. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2005.102. Museum purchase with funds donated by Shelby White in honor of John J. Herrmann, Jr., Curator of Classical Art, 1978–2004.



Pl. 34b. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles taming the mares of Diomedes, 350–430. Formerly Estate of Sir Charles Nuffler, Bart.



Pl. 34c. Fragmentary ARS lanx with Herakles fighting Ares, flanked by Hermes and Aphrodite; body of Kyknos below; Athena behind Herakles, 350–430. Private collection.



Pl. 35a. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles sacrificing, 350–430. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, 1996.5.237. Gift of William K. Zewadski in honor of Monique Brouillet Seefried, Curator of Near Eastern Art.



Pl. 35b. African lamp with Herakles shooting the Stymphalian birds, mid-5th century. Formerly American art market (Christie's, New York, and Goldberg, Beverly Hills).



Pl. 35c. Fragmentary ARS bowl with Herakles shooting the Stymphalian birds, 350–430. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, 1996.5.63. Gift of William K. Zewadski in honor of Monique Brouillet Seefried, Curator of Near Eastern Art.



Pl. 37a. Marble statuettes of the Dioscuri with horses, ca. 200–250 CE. On loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, L. 2008.18.1–2.



Pl. 37b. Marble statue of one of the Dioscuri, 70–170 CE. Archaeological Museum, Naples, 131209.



Pl. 37c. Mosaic with Orpheus and floppy hat, late 2nd century. Quartier Bir Zid, El Djem. Archaeological Museum of El Djem.



Pl. 38a. Fragmentary limestone votive relief with a Dioscurus, El Djem, 2nd or 3rd century CE. Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 12.520.



Pl. 38b. Fragmentary ARS bowl with one of the Dioscuri, 340–430 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 39a. Ivory panel with the Dioscuri and Europa, 6th century CE. Civici Musei, Trieste, 1335.



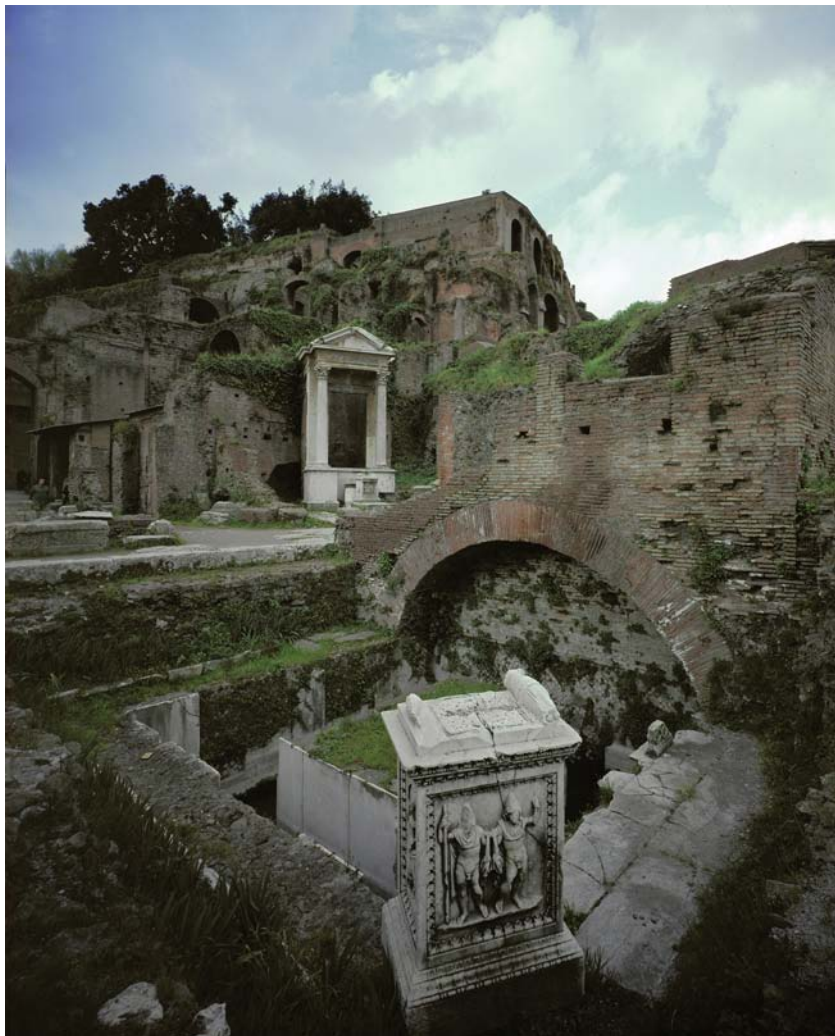
Pl. 39b. Early medieval textile, the so-called Dioscuri-silk, 8th or 9th century CE. Treasury of the Basilica of Saint Servatius, Maastricht, cat. 1.



Pl. 40a. Sasanian silver plate with twin figures, winged horses, and a vase, 6th or early 7th century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1963.63.152.



Pl. 40b. Forum Romanum with columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the middle distance.



Pl. 41. Fountain and Aedicula of Juturna, Forum Romanum.



Pl. 42a–g (row 1). Aureus of Commodus, reverse: Castor. Rome, 178 CE. Medallion of Commodus, reverse: Jupiter between Dioscuri. Rome, 184–185. (rows 2,3,4). Coins of Maxentius. Ostia mint, 307–312 CE. Dioscuri and horses (c–d, f); wolf and twins (e–f). Follis of Maxentius. Rome, 308–310 CE. Reverse: Roma enthroned in temple, Dioscuri in pediment (g).



Pl. 43. Gold-glass with Saint Agnes, two doves, and two stars, ca. 350–400 CE. Cimitero di Panfilo (*in situ*), Rome.



Pl. 44a. Mosaic with the *traditio legis*, ca. 350. Apse of Santa Constanza, Rome.



Pl. 44b. Marble funerary slab of Asellus with busts of Peter and Paul, late 4th century. From Rome (Catacomb of Saint Hippolytus). Vatican Museums, 28596.



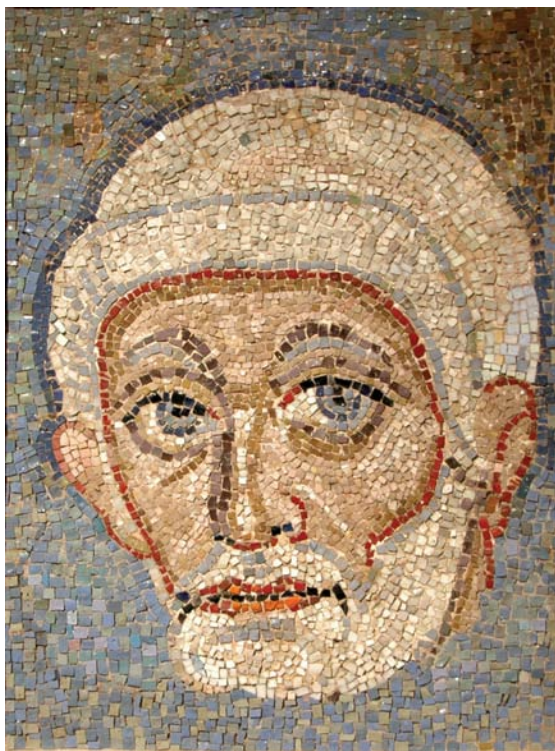
Pl. 45a, b. Gold glass medaillon with Peter and Paul 350–400 CE. From Rome. (a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 16.174.3 (b) Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, 62.1.20.



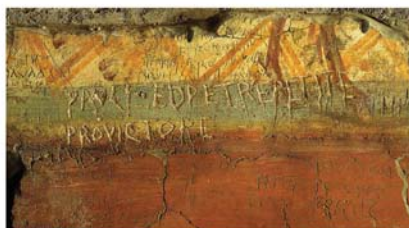
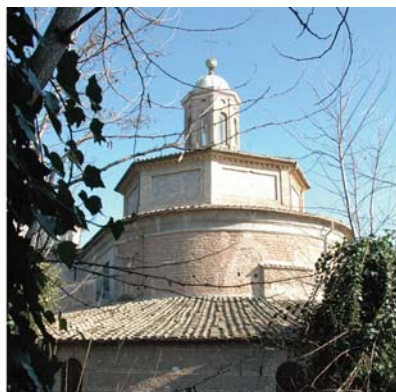
Pl. 45c. Diptych with portraits of Peter and Paul, late 8th century. From the Sancta Sanctorum. Vatican Library, Vatican Museums, 61911.



Pl. 46a. Mosaic with Christ and apostles, *Ecclesia ex gentibus* crowning Paul and *Ecclesia ex circumcisione* crowning Peter, c. 400. Rome, apse of S. Pudenziana.



Pl. 46b. Mosaic fragment with the head of St. Peter from the triumphal arch of St. Paul outside the walls, 440–450. St. Peter's, Grotte Vaticane, Rome.



Pl. 47. S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, Rome, church and graffiti.



Pl. 48a. Gold glass medallion with Simon, Damasus (upper right), Peter, and Florus, 350–400 CE. Vatican Museums, 680783.



Pl. 48b. Gold glass medallion with Laurence (left) and Cyprian (right), 350–400 CE. Vatican Museums, 60766.



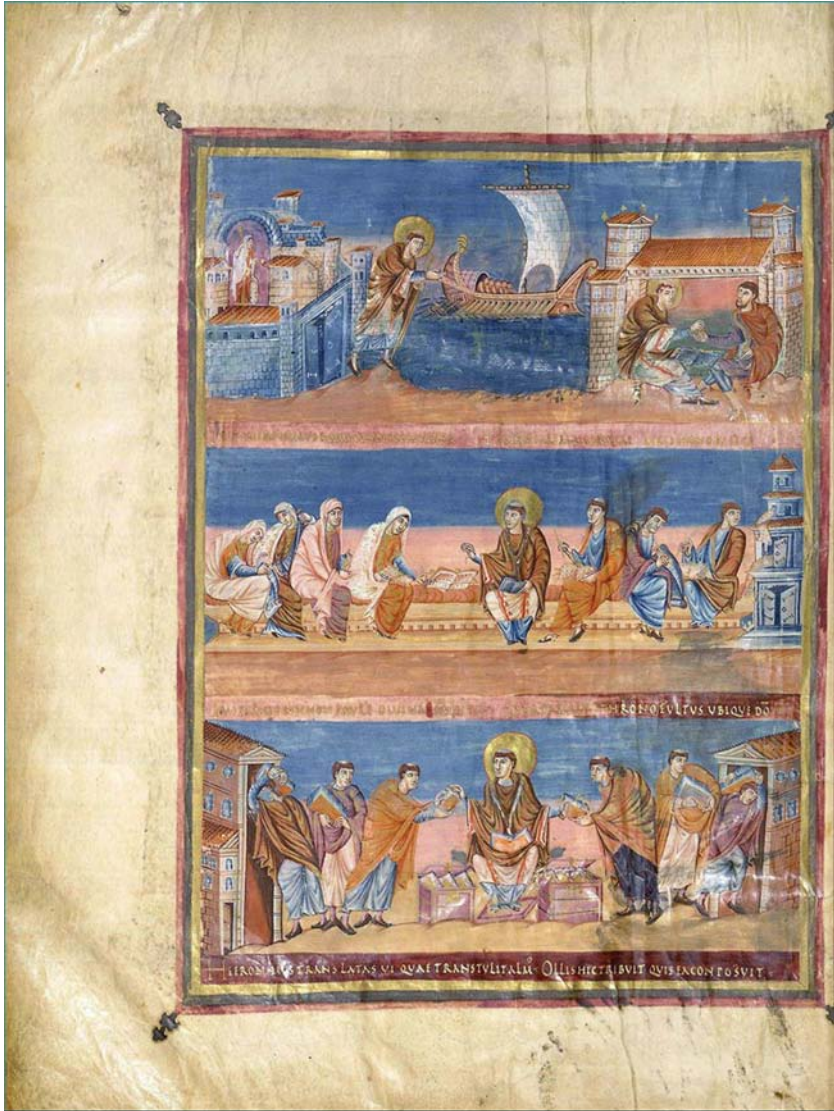
Pl. 48c. Mosaic of Ambrose, Milan, late 5th or early 6th century. Chapel of St. Victor, attached to Sant' Ambrogio.



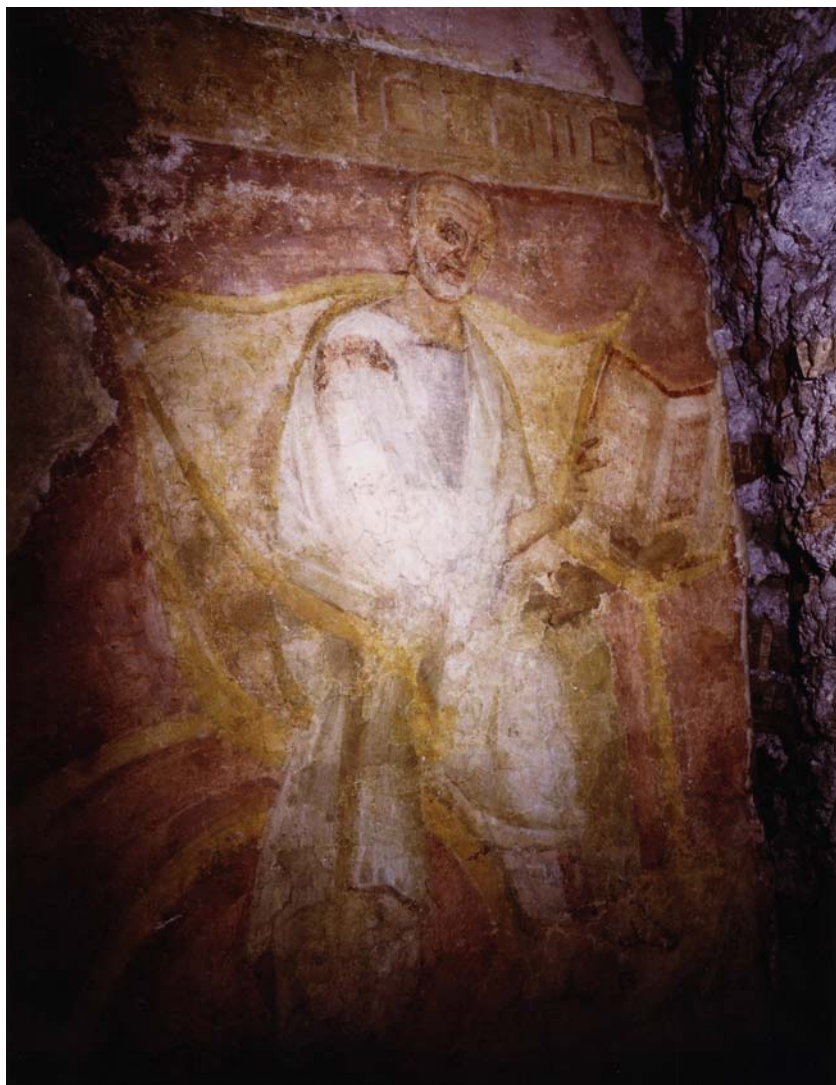
Pl. 49. Upper part of 6th century city gate, Milevum, Algeria (Colonia Sarnensis Milevitana).



Pl. 50. Catacomb of Callixtus, Crypt of Pope Cornelius, 6th century frescoes; center, Sixtus II (left) and Optatus (right); right foreground, Cornelius (left) and Cyprian (at right), Watercolor ca. 1900. Private collection.



Pl. 51. Scenes from the life of Jerome. Below: distributing copies of the Vulgate to monks, 9th century. Folio 423^v of the First Bible of Charles the Bold. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS lat. 1.



Pl. 52. Fresco of seated scholar, presumably Augustine, 6th century. So-called Biblioteca Latina Lateranense, Rome.



Pl. 53. Hippo Regius, forum, 69–79 CE.



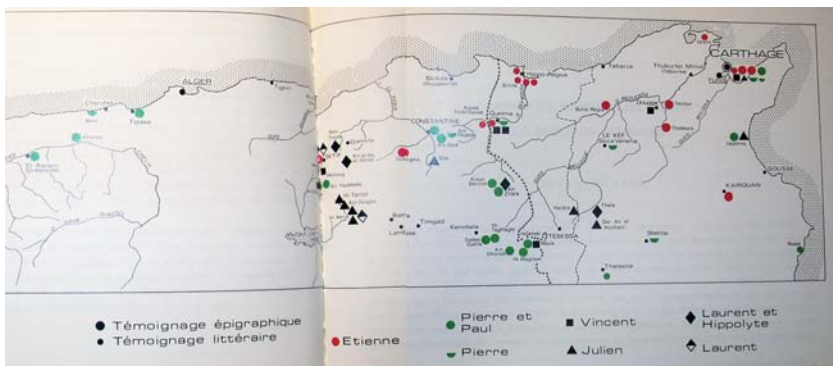
Pl. 54a. Hippo Regius, "Christian Quarter" with large Christian basilica.



Pl. 54b. Hippo Regius, "Christian Quarter," with basilica (left), domus (background), and baptistery (right).



Pl. 55a. Mosaic inscription honoring Peter, Paul, Saturninus, and thirteen local martyrs, sixth century. From Uppenna (Hr Chigarnia). Enfidha Museum, Tunisia.



Pl. 55b. Epigraphic distribution of martyr cults in North Africa, from Yvette Duval, *Loca Sanctorum*, fig. 313.



Pl. 56a. ARS *lanx* with Peter and Paul flanking a cross, 350–430. Benaki Museum, Athens, 12405, 12406b, 12409, 12431.



Pl. 56b. Fragment of an ARS bowl with the apostle Peter holding a codex, 350–430. Benaki Museum, Athens, 12433.



Pl. 56c. ARS bowl with the apostles Peter and Paul, 350–430. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, O. 41460.



Pl. 57. Christ, Lamb of God, Peter, Paul, saints of the catacomb. Fresco, late 4th century. Catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Rome.



Pl. 58a. *Traditio legis*, mosaic, ca. 400. Baptistery, Naples.



Pl. 58b. Gold glass with *traditio legis*, 366–399 CE. Vatican Museums, Rome.



Pl. 59. Monogrammatic cross in sky, mosaic, ca. 400 CE. Baptistery, Naples.



Pl. 60a–c. Vault mosaic, ca. 400 CE. Baptistery, Naples. (a) winged lion (b–c) martyrs with crowns.



Pl. 61a. Dome mosaic, 423–450 CE. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna.



Pl. 61b. Christ and the apostles in the heavenly Jerusalem. Mosaic, about 400 CE. S. Pudenziana, Rome.



Pl. 62a–c. Mosaic of triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. 432–440 CE (a) apocalyptic emblems (b–c) New Jerusalem and New Bethlehem.



Pl. 63a–b. Mosaic, 5th century. Chapel of S. Matrona, Church of S. Prisco, S. Maria in Capua Vetere, Campania.



Pl. 64a. Throne with cross. Mosaic of dome, ca. 458 CE. Orthodox Baptistry, Ravenna.



Pl. 64b. Apostles present crowns to throne with symbols. Mosaic of dome, early 6th century. Arian Baptistry, Ravenna.



Pl. 65a–b. Mosaics of apse and triumphal arch, 527–530 CE. Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Rome. In the apse, Christ appearing in the clouds and procession of lambs to the Lamb of God on the mountain of Paradise. On the arch, Lamb of God on the altar, scroll with seven seals, seven candelabra, pairs of angels, the Living Creatures, and Elders offering crowns.



Pl. 66a. Triumphal arch mosaic, 533–549 CE. S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.



Pl. 66b. Mosaics of apse and triumphal arch, 547 CE. S. Vitale, Ravenna.



Pl. 67a–b. Mosaics of triumphal arch and apse, 640–649 CE. Chapel of S. Venanzio, Lateran Baptistery, Rome.



Pl. 68a–b. Mosaic of triumphal arch, 579–590 CE. S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura, Rome.



Pl. 69a. Bust of Christ elevated by angels. Fresco from Bawit, Coptic Museum, Cairo, 12089.



Pl. 69b. Enthroned Christ elevated by angels. Limestone relief from Bawit. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 7110.



Pl. 69c. Ascension, wooden door lintel from the church of Al-Mo'allafa, probably fifth or sixth century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 753.



Pl. 70a. Mosaic of Lamb of God and angels. Chancel bay, 547 CE. S. Vitale, Ravenna.



Pl. 70b. Apparition of Christ, 5th century. Hosios David, Thessaloniki.



Pl. 71a. Gilt bronze crossguard engraved with the prepared throne. Probably from Constantinople, 500–550. Collection of James E. Ferrell.



Pl. 71b. Gold pendant engraved with the bust of Christ venerated by angels. Byzantine, 6th or early 7th century. Collection of James E. Ferrell.



Pl. 71c. Silver paten with the *chi-rho* monogram and stars. Byzantine, 5th century CE. Diameter: 29.0 cm. Collection of James E. Ferrell.



Pl. 72. Second coming, fresco from Bawit, Monastery of Apollo, Chapel VI, 6th or early 7th century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 7118.



Pl. 73. Second coming, fresco from Bawit, Monastery of Apollo, Chapel VI, 6th or early 7th century. Coptic Museum, Cairo, 7118 (detail).



Pl. 74. ARS bowl with Odysseus tied to the mast and Cupid riding dolphins, 350–430. Private collection.



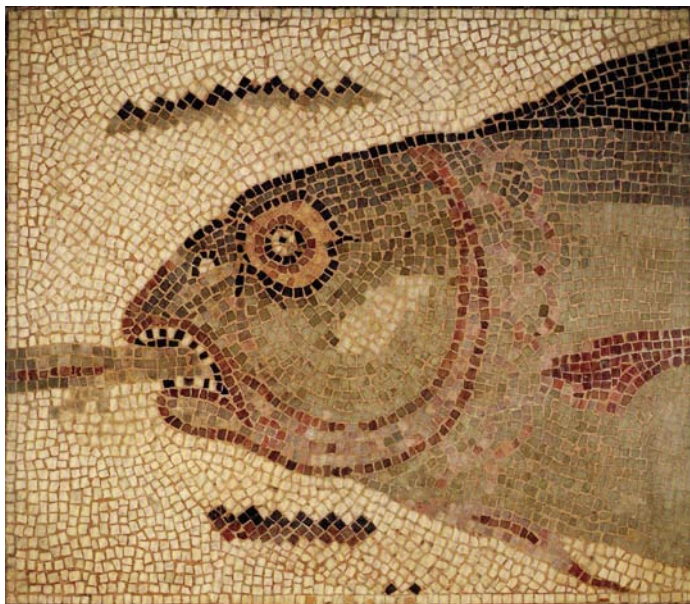
Pl. 75a. ARS bowl with Odysseus (pl. 74), detail: Odysseus' ship.



Pl. 75b. ARS biblical bowl (pl. 26), detail: Jonah's ship.



Pl. 75c. ARS bowl with ships, fish, and dolphins (pl. 76b), detail: ship.



Pl. 76a. Mosaic with fish eating fish, 6th century. From the synagogue of Hamam-Lif. Brooklyn Museum. Museum Collection Fund, 05.15.



Pl. 76b. ARS bowl with ships, fish, and dolphins, 4th century. Archaeological Museum, Frankfurt, B 479.



Pl. 77a–b. Mosaic with Arion riding a dolphin, late 3rd century. From the Great Baths, Thina. Archaeological Museum, Sfax (a) Arion (b) dolphins and charioteer.



Pl. 78a. ARS bowl with a boy riding a dolphin and other sea life, 350–430. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1988.1086. Gift of Mary B. Comstock.



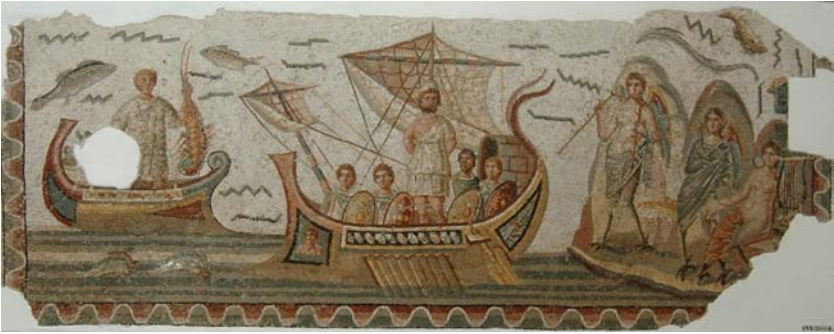
Pl. 78b. Cupid on dolphin (detail of pl. 79a).



Pl. 79a–b. ARS bowl with Cupids on dolphins and carrying baskets, from Sbeitla, 350–400. Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 12.378 (a) complete bowl (b), detail: Cupid on dolphin with lyre.



Pl. 80. Bronze attachment with Odysseus at the mast, late 3rd or 4th century. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 67.20. Purchase from the Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund.



Pl. 81a. Mosaic with Odysseus and the Sirens, mid-3rd century. From the fountain area, House of Dionysus and Odysseus, Dougga. Bardo Museum, Tunis.



Pl. 81b. Terracotta relief with Odysseus tied to the mast, 1st century CE. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. S 747.



Pl. 82a–b. Fountain rim with mosaic of Odysseus at the mast, Sirens, and dolphins, 3rd century. Archaeological Museum, Cherchel.



Plate 83a. Siren from the mosaic of Odysseus at the mast, 3rd century. Archaeological Museum, Cherchel.



Pl. 83b–d. Mosaic floor with Odysseus tied to the mast. Leontius building at Beth Shean, second half of the 5th century CE.



Pl. 84a. Threshold mosaic with the emblem of the *Pentasii*, 3rd century. Archaeological Museum, El Djem, Tunisia.



Pl. 84b. Roman mosaic from Smirat (near Moknine) with *munus*, mid-3rd century. Archaeological Museum, Sousse, Tunisia.



Pl. 85a. Amphitheater in Lambaesis, Algeria.



Pl. 85b. Amphitheater in Lixus, Morocco.



Pl. 86. Gladiator mosaic from a villa in Zliten, late 1st century. Jamahiriya Alhamra Museum, Tripoli, Libya.



Pl. 87a. Fragment of an ARS lanx with magistrates at an arena spectacle, 350–430 CE. Benaki Museum, Athens, 12427.



Pl. 87b. Gladiator mosaic from a villa in Zliten (pl. 86), detail: arena scenes.



Pl. 88. Arena scenes: mosaic from the *Sollertiana Domus*, late 2nd century. Archaeological Museum, El-Djem.



Pl. 89a–b. Details of a mosaic with arena scenes from the *Sollertiana Domus* (pl. 88).



Pl. 90. (a) Mosaic with banqueting venators and sleeping bulls, ca. 200–220. From El Djem, Bardo Museum, Tunis. (b–e) Fragments of ARS bowls with reclining banqueters and venator, 350–430 CE (b, d) Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, 1996.5.80; 1996.5.71 (c, e) Private collection.



Pl. 91. (a) Mosaic with animals from Radès, 4th century. Bardo Museum, Tunis. (b) ARS bowl with bear, 350–430 CE. Private collection (c) Mosaic of Magerius (pl. 84b), detail (d) Detail of an ARS bowl with panther. Private collection (e) Detail of an ARS lanx with hunter spearing panther. From Edfu. Cairo Museum, 46742.



Pl. 92. (a) Mosaic with hunting scenes, 4th or 5th century. Archaeological Museum, Djemila (b) ARS bowl fragment with speared boar, 350–430 CE Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. 1996.5.193 (c) Mosaic with speared bear, 3rd century. Bardo Museum. (d) fragmentary ARS lanx, Harlan J. Berk Ltd. (e) African lamp with speared bear, private collection.



Pl. 93a, b. (a) Arena mosaic with ostriches from Le Kef, 3rd century. Bardo Museum, Tunis (b) fragmentary ARS bowl with ostriches, 350–430 CE. Benaki Museum, Athens, 12511.



Pl. 94a. Arena mosaic with bull and victims, 4th century. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



Pl. 94b. Fragment from an ARS bowl with a bull, venator, and victim, 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 95a. Fragments of a large ARS plate with convict at stake, 350–430 CE. Private collection.



Pl. 95b, d. Terra sigillata fragments with *Damnatio ad bestias*, 2nd century. Thermenmuseum, Heerlen, the Netherlands, 6225.

Pl. 95c, e. Mold for a ceramic bowl with *Damnatio ad bestias*, ca. 175 CE. From Hilly Fields, Colchester. Colchester Castle Museum, England.



Pl. 96a. Lamp with a convict mauled by felines, ca. 70–100 CE Collection of Kevin Cahalane, Boston.



Pl. 96b. Lamp with a convict mauled by felines, 1–50 CE British Museum, London, 1977.1203.6.



Pl. 96c. African lamp with bear facing away in tondo, 5th century. Collection of Jared James Clark, California.